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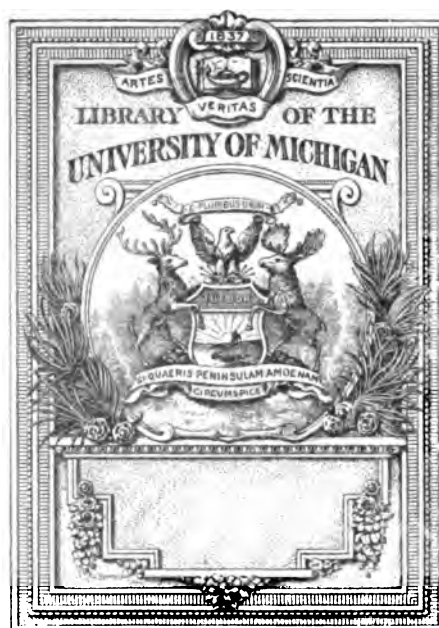
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REPORTS  
FROM  
COMMISSIONERS, INSPECTORS,  
AND OTHERS:

THIRTY-SEVEN VOLUMES.

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— (37.) —

HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS—*continued.*

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Session 1.—30 *January* 1900 —8 *August* 1900.  
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FROM  
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1900.

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THIRTY-SEVEN VOLUMES:—CONTENTS OF THE  
THIRTY-SEVENTH VOLUME.

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N.B.—*THE* Figures at the beginning of the line, correspond with the N° at the foot of each Report ; and the Figures at the end of the line, refer to the MS. Paging of the Volumes arranged for The House of Commons.

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HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS (ROYAL COMMISSION).

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HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS COMMISSION.

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REPORT  
ON THE  
MANUSCRIPTS  
OF  
MRS. FRANKLAND-RUSSELL-ASTLEY,  
OF  
CHEQUERS COURT, BUCKS.

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Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty.

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## CORRIGENDA.

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*Page 74, note, last line but one, before Sir John Trevor insert, John, son of.*

„ 99, line 2, for [Gueroom] read [Worcum]

„ 102, „ 18, „ „ „ „

„ 163, „ 23, for St[anley] read St[anhope?].

„ 261, „ 7, for Le Meloniese, read Le Meloniere.

„ 350, „ 27, for Gausel, read Gansel.

„ 382, „ 33, „ „ „ „



## INTRODUCTION.

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THE papers in this collection may be broadly divided into three groups: 1. The Russell and Frankland correspondence, belonging mostly to the years 1657-1697; 2. The Cutts and Revett papers, 1687-1708; and 3. Colonel Charles Russell's letters, 1742-1754. There are also some outlying documents, such as the note-book of Sir John Croke.

The Report might almost be termed a new series of "Memorials of the House of Cromwell," so numerous are the figures of his descendants to be found in its pages, and so great the amount of light thrown upon the history of the Russell branch of the family tree. Topographically, the interest centres in the estate of Chequers' Court. From the family of De Chequers this estate passed by marriage to the Hawtreys, and early in the 17th century Bridget Hawtreys carried it to her husband, Sir Henry Croke. His grand-daughter and heiress married Serjeant Thurbarne, and from them Chequers descended to their only child, the wife of Colonel Edmund Revett. Her two sons died without heirs, and the estate passed to their sister's son, John, afterwards Sir John, Russell, and thence, by way of his cousins, to the present representatives of this branch of the Russells, the Franklands, and the Cromwells. From the Crokes downward, each of these families has contributed to the collection.

The first document calendared is the note-book of John, afterwards Sir John, Croke, M.P., Recorder of London, Speaker of the House of Commons, and finally Justice of the Common Pleas. As there is little of his in print, beyond a collection of judgments which is still highly esteemed, his speeches have been abstracted at some length. The quaint law doggerel of the headings is given verbatim.

The first of his speeches to the Queen entered in the note-book was made in May, 1596, when the country was filled with alarm by the renewed activity of the Spanish King, and startled into wrath by his daring and successful attempt against Calais. Croke can hardly find words bitter enough for the great enemy

and his "treacheries abroad," so hideous, so horrible, that his lips trembled to speak of them; "yet your most gracious Majesty," he continues, "hath still continued *semper eadem*; your royal heart hath known no fear, but hath stood fast in the Lord your God, and you have maintained and defended, and . . . still do maintain and defend, that God in your kingdom is truly worshipped. . . . Blessed are your people and subjects that have such a sovereign, and blessed be the Lord God of Heaven and earth that 'would' your most gracious Majesty to be our Queen because he loved us."

His next speech—not to the Queen, but made at the Tower (instead of the Exchequer, it being vacation time)—upon the election of a successor to Lord Mayor Skinner, is in a much lower key. He sadly speaks of the "admonishments of God evident now upon us, the staff of our bread in some sort broken, the sun of long time seeming to be turned into clouds and darkness, the moon into mist and wetness, the heavens to continual weeping, the earth, glutted with water, into barrenness, to deny her increase, the sword of the enemy abroad to threaten us, famine and fear of mortality at home to be around us." To the prayers of their most gracious sovereign he ascribes the fact that still more terrible evils had been averted. But there is an absence of enthusiasm in his tone, which is not to be wondered at when it is remembered that just at this time the gracious sovereign had been making demands upon her faithful citizens with which they were by no means willing to comply. (*See Introduction to Vol. VI of the Calendar of the Cecil MSS., pp. vi, vii.*)

When he next addressed the Queen, he avoided home topics, but offered warm congratulations on the Cadiz expedition. "Even him that seemed to cause the earth to tremble and the kingdoms to shake, who made a wilderness of the lands and prisoners of princes, by the help of God to his blessed handmaid she has daunted in his own kingdom by the hands of her servants, the omnipotent Maker of the world having guided the journey, speeded the victory, and made the return of her servants the trump of His fame, with little or no loss of English blood" (p. 6). In August, 1589, he delivered a charge to the assessors of the subsidy in Southwark. A subsidy, he told them, was an aid or relief, or more properly an aid to deliver men from dangers under which they laboured. "Thanks be to God and her Majesty, they

were in no present danger, but they must not, because they now sailed in safety, plunge themselves in senseless stupidity or be drowned in careless security, forget the dangers past, and neglect to provide for perils to come. It hath been said of the Phrygians," he concludes, "otherwise a mighty people, that they were never wise till they were stung. Let it not be said of us Englishmen, that, like monsters, we carry our eyes in our polls, not to see any danger till it be upon us . . . Let us have vigilant eyes to foresee dangers to come, and willing spirits and free hearts, not only to undergo any charge of our purse but any peril of our persons to maintain this quietness, and let it be sounded in the ears of all our enemies that Englishmen's goods and lives are at the devotion of Queen Elizabeth."

In spite of his courtier-like desires that God would lengthen her days as the days of heaven, "and continue them to never-ending days, as long as any days endure" (p. 4), the time came when it was Croke's duty to welcome the Queen's successor on his entrance to the city. "We had heaviness," he says, "for the departure of our late gracious Queen, who so long, with so great wisdom and felicity, governed her kingdom as the like in many ages hath not been read nor heard of. She sleepeth at rest with the kings and consuls of the earth, in the house appointed for all the living, and after a happy and famous reign, leaving a reverent renown behind her in earth, hath obtained a crown of eternal felicity in Heaven. We lamented for her, but joy and unspeakable joy in your Majesty by the goodness of God is restored to us." Then, with a graceful allusion to the King's own writings, and a prayer that the kingdoms which God's right hand had united, his outstretched arm might evermore defend, he offered welcome and service to London's new monarch.

On p. 16 is an interesting report of the King's own speech to the Lord Mayor and Corporation at Greenwich. One cannot but suspect a sly hit at his dear sister deceased, when, after enlarging on the benefits of the union of the two kingdoms, he goes on to say that he not only brings union, but peace with all the princes of Europe, having, as regards his own person and his own nation no difference with any of them.

The Russell family papers, or rather the papers of the closely-allied families of Russell, Belasyse, and Frankland, begin on p. 21.

The interest of the early letters centres in the figure of Frances Cromwell, the Protector's youngest daughter. However hotly controversy may rage round the character of their father, there can hardly be two opinions as to the charms of the Cromwell girls; and the Lady Frances seems to have been the spoilt darling of the family. She was allowed to marry young Robert Rich, although her father strongly disapproved of the match. (*See Lady Mary's letter to her brother Henry, printed by Carlyle.*) Money matters were supposed to be the obstacle. "I fear my Lord Protector does not mean you shall have his daughter, his demands are so high," wrote Lord Warwick to his grandson (p. 21), but probably the state of the young man's health was a very serious difficulty. As is well known, he died only a few weeks after his marriage, and judging from his grandparents' letters, it would appear that not only his health but his nerves must have been in a strange state (pp. 21-23).

During Mrs. Claypole's [Elizabeth Cromwell's] illness, old Lady Devonshire wrote a long letter of sympathy to the "poor young Frances, weeping in her weeds," and strongly urged the trial of a certain quack medicine, although with evident doubts as to the approval of the physicians. This is followed by letters of condolence to her upon Mrs. Claypole's death, and (after the Restoration) of advice how to proceed as to her estate of New Hall in Essex, granted by Charles II. to the Duke of Albemarle (pp. 23-25).

Lady Frances did not recover her estate, but as time went on she evidently recovered her spirits. On pp. 25-28 is a series of love-letters addressed to her by John, afterwards Sir John, Russell (son of Sir Francis Russell of Chippenham, already connected with the Cromwell family by the marriage of his daughter to the Protector's son Henry), with drafts of two of her answers. The ardent wooer assures her that "love and fear, grief and impatience" are his perpetual tormentors, that he can hardly either sleep or breathe, and that nothing can give him any ease but one line from herself, for which he begs as earnestly as a starving man for a bit of bread. To which she merrily replies that she is very sorry for him, hopes he will not wonder if she takes care to preserve herself from a passion which has done him so much mischief,

and advises him to rid himself as soon as possible of so uncivil a guest. "Surely," she continues, "that which unmans you, which torments you with much fear, grief and impatience, which disturbs your rest, denies you the common benefit of air (and so near Newmarket Heath too) and turns all your breath into sighs, must needs be very dangerous to a poor, silly woman. . . . If I have not forgot the contents of your last," she concludes, "I think I have more than satisfied your own desire, for you were so reasonable as to consider my poverty, and so only requested one line." As a matter of fact, the coquettish lady could easily have refreshed her memory as to the contents of his last, for she was writing her own draft on the back of his letter !

Later on, she writes more seriously, thanking him for his very great expressions of love. "I will not now," she says, "complain of you or chide you, otherwise I could take it ill you should, after all that has passed between yourself and me, say you are in a doubt whether I love you ; nor can I allow you to mention so much your suffering upon my account, since I must tell you my usage has been very favourable." She ends by saying that on Mr. White's return from Hursley, he shall hear further. This Mr. White was the poor man who is said to have been discovered by the Protector in the act of paying his addresses to the Lady Frances, and whose too adroit excuses caused his unwished for marriage to her waiting-maid. He must have felt it a little hard if he was made the messenger between his old flame and her lover. After their marriage, Sir John had to be much in London on business, and his young wife, in his absence, evidently allowed herself to be worried and agitated by small domestic difficulties. Her husband repeatedly and affectionately urged her not to let these things trouble her, and meanwhile gave her help and comfort by finding servants for her in London, and sending her tidings of her little son Rich (named after her first husband), then out at nurse. In 1670, she went to stay with her sister, Lady Fauconberg, and in her husband's letter written just after she left home are some baby scribbles ending in a rather tremulous W.R. from her little boy Will. "What your son desires," adds his father, "besides craving your blessing and sending his humble services to my lady Fauconberg, you may read as perfectly as I can." Crossing this letter was one from the absent wife, telling of her kind reception. But

she longs for her husband and children, and sends kisses to her dear, dear sweet babes "from their poor Mama." This, by the way, is an extremely early instance of the use of the term by an English mother. To this letter, her brother-in-law, Lord Fauconberg, adds a merry postscript, warning her husband to hurry up after his wife, because she is being "so courted by the Venetian ambassador" (p. 87). Soon after this, Sir John died, and henceforward Lady Russell—a widow for the second time before she was thirty—devoted herself to her children. Her eldest son, the writer of the baby letter mentioned above, was sent to Cambridge. Her only daughter, Betty, grew up, as her uncle Fauconberg wrote, "so admirable a creature both in body and mind," that he was sure her mother would not keep her long. In 1688 she became the wife of Thomas, eldest son of Sir William Frankland of Thirkleby, co. York (who had married Lord Fauconberg's sister, Arabella Belasyse). At first all seemed to bid fair for the future. But soon a rift appeared in the lute, and we hear of difficulties between Frankland and his pretty wife. The Fauconbergs praised the young husband's conduct in the highest terms, and laid the blame at Lady Russell's door, who was so extravagantly fond of her daughter that she was jealous of anyone else sharing her love. "The sheep and the lamb bleat after one the other," Lord Fauconberg wrote, but he believed that if they were separated all would be well. On the other hand, Lady Russell complained that the young husband was severe and imperious, and accused her sister and brother-in-law of being the cause. She and Lord Fauconberg had more than one stormy interview, the last of which, however, "ended in promising showers" (pp. 53-56). A few months later, Lady Fauconberg wrote cautioning her brother and sister, when their son went down, to treat him with the respect due to a married man, in order to give him a value at home, adding the amusing comment, "You know my Lord has not the good fortune to be thought the fittest man in the world to conduct or advise a young husband, which opinion, it may be, has not been advantageous to your son, for I do truly believe both my sister and your daughter have been and are afraid she should be made a submissive wife, which, without ground, they have concluded me" (p. 57). After this there are only a few scattered notices of Lady Russell. In 1689, her son, Sir William, had involved himself in such pecuniary difficulties

that he had been obliged to sell Chippenham and had apparently spent all the money received for it. On p. 71 is a letter from an anonymous friend, who, while praising his honour, sincerity, integrity, and generous temper, reproaches him for his extravagance, and remonstrates strongly with him concerning the distress into which he was plunging his mother, who was now about to send to him the money allotted for paying her debts. Finally, he warns the young man that there could be no worse way of paying court to the King (William III.) than by extravagance, as his Majesty believed no man to be capable of directing public affairs who could not manage his own.

Many of Lord and Lady Fauconberg's letters are in this collection, for the most part addressed to Sir William and Lady Frankland at Thirkleby. Lady Fauconberg, as we have seen, repudiated the idea of being "a submissive wife," and no doubt she was spirited enough (witness Bishop Burnett's observation that if those in petticoats had been in breeches they would have held faster), but she and her husband appear to have lived very happily together and she must have been a very charming woman. "The best and greatest lady in the world," her brother-in-law Russell calls her (p. 36).

Lord Fauconberg's letters are very lively, in spite of ill-health and much trouble with his eyes. He seems never to have been so happy as in the retirement of Sutton Court. He loved not crowds, as he told his brother (p. 54); preferred the music of his annual guests, the nightingales, to the noise of the jockeys at Newmarket (p. 50), and found his books and his fruit trees the best of entertainments (pp. 47, 70). But the old diplomatist was a keen observer. In urging his brother-in-law not to enter Parliament in opposition to King James' wishes, he describes his Majesty as one who "is not ignorant of the most minute things that has happened either public or private, and will not endure any pretences to justification. Submission only, with acknowledgments of errors, are acceptable to him." In a letter written probably in the summer of 1697, and endorsed "my last farewell letter to Sir William Frankland," Lord Fauconberg laments that his own age and his brother-in-law's infirmities prevent all hope of his ever conversing again with his best friend, and concludes with a prayer for their happy meeting in a better world.

In Sir William Frankland's correspondence will be found a considerable amount of information concerning election matters in Yorkshire. (*See Index, under York and Thirsk.*)

A few other letters in this part of the collection may be mentioned. A letter from John Frankland, afterwards Dean of Gloucester, &c., gives a description of the French Protestant refugees in Holland, interesting in view of their connexion with the Boers of South Africa. He calls them "a pack of as arrant villains as ever lived, who have, under the specious pretext of conscience, quitted their country, where, had their circumstances pleased them no worse than their religion, they would have remained to this day" (p. 96).

Another interesting letter has a long account of the condition of Italy, giving a curious and evidently prejudiced description of the religious houses and observances, but greatly praising the noble charities and sobriety of the people. The writer was also much struck with their intelligence in regard to public affairs. "All the Italians set up for politicians," he writes, "from the cavalier to the post-boy, and a chamberlain in an inn, while he is warming your bed, will talk of the interests of princes and where our fleets have miscarried, and the advantages of France, like a privy councillor" (p. 170-174). Amongst other places, the writer visited the Castle of Cattajo (or, as he calls it, Obessy) presented by the Venetian nobleman Obizzo to the D'Este family. The frescoes, which he attributes to Paul Veronese, are now believed to be by that master's friend, Zelotti.

Under date of 1718, are two letters from the celebrated Lady Huntingdon. "I cannot help making dear Lady Hertford a sharer of my joys," she writes, "and this is at present with the hopes of the conversion of the blacks, of which Mr. Whitfield gives me great hopes in North America." The letters are almost entirely on religious matters, but there is a pretty touch of humanity in her evident gratification at the praises bestowed upon her son. Lady Anne Lumley, daughter of the Earl of Scarborough, and second wife of Frederick Frankland, was a friend of the Countess, and joined her "connexion," which so angered her husband that he sent her back to her father and returned her dowry.

On p. 211 is a long letter describing the riots and massacre at Jiddah, in which Robert Frankland, brother of Sir Thomas and



of Henry, governor of Bengal, lost his life. A few words in one of Stanyon's despatches from Constantinople (*in the Turkey State Papers at the Public Record Office*) enables us to fix the date as 1727.

The last of the Frankland papers is a bright little letter from an Eton schoolboy (afterwards the fourth Sir Thomas Frankland and a distinguished scientific man), giving an account of a badger hunt, and announcing that he is making a bottle of cowslip wine, that he goes out of bounds every day to gather the cowslips, and that by Bartholomew-tide, it will be "extremely good" (p. 414).

The second series in this collection—i.e., the papers of Lord Cutts and the Revetts—is found at Chequers in consequence of the marriage of Lord Cutts' sister with Serjeant Thurbarne, who had inherited the estate from his first wife. His daughter Joanna married Edmund Revett, and ultimately became both her father's and uncle's heir.

Lord Cutts' life is in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, but one or two of his "memorials" in this collection contain details not there given, and are therefore calendared in this volume (pp. 197, 206). The first of his letters preserved at Chequers (not the original, but a copy by Acton, his brother-in-law, to whom the letter was addressed) was written in 1687 from the Imperial camp in Hungary, during his brilliant campaign as a volunteer against the Turks. It gives an account of the battle of Mohatz, fought on August 12 n.s., and very highly praises the Duke of Lorraine (p. 64). The next letter is a copy of that written to the Duke of Middleton, stating his reasons for leaving King James's service. The letter is printed in Howard's collection, but as this book is rare, and the letter is not noticed in the article in the *Dictionary*, it is given here (p. 66).

In 1693 are various papers connected with Lord Cutts' appointment as governor of the Isle of Wight (pp. 75, 77), and in 1694 a statement concerning his election for the county of Cambridge, where he was unseated on petition. In April of this year, he joined the ill-fated expedition to Brest. The only paper connected with it here is a short note from General Talmach before the embarkation (p. 78), but amongst the Portland papers is a letter stating that Talmach afterwards complained of Lord Cutts for not obeying orders, and sent a message to the Queen about it a

little before his death. (*See Report on the Portland MSS., Vol. III, p. 551.*) In July, Lord Cutts was back at Portsmouth, and during the next twelve months was chiefly occupied with the embarkation of troops and with election matters. Amongst other letters of this period is one from William Blathwayt, secretary at war, written in great alarm on learning that Cutts had ordered two companies from Portsmouth to Yarmouth, I. of W., for the election time, whereas it was a constant rule of the King that all troops should remove from places where there was an election, and "the least intimation of such quartering would set the House of Commons in a flame" (p. 85).

During William III.'s reign there were two secretaries at war, Blathwayt and Dr. George Clarke. Dr. Clarke's own explanation of this division of the office was that in 1690 Blathwayt expressed the desire to resign, not wishing to go to Ireland, and that the King appointed him (Clarke) to the place, but that Blathwayt held the office in England during Clarke's absence in Ireland, and afterwards "by the favour of Lord Portland," continued in it until the King's death, whilst Clarke had to be content with a commission to act in England during Blathwayt's frequent absences with his Majesty in Flanders. (*See Report on the Popham MSS., pp. 271, 282.*)

On p. 88 is a letter from Lord Cutts to the lady who afterwards became his second wife, and on p. 92 a very friendly letter from her father, Sir Henry Pickering, alluding to Lord Cutts' daring exertions during the fire at Whitehall. This same year, Cutts was a candidate for the county of Cambridge and also for Newport, I. of W., promising to hand over the borough to Lord Ranelagh if successful in the shire. To this arrangement Lord Ranelagh strongly objected, saying that a man who had served so long as himself, and in the post he held—i.e., paymaster of the forces—"must be thought a bankrupt, both in his reputation and favour, to come in at the second bound" (p. 93).

The more important portion of Lord Cutts' papers begins in 1701, when he was sent as Brigadier-General with Marlborough into Flanders. There are several letters from the Earl during this year, all holograph, and written in very friendly style, but not of any importance. In the first of them, dated at Loo, he urges Cutts to get a house (at Breda) as near to his own as

possible, "for here is so much company that it will be all that you and I can do to take them between us" (p. 100). During the following winter (Marlborough being in England), Lord Cutts acted as commander in chief. He took a house at the Hague, where, as he says, he had always a piece of mutton and a glass of good wine for a friend (p. 101), and gave himself up to the care of the army. In the spring of 1702 he was in England for awhile, urging his claims upon Government, but without much success. He returned to Flanders on the breaking out of the war of the Spanish succession, and on September 8-18 captured Fort St. Michel at Venlo, on which glorious action, performed by his own "conduct and personal hazard," the Earl of Rochester sent him very hearty congratulations (p. 109).

At the beginning of 1703, Marlborough (now Duke) announced to Cutts that the Queen had pitched upon him to arrange a cartel with France for the exchange of prisoners (p. 112). There are a good many papers in relation to the negotiations which followed, but the matter fell through. Luttrell says that this was "by reason Marshal Boufflers told the Lord Cutts he would not own the Queen's title" (*Relation of State Affairs, Vol. V., p. 295*), a difficulty which crops up several times in these papers. About the middle of January, Cutts was urged to join a conference of the allied generals at Wesel, but refused on the ground that as chief in command, he could not leave his troops and go out of the "States' dominions." He wrote to Marlborough that another strong reason for declining was his fear that they would wish to draw the Queen's troops into expeditions which would ruin them for the next campaign, and that if outvoted he must either singly oppose the others or be involved in resolutions contrary to his Grace's plans. (*See Stanhope's despatches, S.P. Holland, in the Public Record Office, upon this matter and many others mentioned in Lord Cutts' papers.*)

On March 8-14, 1703, a council of war was held at the Hague, and this Lord Cutts did attend, having no doubt by this time received his chief's instructions what to say. There was considerable divergence of opinion, but the views of the majority were that the Rhine should be sustained, that an army should be formed upon the Maas, that the siege of Bonn was necessary but not practicable as yet, and that some diversion should be made in Brabant and Flanders. General Salyche was opposed to this

last suggestion, and Lord Cutts only agreed to it as a temporary measure, pending the opening of the next campaign. A few weeks later, as is well known, Lord Marlborough found it "practicable" not only to besiege but to take Bonn, and a letter from Lord Cutts (p. 124) announces its surrender.

In June, 1703, begins a series of interesting news-letters sent to Lord Cutts, during his absence from the Hague, by Guillaume de Lamberty, the compiler of the fourteen volumes of "*Memoires pour servir à l'histoire du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*" and author of "*Memoires de la dernière révolution d'Angleterre*." It is stated in the *Biographie Universelle* that shortly after 1691, Lamberty was made secretary to Lord Portland, English Ambassador in Holland, and later, was employed by several other ministers, all of whom praised both his zeal and his discretion. He seems, in 1703, to have been still in the English service at the Hague, and to have had some special connexion with Lord Cutts, several of whose papers are in Lamberty's handwriting. Besides the current news of the day, "Le Connu," as he usually signs himself, gives a good deal of information as to the negotiations between the various powers, and his letters present an amusing picture of the rival diplomatists gathered at this changing-house of Europe; of their endeavours to ascertain each others' plans, and their struggles to carry out their own. The letters being long, and containing many details of no general interest, have all been considerably abridged in this report, and so are not given in the original French.

Letters from an English agent in Holland, signed "Le Connu" are to be found amongst the Marquis Townshend's and Mr. Weston Underwood's MSS. (see the *Historical Manuscripts Commissioners' Reports*, XI, Appendix 4, and X, Appendix 1), but they are all of much later date. Those in the Weston collection, at any rate, can hardly be by the same man, as they were not written until 1736 and 1737. When Lamberty died, in 1741, he was upwards of eighty years of age, and had been living for many years in retirement at Nyon, in Switzerland.

At the beginning of August there is mention of some supposed pretensions started at the Prussian Court in regard to Scotland. There was even a rumour "that the Duke of Hamilton's *brouilleries* in the Scotch Parliament have other sources than his own ambition, and that Prussia has it in view, in case of an interregnum, to

seize upon that throne." But however this might be, the Prussian minister made no sign, and continued to offer memorials on all sorts of subjects.

On August 8-18, Lamberty was able to announce the ratification of what is known as the Methuen treaty between England and Portugal, "to the great contentment of Monsieur Pacheco," the Portuguese minister.

Meanwhile, in spite of Marlborough's successes against Bonn and Huy, the war was going on unsatisfactorily, and the inactivity of Prince Louis of Baden was causing much dismay. In June, the Elector of Bavaria, France's ally, after lulling the Princes of the Empire with false promises, seized Ratisbon, an event which would at any rate, Lamberty hoped, open the eyes of the Princes to see that nothing was to be expected from that quarter "but the putting in practice the detestable maxims of France, *d'avoir ni foi ni loi*." After this, however, the Elector made the false move of entering the Tyrol, where the peasantry would have none of him, and it was even reported that he was shut up in a forest with only two hundred men. It is true that letters from Ratisbon stated that he had got away, but "no one trusts news from Ratisbon" (p. 127). This report was followed by a rumour of his death, but both were disproved by his appearance near Ulm with eight thousand men. And just when the watchers at the Hague were looking for good news from the army on the Rhine, and "were even rejoicing beforehand over their supposed successes" (p. 131), all their hopes were dashed by the French advance across the river and their capture of Kehl and Brisach, after which they united with the Bavarian army, defeated the Imperial army at Hochstadt and—in spite of a temporary check from Prince Louis, which "grand stroke" it was believed would revive people's esteem for that Prince (p. 133)—took Augsburg, Prince Louis finding himself unable to prevent the bombardment, and having to content himself with sending a letter of empty threats to the Elector that, if he fired a single shot, all Bavaria should be laid in ashes. About the same time, Tallard defeated the troops of the Prince of Hesse near Spires, and re-took Landau. As a set-off against these disasters, Marlborough had captured Huy and Limbourg on the Lahn, but it was evident to onlookers that he had not a free hand, and in these papers, as in so many others of the time, we find reiterated complaints of his being "crossed in his plans" by his allies.

At the end of September he arranged the exchange of the garrison of Huy for some of the English prisoners in French hands, and soon after the troops began to talk of winter quarters, although it was decided, upon the representations of the Emperor and Mons. Pacheco, to keep them in the field as long as possible, "the former fearing that France may overwhelm indolent Germany, and the latter wishing to prevent the enemy from sending troops into Spain to attack the Portuguese before they are ready" (p. 139). There was every disposition at the Hague, Lamberty wrote, to help the Empire, but nothing could be more vexatious than to see "that the people will not help themselves, nor even second the generous efforts which England and this State make, to free *l'indolent corps germanique* from their troubles." Lord Cutts' letters during the later part of the year are very numerous, and contain many details about the English troops abroad, but are not of much general interest.

In Spain, the new King—or the Duke of Anjou, as he continued to be called by the supporters of the Austrian claimant—issued a decree in August, 1703, for the declaration of war against Portugal, with threats of chastisement "by the ancient valour of the Spanish nation," which were fit, Lamberty thought, to be put into *Don Quixote*. A month later, the Archduke Charles was proclaimed King of Spain by his brother at Vienna, and set out on his expedition to try to wrest the kingdom from his rival. He came in the first instance to the Hague, where ships were being prepared for his transport, and a force, chiefly paid for by England, was making ready to be despatched to Portugal (pp. 133-136). Much consultation regarding matters of etiquette went on before "his Majesty's" arrival, the ceremonial used towards Charles II. of England in 1660 being taken as a precedent for the present occasion (p. 139). The prospects of the Austrian prince were at this time considered very hopeful, it being evident, Lamberty confidently believed, that his nomination had not been made "with the idea of sending him after the fashion of a knight-errant, to conquer the kingdom," but that he was supported by the greater part of the Grandees and that there would be a general rising as soon as he set foot in the country. The preparations for Portugal proceeded slowly. Lamberty notes as a rather singular fact, that while some of the officers and regiments destined for the voyage made difficulties about going, others, not

nominated, were praying to be sent (p. 140). Just when things seemed to have got themselves arranged, and part of the troops were already embarked, a great storm arose, doing such damage that the men had to be hastily put on shore, where they suffered a good deal of privation (pp. 147, 151). Great confusion was the result, and in spite of Lord Cutts' endeavours, in which he was hampered by the fact that the forces for Portugal were not "under his care by special commission" as were the troops in the Low Countries (p. 151), he was obliged to report to Marlborough, on the last day of the year, that thirty-two companies of foot and the whole regiment of dragoons had been left behind (p. 158).

Unfortunately this collection contains hardly anything concerning the campaign of 1704. There is no notice of the Duke's great march into Bavaria, and only a casual notice of the battle of Blenheim (p. 167), where Lord Cutts was third in command. This was his last year abroad, as in 1705 he was appointed commander in chief of the forces in Ireland. He received congratulations upon his appointment (pp. 179, 182), but after his death, his sister Joanna stated, in a memorial to the Lord Treasurer, that his going to Ireland (which, as attested by the physicians, was the cause of his death) was not, as given out by his enemies, "a reward asked by him, but on the contrary, a very unwilling act of obedience and submission," as his lordship and Lord Marlborough knew well, Mr. St. John having been employed by the Duke to persuade him to undertake the employment (p. 198). During Ormonde's absence, he was also one of the Lords Justices (p. 187). The following year his health failed very much, and his sister evidently began to agitate for his return to England, for he wrote repeatedly assuring her that Ireland had nothing to do with his illness, and begging her not to say a word of his coming over, as it would be "of the last ill-consequence" both to the Duke of Ormonde and himself if he let go the thread of affairs before putting it into the Duke's hands. In fact, he declared, "I give you my honour that if anyone should, without my knowledge or consent (which would be barbarous), if they should get me leave to come over, and if another Lord Justice were named in my place (which would be a step to my ruin), I would not stir out of this kingdom till I saw the Duke of Ormonde here, cost what it will. Manage this as you will with Mrs. P., but don't let my

own relations stab me when my heart is sore enough." The allusion to Mrs. P. suggests a not altogether unselfish reason for his sister's anxiety for Lord Cutts' return. A certain Mrs. Pickering, presumably a relative of his second wife, had taken a great liking to Lord Cutts and had made him her heir. She was surrounded by those who perhaps not unreasonably felt aggrieved at this destination of her wealth, and Joanna Cutts was probably wishful for her brother's personal influence to be exerted, and especially desirous that he should outlive the old lady, for, as she wrote to Cardonnel, "by that unhappy journey he got his death, and I lost with him more than 30,000*l.* besides jewels and plate to a very considerable value, which was fully given to him, and had he outlived Mrs. Pickering one hour, had been mine; and if he had not gone thither, by which means he was so long absent from her, she had not fallen into those hands, who, though they had not power to injure him, easily took the advantage of his death to ruin me" (p. 197). Lord Cutts died in Dublin, Jan. 26, 1707, and it is said that he was so deeply in debt that his aides-de-camp "dubbed 10*l.* apiece" to bury him.

He had three sisters; Anne, who married Serjeant John Thurbarne, Margaret, the wife of John Acton, solicitor to the Coldstream Guards, and the Joanna above-mentioned, who seems to have been a troublesome claimant upon the Treasury for some years after his death (pp. 197, 198, 204. *And see Calendar of Treasury Papers, 1708-1714.*)

The article on Lord Cutts in the *Dictionary of National Biography* says that his first wife "had been twice married before, first to John Morley of Glynd, Sussex, and secondly to Sir John Trevor, Secretary of State to Charles II." The note on p. 74 of this volume followed the above statement; but further investigation has shown that it cannot be true, for Secretary Trevor died in 1672, and Lord Cutts' marriage licence (still in existence) describes the bride as aged 30 at the time of their wedding in 1690. The article on Sir John Trevor, in the *Dictionary*, states correctly that Trevor's wife was Ruth, daughter of John Hampden, but goes on to say that their eldest son was John Morley Trevor, who died in 1719. Mark Noble, however, in his *Memorials of the House of Cromwell*, appears to give the real facts; viz. that Secretary Trevor had a son John, who married Morley's widow



(afterwards the wife of Lord Cutts), and that they had a son, John Morley Trevor, who died in 1719, leaving a son—another John Morley—who died in 1748.

There is a letter from Lady Cutts on p. 74, and also one, written shortly after her death, from the tutor of the young Trevors, her children by her second husband, showing the affectionate interest which Lord Cutts took in them. His lordship had ordered the tutor to write twice a week to him about the health of the children and had evidently told him that he was "*le plus grand coquin du monde*" for not having done so. The poor tutor, apparently not accustomed to the ways of English parents, acknowledged having received the orders, but thought they "were given only to show his affection, and never dreamt that he wished to be so often troubled by letters, that being a liberty which other equally tender parents would never have permitted." The eldest boy, here mentioned as "Mr. Trevor," inherited the estate of Glynd, in Sussex, which had come to his mother from her first husband, and his son, the second John Morley Trevor, appears later on in this volume.

Other letters of Lord Cutts will be found amongst the *Additional MSS.* at the British Museum, and there appear to be a good many amongst the Ormonde Papers (*see 3rd Report of the Hist. MSS. Commissioners, p. 426*). Those to his deputy in the Isle of Wight have been printed by the Massachusetts Historical Society. The papers in this collection must also, of course, be taken in connexion with those of the *Foreign Office Correspondence* and the *Military Auxiliary expeditions* at the Public Record Office.

Colonel Edmund Revett, to whose wife the Cutts papers seem to have descended, first appears in the army lists in 1692, as an ensign in Lord Cutts' regiment of foot. On January 1, 1696, in consequence of his valour at the siege of Namur, the King gave him a company in the Coldstream Guards, to the command of which Lord Cutts had succeeded in 1694. It will be remembered that at this time, the captains and lieutenants of the Guards bore a brevet rank higher than their actual grade in the service, James II having granted this privilege to the captains of the 1st and 2nd regiments, and William III having extended it to the lieutenants and to the Scotch regiment. (The ensigns did not share it until more than a century later.) Thus the captain of each company was a lieutenant-colonel, and in ordinary parlance was termed colonel.

Only a very accurate person, such as Dr. George Clarke, troubled, even in writing, to put in the qualifying word. Edmund Revett married, in 1697, the daughter and heiress of Serjeant John Thurbarne, by his second wife, Anne, the sister of Lord Cutts. The Serjeant seems to have been a very hot-tempered old gentleman, and it required the united efforts of the family to keep him in anything like a reasonable frame of mind towards his son-in-law (pp. 165, 166, 176). In 1704, Revett was ordered to Portugal, where he bore himself creditably, especially at the siege of Gibraltar, as was testified by the Landgrave of Hesse Darmstadt, Lord Galway, and Ambassador Methuen (pp. 180, 185). On p. 177 is an account of the siege. In November, 1705, he returned to England and had an honourable reception from the Queen, but before long he again took the field. There is an interesting letter from him, written in July, 1709, telling of the siege of Tournay and the probable future doings of the army, and hoping for peace (p. 198), but only a few weeks later, he was killed at Malplaquet, leaving his wife with four little children and a very embarrassed estate. The Queen, however, gave her a pension of 200*l.* a year. There are two petitions of hers on p. 205, the earlier of which (as was noticed only after the report was in type) is printed in Betham's baronetage. The second, to George I, is written in French, presumably in order that that King might be able to read it himself.

Of the miscellaneous Cutts papers, the most interesting are two letters from Richard Steele, who, as is well known, was at one time Lord Cutts' secretary, and was a life-long friend of the family. They are both addressed to Col. Revett. The first describes his life in a very agreeable solitude (at Wandsworth!) on the Thames, cared for by an admiring landlady, who declared that she had seen gentry, perhaps as well as another, but never the like of her lodger, for his very man was as pretty a well-spoken gentleman as ever she saw. Here Steele passed his time, regardless of all civil and military affairs, enjoying two or three excellent authors and drinking a pot with the miller of an evening, while at the other end of the house his landlady was teaching girls to read, and to make bone-lace and a curtsy. "Some of her scholars," he writes, "are a little too tall to be looked at with the indifference that I would be master of were I able, though she sends 'em in to me now and then upon a very

hard word, I suppose that I may at once see their breeding and their learning." He goes on to tell his friend of a wonderful plan which he has concocted for making the acquaintance of a lady whom he admires. But however this plan may succeed, he hopes to pay his debts by his play [i.e., *The Funeral, or Grief à la Mode*, produced in 1702], and so be very easy, for, as he concludes, "nothing can really make my heart ache but a dun, from which Lord deliver you and your most obedient servant" (p. 99). The other, written four years later, in 1705, congratulates Revett on his honourable actions in Portugal, mentions that "your friend, Mr. Addison" is now under-secretary of State, may be a serviceable correspondent, and will certainly be glad of the opportunity, and concludes by declaring, probably in joke, that Lord Cutts, "who always thinks he has too many friends, has used him like a scoundrel" (p. 183).

A little later, Henry St. John, afterwards Lord Bolingbroke, sends his cousin Cutts a friendly letter, telling him of the Duke of Shrewsbury's marriage abroad, which must always be news "as often as 'tis told," and complaining that it is insufferable "that England and Holland must every day take a greater burden upon them, while the House of Austria—entirely applied to secure the confiscations of Hungary and procure more—seems rather neuter than a party in the war against France" (p. 186).

In a letter which must belong to August, 1710, and which was evidently written in the greatest excitement, Joanna Cutts describes the confusion at court "till my Lord and Lady Marlborough are out," and gives a correct forecast of the appointments made in the following January. All this turn, she says, is owing to her cousin Robin (Robert Harley) whose diligence and intelligence have opened the Queen's eyes to her danger (p. 201.) With this may be linked an amusing letter, written apparently for publication in one of the periodicals, which must probably be put between the 9th and 27th of July, 1714, narrating the supposed bewilderment of a country village in consequence of the very conflicting views of affairs sent down by the two great men of the parish, Sir James Carbunkle and Sir William Lawless, the former declaring that the "fanatic dogs are down," and that their toleration is to be taken away, while the latter writes that popery and slavery are coming fast upon them; the Treasurer is to go out, the Prince of Wales is

about to land in Scotland, and Bolingbroke and "that bitch Masham" now rule the roast, and carry all before them (p. 204).

Other papers which may be mentioned are signed letters from King William (pp. 81, 82), Queen Mary (p. 80), the Electress of Hanover (p. 106) and the Elector (p. 188) afterwards George I; a curious letter from one Nicholas Budiani, from which it appears that Lord Cutts had rescued him from slavery and had him educated (p. 169); and a letter from Col. Hamilton, written when serving under Lord Peterborough, who, as the Colonel says, "is teeming with vast projects," but will hardly be able to carry them out at a time of year when all other troops in the country are seeking some cool retreat (p. 181).

On p. 212, we enter upon the last series of papers in the collection, and as the Russell family relationships are rather confusing, it may be well briefly to mention a few points.\* John Russell, the third son of Sir John and of Frances Cromwell, had gone out to India, and was made Governor of Fort William. In course of time he returned to England (his place as Governor being taken by his nephew Henry Frankland, second son of Sir Thomas Frankland and Elizabeth Russell) and married, as his second wife, the widow of Col. Edmund Revett. By his first wife, he had five children, Charles, William, Fanny, Mary and Elizabeth. Mrs. Revett had three children: John, who went into the army, but soon left it and settled at Chequers; James (always called Jemmy in these letters), and Mary Joanna, who married John Russell's son Charles. This is the Col. Charles Russell, lieut.-colonel in the 1st regiment and afterwards in the Coldstream regiment of Guards, whose letters form the third and largest group in this collection. At a later date, John Revett married Fanny Russell, but throughout these letters, she holds the place of woman of the bedchamber to Princess Amelia, and speaks of her future husband as "my brother Revett." The coming event casts one small shadow before, for in 1747 Col. Charles Russell writes that he is persuaded 'twas Revett's fault if further consequences did not ensue, "and that 'tis now full time to be over with both parties" (p. 380). John Russell's other two daughters were married respectively to Mr. Holmes of Calcutta, and Mr. Greenhill. Mrs. Holmes died

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\* See also the table on p. xliii.

young, and the widower married Lady Russell, relict of Sir Francis, who is first mentioned in Governor Henry Frankland's letter on p. 212, where he says that Frank is well and happy in a good wife. He succeeded his father, Sir William, in the baronetcy, became administrator of Cozzimbuzar for the East India Company, got into money difficulties, and died, leaving one little boy—usually spoken of in these letters as Billy or Sir Billy—to whom Col. Charles Russell was extremely kind. He was made page to the Princess Amelia, and afterwards to the Duke of Cumberland, with whom he went to Holland at the beginning of 1748 (pp. 404, 406). He won golden opinions there (p. 410) but died young, and was succeeded in the baronetcy by Col. Russell's son, John. Mr. Greenhill, husband of Governor Russell's youngest daughter, Elizabeth, also lost his wife early. He had a son, John Russell Greenhill, who after doing well at Eton and Oxford, took orders, and upon whom, on the death of his cousin John, the baronetcy devolved.

Col. Charles Russell had two children, the son above mentioned, and a daughter, the Johnny and Molly of these letters. He mentions them perpetually, pictures them at Chequers amongst the strawberry beds or skipping about on the grass, excuses little Molly's love of finery, and was distinctly annoyed when a brother officer jokingly declared that Johnny was a very ugly boy.

Between himself and his wife there seems to have been unbounded attachment and sympathy. He is never tired of praising her sense and kindness and good management, and every letter contains re-iterated expressions of his affection, though for the most part these have been omitted in the following pages. Indeed the letters are so long (seldom less than five, and often seven or eight quarto pages), that only extracts or abstracts have, except in rare cases, been given. Hardly any of Mrs. Russell's letters are in the collection, although it is evident that she wrote to him as regularly as he did to her. Perhaps she destroyed them herself (for those from his sister Fanny are here), but his she evidently preserved with loving care. The sheets are mostly stitched closely together, and almost every letter is endorsed in her hand. They thus present an admirable series for the campaigns of 1742-1748, though unfortunately the letters for 1745—the year of Fontenoy—are missing. As a picture of the life of the army from day to day, the letters are

most valuable. No doubt they show the bright side of the shield. Like will to like, and Col. Russell, himself holding the highest possible ideas of honour and duty, would naturally choose his friends from men of the same stamp, but it is pleasant to look at this little group of old Etonians and English Guardsmen, in the middle of the 18th century, with their enthusiasm for their work, their simple life, and their diligent care of their men.

Col. Russell's letters begin in the summer of 1742, upon his landing in Holland, and give detailed accounts of the life of himself and his brother officers on board their "billinders" and at Ghent. In November there was a grand review, when Lord Stair praised highly "the great beauty of all his Majesty's forces, both horse and foot" (p. 218), and at this time there was some talk of a winter campaign, to which, however, the General was strongly averse, knowing that it would be the destruction of the greatest part of the men, and especially of the cavalry, a loss which could not without immense expense be repaired (p. 219). The officers found Ghent extremely dull, there being no public place of any sort except the play-house, and that of no use except as a coffee-house, "for if one understood the language never so well, not one word could one hear distinctly enough to be able to understand what was said."

The residents, from motives of economy, hardly entertained at all, their one ambition being to drive a coach and pair and have a large house (p. 221). However, Russell and his friends formed a small mess and lived very harmoniously. Col. Russell visited his company every day, and in the evening entertained himself by writing to his wife or reading "Shakespeare or some other book."

Before long the winter's march into Germany was known to be abandoned, leave was freely granted, and Russell, Berkeley and Revett hurried off to England amongst the rest.

After ten happy weeks, Russell and Berkeley returned to Flanders (Revett remaining behind, and soon afterwards resigning his commission) and again took boat to Ghent, making their way thence to Aix-la-Chapelle, where Lord Stair had his headquarters. The roads in that part of the country were very bad. "Lord Stair was overturned before he got to Maestricht, and his coach broken, but nobody was the least hurt," and one of the younger officers had his

baggage cart so smashed that it cost him 4*l.* to have it repaired, whereupon he observed that he now began to be sensible of the pleasures of his profession. At Aix they found the people extremely civil, although at first they were "frightened out of their senses, and almost all ready to desert their houses, expecting to be used as they were by the French last year, who took all their forage and provisions and paid nothing for them." But as soon as they saw the English money, and the good behaviour of the troops, there was nothing they would not do to oblige their visitors. From the next stopping place, Dueren, Russell wrote that they found the food a difficulty, the meat being very poor and garden stuff not to be had in consequence of a plague of mice, who had come in such numbers that they ate up even the roots of the herbage for twelve or fifteen miles round, and left the banks and hillocks full of the holes where they had burrowed like rabbits. And to add to this misfortune, the French had been quartered there for nine months. However, mice and French having alike vanished, matters were improving, and shortly afterwards Lord Robert Manners joined his friends, bringing excellent supplies for both larder and cellar. And at any rate, the place had one advantage, being the first, Russell says, that he had been in where an officer could live upon his pay. Lord Robert also brought his greyhounds, and got some good coursing, which was not only an amusement for himself and friends, but gave much delight to their men when on the march (pp. 226-229). The young fellow seems to have been a great favourite with Russell, who wrote that he behaved extremely well, without having the least "quality airs" about him, and that he had trained him to be as useful in providing and catering as he could wish. As he never wrote letters, he trusted to Colonel Russell's mention of him for keeping his mother informed of his well-being, and Lady Rutland was evidently very grateful to the Russells for supplying her lazy son's deficiencies (pp. 230, 247, 272, 308).

Russell's own impression at this time was that there would be no fighting, but that they would be cantoned in villages near Coblenz, "have a pleasant summer, see a little more of the world, and then return home" (p. 227). At their next halting place, Norvenich, the officers took possession of a magnificent chateau, surrounded by a moat full of fish (which they could none of them manage to catch), and with a very spacious kitchen, in

which Brigadier Frampton's cook and Russell's drum "performed nobly." Here they lived very cheerfully, riding out coursing every morning, walking in an evening "through pretty woods and gently rising hills" to pay their neighbours' quarters a visit, "then home to whist, a slight supper, and so early to bed" (p. 229). Wherever he was, Col. Russell took care to have his company so near to him that he could see them every day. Three days they halted at this delightful spot. Then, a good deal troubled by snow, but in excellent health, the Guards and their officers marched by Legenich and Rheinbach to Andernach and crossed the Rhine to Neuwied. Of the Rhine and its scenery Col. Russell wrote, "I think I never saw so romantic and so fine a prospect; a noble river but rather too rapid a stream" (this objection is repeated more than once later on); "a rich valley on the side we were of, with high hills near it planted with vineyards from the bottom to the top; on the other side of the river vast high mountains, at the bottom of which were villages and towns well built, and so thick that they were in less than half a mile of each other for several leagues together" (p. 231). So far, the weather had been bad, "more like December than April," but now it changed, and "midsummer days" succeeded. After a halt at Horen, the troops ascended the valley of the Lahn to Limburg, and thence crossed the wooded hills of the Taunus—probably by what is now called the Limburger Chaussée—to Eschborn, a little village on the plain below Cronberg, and about an hour's walk from Frankfurt on the Main. A few days later, Russell visited the city, then in the turmoil of the last day of its great fair. The gallant Colonel evidently preferred new houses to old. He has no word for the quaint beauty of the Römerberg or the ancient glories of the Rittersaal, but says that he has not seen anything so like London since he left England, "fine large streets and tolerably built." The grenadiers were quartered within half a mile of the town, "in a place called the Drury Lane of Frankfurt," amid scenes of debauchery such as Russell declared he had never before heard of. The young people were quite wild and mad with the place, but the more grave and thoughtful declared that they never heard of more abandoned wickedness. "How this may unfit our men for martial service," continues Russell, "if any should be, one can easily guess" (p. 235).



On May 6, the Guards marched to Hoechst, where Russell, Berkeley and Manners formed a mess with Lord Ancram and Capt. Waldegrave. Russell complained of the want of shade at Hoechst, and the changeable weather brought a great deal of sickness. He himself had an attack of fever (in which Berkeley nursed him "like a real old friend") but he made very little of it and wrote much more in detail of the illness of his "poor Nat." A very noticeable trait in Col. Russell's character is his consideration and affection for his servants and non-commissioned officers, and they evidently repaid him with devoted loyalty and service. After throwing a bridge of boats across the river, the British foot crossed and encamped on the other side, followed by the Hanoverians, who dressed all their tents and pickets with green boughs, making their camp look so much like a series of arbours that it was nick-named Vauxhall. The Guards hoped to move again so soon that they did not trouble to follow this good example, but they took care that their horses had shade enough (p. 240).

On June 2, Col. Russell sent an account of the alarm of a French attack which is mentioned in most narratives of this campaign, but of which he gives details not found elsewhere. The curious feature of it was that while Lord Stair was told that the French had orders to attack, and so made ready to give them a warm reception, the French on their part, hearing that the allied army had crossed the river, expected to be attacked, and thus each army stood waiting for the other, with about ten miles between them. The next day Lord Stair ordered his army back across the Main. The French Hussars came down and picked up a few stragglers, but the Duc de Noailles was so polite as to send them back "with money in their pockets" (pp. 242-244).

After this events moved quickly. The allied forces advanced to Aschaffenburg, the King joined the army, and the battle of Dettingen was fought. Lord Stanhope speaks of Stair as committing blunder after blunder, and complains that "he suddenly altered his intentions, recalled the detachments which he had sent across the Main, and advanced up the course of that river on the right bank" to Aschaffenburg, where the King arrived to find things in a very critical position. But Mr. Fortescue points out that Stair's own judgment was entirely overborne by the King, whose frantic letters from Hanover ordering him not to cross to the south bank of the river (which arrived too late) were followed by

positive orders to recross and move on the north bank to Aschaffenburg. (*History of the British Army. Vol. ii. p. 9.*) The details of these orders do not appear to have been known to the officers, but it is easy to see from Russell's letters that the movements of the army depended on the King.

The letters in this collection relating to Dettingen form an important addition to the known accounts of the battle. Russell's letter of June 18 was evidently written with a sore heart. "As a soldier and a man of honour," he says, "I must tell you the brigade of Guards had the misfortune not to be in the field of battle on Thursday last." He goes on to tell how, the Duke of Marlborough being summoned away, the Guards were left under the care of the Hanoverian General, Baron Ilton, who, to preserve them from the fire of a French battery, wheeled them to the top of a hill and there kept them "only to be spectators of what and where" they ought to have been principals. For the accounts of the battle, see pp. 251-263. As regards the vexed question of the behaviour of the English horse, it will be seen that Col. Russell's views were very decided. He speaks in the strongest possible terms of the ill-conduct of most of the horse—the men, not the officers—especially the Blues and "late Pembroke's" regiment, *i.e.* the King's Regiment of Dragoon Guards, commanded by Col. Honeywood (pp. 255, 257, 261, 266), while he commends in equally strong terms the splendid behaviour of the foot (pp. 251, 253, 267, 278). He acknowledges however that the Horse Guards and Grenadiers stood their ground; and that "late Honeywood's" (the 3rd) Dragoons, had great share in the action, "there not being above one squadron left out of three." The 3rd Dragoons, it will be remembered, were on the extreme left, and had to bear the brunt of the first attack. His summing up of the whole matter is that the English infantry behaved like heroes, that the Austrians and a Hanoverian battery also did well; that there was hardly any platoon firing (this is opposed to Marshal de Noailles' account), but that "the whole three ranks made a running fire of their own accord," with great judgment and skill, making almost every ball "take place"; that the French fired in the same manner, without waiting for word of command; that the rear of the army was not there, and that great numbers of the troops who were there did not engage at all, "especially scarce any of our horse and but

few dragoons, and excepting two or three battalions of Hanoverians, none of their troops," wherefore he leaves his correspondent to judge "whether our honest John Trots did not do the business" (pp. 278, 279). He criticizes severely the conduct of the chief commanders, who rode about bravely and exposed themselves, but gave no sort of orders to the commanding officers, and says it is difficult to give a good description of the battle, the whole being such a confused affair. Even so, if only the Guards had been there, or the horse had rallied for the pursuit, he believed scarce any of the French would have escaped (p. 260). "The whole cry was, where were the Guards; what shall we do without 'em, why are they not sent for?" At last they came, but only to find the battle over. The Duke of Marlborough, Russell said, would not in haste forgive the Hanoverian General, but the relatives of the Guardsmen at home took a different view, and "approved mightily of the King making General Ilton confectioner to the Foot Guards." Horace Walpole mentions this nickname as given to Ilton "because he preserved them." The King tried to console the disappointed warriors by promising them that "next time they should have their belly-full" (pp. 258, 259).

The accounts of the King's behaviour at the battle fully bear out other descriptions of his valiant carriage—and absence of generalship. "His Majesty was in the field of battle the whole time and behaved very gallantly, went himself and placed a battery of Hanoverian cannon which was of utmost service and did great execution. The Duke D'Arenberg rode up to him and begged of him not to expose his person in the manner that he did; that he was liable to be surrounded by the enemy and taken prisoner. He answered, 'What do you think I came here for? To be a poltroon?'" (p. 260).

The Duke of Cumberland is described as charging with General Clayton "in the first line in the warmest part of the action, riding about animating the men with great bravery and resolution" (p. 258). The scene after the battle must have been rather amusing. "I wish," writes Russell, "that I could remember to tell you all the good speeches of our noble captain upon this late occasion. 'William, I'm glad you behaved so well; you acted like my son; if you do well, I shall not be sorry for your wound.'" Then he turned to Lord Delawarr, asked about the letters received from England, and declared that he

believed he should now be almost as popular as Admiral Vernon (p. 263). Amongst other incidents of the battle, Russell tells of the gallant conduct of young Cornet Hoby, who, "though he was cut to pieces, saved his standard, it being found wrapped up within side of his coat," and of young Horsey, whose standard was forced from him, but who bravely recovered it by riding up and shooting the man who took it (p. 258); of Ned Draper, who, as he lay dying from a cannon shot in his back, "would have his joke by saying if he lived to go to England he never would own but that the ball went the reverse way" (p. 253); of poor Merriden, who seemed to foretell what was to happen to him, and who, after escaping all the cannonading and the first charge, was taken off by a musket shot in his head, "which entered just at the little opening of the skull cap which was made but very lately, according to a new whim of Lord Pembroke's" (p. 264). And then he bitterly speaks of the sequel of the battle. "To our great shame be it spoken, we left the field of battle the next day, and the village where our sick and wounded lay, without taking proper care to bring 'em with us . . . The French seized upon 'em as prisoners of war, and lucky for 'em, took care of 'em, which was more than we had done." His picture of Lord Carteret is amusing, sitting in his coach in a wood in the rear of the battle, in a state of considerable alarm both as to the result of the conflict and his own safety (pp. 252, 266). Afterwards "our able and mighty minister" is described as being fully employed, and spending "no less than sixteen hours out of the twenty-four busy with pen, ink and paper" upon schemes of pacification (p. 258). Russell repeatedly emphasizes the desire of the "warlike foreign secretary," as the Opposition called him, for peace, and as he was supposed to be their "present general,"<sup>2</sup> it was believed that "the game," for the time being, at any rate, was at an end. To this desire for peace, Russell ascribed the refusal to allow Lord Stair to follow up the victory, he himself entirely agreeing with that General's declaration that he could have cut off the enemy with very small loss (pp. 262, 263). The privations of the army after

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<sup>2</sup>" By the patriots' vagary, he was made Secretary,

By himself, he's Prime Minister made ;

And now, to crown all, he is made General,

Though he ne'er was brought up to the trade."

*Printed in Wright's Caricature History of the Georges.*

the battle were very great, "lying three nights together upon the ground, two of which were extremely wet, and no straw," the officers having only bread and brandy, while the men "absolutely for near forty-eight hours had nothing but gin to subsist upon" (p. 265).

In the first excitement, the King had acknowledged that the victory was due to the English, but he soon began to show his old partiality, not only for the interests of Hanover, but for the persons of his German subjects. "It is a great misfortune," wrote Russell, "that our Captain shows such partiality to his own people, which our men of spirit can never bear. We are forced to submit, but the independents [*i.e.*, volunteers] by no means will" (p. 259). Lord Harcourt resigned because his Majesty snubbed him before company for not asking more Hanoverians to dine at his table, and others followed his example. "In short, so impolitic a head was scarce ever known, and his treatment of the people of the island almost unsupportable, scarce lending an ear to any other advice or counsel but his own natives; and as for our troops, he seems to hold us in great contempt. 'Tis true we are brave, he says, but he would give up a little of that for us to have the discipline of his, when, at the same time, 'tis a known fact that their cavalry refused to march, and though they had twenty squadrons in the field of battle, not one of them once charged" (p. 262).

It will be remembered that the behaviour of the King at this time formed the subject of a declaration by Pitt, and a protest from the House of Lords. But as regards one point in the protest, viz: that "the Hanoverian Guards had for some days done duty upon his Majesty at Aschaffenberg" which the Peers looked upon "as the highest dishonour to his Majesty and the nation," it would appear that it was hardly so regarded in the army. Colonel Russell, sensitive enough on the matter (as appears from the above quotations), writes upon the King's arrival, "We don't do duty upon him; his baggage will not be up this fortnight, so don't look upon himself as King here"; and his sister Fanny alludes to the same thing; "I think that you wrote that the Guards were not to do duty upon the King until his baggage came up, so, as I take it, he was meanwhile there as Elector of Hanover, not as King, and so to be attended by his Hanover people" (p. 271).

While the "Papa" was offending the troops by being "so very national," his son had been annoying them in another way, showing himself so "shockingly military" and so addicted to "the farce of Hyde Park discipline," that his officers felt it quite a relief for him to be "tied by the leg" for awhile (p. 265). In fact, the allusions to the Duke throughout the letters by no means bear out the first half of Col. Hamilton's statement in the *History of the Grenadier Guards*, that he was popular both with officers and men.

As regards the making of knights after the battle, Russell writes, "We were mighty hot one while to have most of our general officers made knights bannerets, a week after the action, but the ancient custom used to be only in the field of battle, and that after some particular remarkable action. Since that, they were to be made Knights of the Bath," but Huske, who had behaved very gallantly, refused it, and it was better for the rest, Russell thought, that the matter dropped (p. 267). It is curious that in this connexion, he makes no allusion to the knighting of Campbell and Ligonier upon the field.

After this, there were councils of war at Hanau and consultations at Frankfurt. Prince Charles and Kevenhuller came over to see the King, but it was not believed that they would be able to draw Lord Carteret on to protract the war (p. 267). On p. 273, Russell answers a query of the Princess Amelia, as to how "her Papa" spent his time.

At the end of July the troops crossed the Rhine at Biebrich and turned up the left bank to Worms, where they waited for the arrival of their Dutch allies. But Russell did not believe there would be any fighting, as the French had evacuated the Empire, and he imagined that the Dutch had no desire to enter France and begin a French war (p. 282). The march had been much against the will of "the minister" and it was not supposed that he would agree to any further advance. Nor was it thought that the French would permit Prince Charles to pass the Rhine, as if he did, his Croats and Pandours would "play the devil" wherever they went, and even the people of Paris were in consternation at the thought (p. 283). This prediction was fulfilled, for when, a week later, the joyful report was buzzed about that the Prince was across the river, it was quickly followed by the news that he had been rebuffed with great loss and had entirely failed in his attempt (p. 268).

On August 26, Russell announces Lord Stair's resignation. His account of the matter is that for some time Lord Stair had thought himself extremely ill-used, "greatly neglected, seldom consulted, and when so, his schemes rejected and dis-approved of." His memorial on the subject [printed in J. Murray Graham's *Annals of the Earls of Stair*], was said to be so prettily worded and so well-expressed as to be well worth perusal. "A general concernment," Russell continues, "seemed to appear in the face of most people yesterday at Court upon this occasion. I will venture to say he is a man of great honour, strictly honest and a noble spirit, a fine capacity which nobody can question; but how far able as a general I won't take upon me to say, yet believe no one will succeed him here but will come far short of him" (p. 284). After his departure, Sir Philip Honeywood was commander under the King, but the "settling, stating and signing" all accounts relating to the army was done by a triumverate, consisting of Honeywood, Lord Dunmore and Sir James Campbell (p. 287). Opinion in England still leaned to the idea of a French war, but in the army it was believed that all the contesting powers would be glad to make up matters except the Queen of Hungary, and that she would be obliged to submit. The Austrian commanders stuck at nothing to persuade the King to attack the French lines, but as it could be of no advantage to him, it was not thought that he would consent (pp. 285, 288, 289). In the middle of September the army moved on to Spires in beautiful weather, and the King was very happy, "marching at the head of one of the columns of our army each day, and halting and taking a repast of cold provisions, with which his mules are constantly laden, and everybody about him partaking" (p. 290). From Spires, Berkeley and Russell made an excursion to Heidelberg. With his usual preference for things modern, Russell entirely ignores the ancient castle, and speaks only of the palace built by the Elector Frederick for his English wife, describing it as "some of the Ionick, and some in the Corinthian style." He duly praises the delightful garden, the shady walk under the stately sycamores, and the terrace with its wide-spread prospect, and does not omit to give the dimensions and capacity of the great tun (p. 293).

On the last day of September the army turned homewards, marching all together in four columns, which made the progress

very slow (p. 293). At Mainz they passed the Rhine to Biebrich, and crossed the hills, not by their former road, but behind Wiesbaden, going by way of Schwalbach, and striking the Lahn near Nassau. The weather was bad, but for the latter part of the journey, cantooning took the place of encamping, to the relief of the officers, "the worst house or barn in any village at this time of the year being better than a tent, and what may save us a great many men." From this point they retraced the road by which they had come, and reached Brussels early in November, whence Russell wrote joyfully to his "dearest life, love, soul and only joy" that he had got leave from Sir Philip Honeywood, and was about to start for home (p. 303).<sup>o</sup>

The letters of 1744 open with an account of the inauguration of Prince Charles at Ghent as Governor of the Austrian Netherlands, after which the Prince (and his Archduchess) returned to Brussels to consult about the operations of the campaign, previous to his taking command of the army on the Rhine (p. 305-307).

There was much heart-burning amongst the officers at this time concerning forage-money, the Guards especially considering themselves badly used, "for instead of 40*l.* each, which we as lieutenant-colonels (*i.e.*, captains of companies) received before, we are now to have but 10*l.*, that is, instead of eight rations a day, which is for eight horses, we are to have but two, which, if not redressed, will ruin half the officers of the army" (p. 307). All through this summer, the army was encamped in various parts of Flanders, gradually pushing towards the French frontiers. The plan for the opening of the campaign was for the army to encamp between Mons and Aeth (p. 367), thus facing the enemy's garrisons in French Flanders; and the troops marched from Ghent to the neighbourhood of Brussels, meaning to turn south. But the French began the campaign by pushing up north, and a report being spread that they were approaching, if not actually in possession of Ghent, the army was hurried back to Alost, only to find that the enemy, after plundering Courtrai, had turned in the direction of Mons (p. 311). As however they were

<sup>o</sup> There are a few good letters of Lord George Sackville's upon the latter part of this and the early part of the next campaign in the Hist. MSS. Commissioners, Report on Mrs. Stopford Sackville's MSS.



evidently threatening the western part, it was decided to move the army in that direction, and the troops took up a strong position between Ghent and Oudenarde, with the Little Scheldt on their right flank and the Swalme on their front.

By this time they had been reinforced by some Dutch and Austrians, but "not a fourth part of what they ought to supply," the Austrians numbering only some two thousand. Having drawn the English in as principals, Russell complained, they now left them in the lurch, and what hussars they should have were kept by Count D'Aremberg to protect his own estate (p. 314). At the beginning of June, the French were in possession of Menin and Ypres (both of which, Russell declared, were lost by the lethargy of the Dutch) and were threatening Bruges and Ghent, "the alert Count Saxe" having advanced towards Deinse and reconnoitring in every direction (pp. 319, 320). The allied army spread itself out along the Little Scheldt, almost from Ghent to Oudenarde, and sent a detachment to Tournay to strengthen the garrison there. Nothing more could be done without the active co-operation of the Dutch, and so far were they from being moved by the capture of their border towns, that their ambassador returned to Lisle, and took a house there "for some time" (p. 322). Meanwhile the officers amused themselves as best they might. They were pleasantly encamped amongst plantations and avenues of trees, which reminded Russell of Chequers, although only in imagination could he see his "two dear little lambkins skipping about on the grass." They had a weekly club and "one might think it was at Pontack's; a long table well set out and illuminated, never less than four or five and twenty officers," and the music of the regiment playing all the time. "All this," Russell wrote, "seems pleasant, and for the time it lasts is so, provided one could divest oneself of thought, and not consider what can be the consequences of such a campaign as we are likely to make, to see the French taking all the towns with so much ease, scarce meeting with the least resistance, and we not in the capacity to act, or likely to be in one" (p. 323). Towards the end of June, Prince Charles crossed the Rhine, and it was believed that he would be able to intercept and destroy Coigne's army, and to pour his Pandours and Croats over France, a prospect which filled Col. Russell with horror. The French, who till then had "thought the world their own," were

thoroughly alarmed, and detached so many troops for the Rhine that they had to give up acting on the offensive, and proceeded to throw up defences towards Lisle. Russell had a very poor opinion of the French infantry, affirming that at the siege of Ypres, the cavalry had to be dismounted and marched in the rear of the foot to prevent them running away (p. 325). "All they are good for," he wrote a little later, "is to lie in wait, fire upon us, and then run away; they dare not come up and show themselves in any open place with equal numbers" (p. 342).

Prince Charles did not succeed in his great plans, but he gained possession of the lines of Lauterburgh, and had seized those of Weissenburgh also, but the French made two forced marches, "which redounded much to their honour," and regained them (p. 326). The Dutch continued to send small detachments, but declared that—though they would assist the English if attacked—if the latter acted on the offensive, they would only stand by and see fair play; their one endeavour being to avoid declaring war against the French (p. 327). Towards the end of July, hope rose high that something would be done, as the troops crossed the Scheldt and it was supposed that they were to march towards Courtrai, from whence, if the enemy did not think fit to retire, they hoped to be allowed to "oblige 'em to it." They had now, with the Dutch, "a glorious army of seventy thousand men," and looked upon the campaign as just beginning (p. 330). Instead of turning towards Courtrai, however, they marched south, along the left bank of the Little Scheldt, to Elseghe, advanced towards Tournay, and finally encamped in the enemy's country, within a league and a half of Lisle; the headquarters being at Chateau D'Anstain. This movement, as we know from the *State Papers*, was suggested by Lord Stair. Count Saxe kept quiet at Courtrai and made no attempt to disturb them on their march. The garrison at Lisle was reported to be very weak, and might, it was at first hoped, be taken when the heavy cannon came up, but this was rendered impossible by the opposition of the Dutch, who still declared that they were acting only as the allies of the Queen of Hungary, and who moreover shrank from the expense of a siege. In a letter written on August 10, Col. Russell explains the inaction which was causing so great dissatisfaction in England. "In short," he says, in words as true at the present day as they were then, "an allied army like ours, with so many different commanders,

each pulling their several ways and influenced by their separate interest, can never undertake what an army should do that has but one head, are under one interest, and understand the same language " (p. 334).

Throughout the march, the officers did their best, both for their own men and the country people, but the former had to be considered first, and Russell was often much troubled by the distress entailed. "I could not help thinking it shocking," he writes in May, "to destroy such a vast quantity of fine corn, which we not only was obliged to march over, but also to pitch all our tents in the midst of it. The poor larks I also pitied much, whose young fell a sacrifice to us, and whose tuneful pipes remind us every morning of what they have so lately suffered." Again and again he returns to the subject. "The country all about us is full of corn," he says in July, "and though we are as careful as possible to destroy only that part of it wherever we lie encamped, yet it grieves one to see so much fine wheat and rye, so near being housed, made such havoc of " (p. 330); and again, "It is sad to see the fine groves and avenues daily made a sacrifice to our common use, and yet we do nothing but what necessity requires." By this time they were in French Flanders, where at first the Dutch and Hanoverians "marauded shockingly," and the English, following their example, "made havoc enough," but severe orders to the provost to hang up all offenders soon put a stop to the evil. It was quite new to Col. Russell to be in an enemy's country, "and very shocking to see the poor people so distressed." He did what he could to protect them, and the grateful villagers brought him eggs and fruit as a token of their gratitude, while he took care of his men with good beer, bread and butter, "all of which were paid for " (p. 336, *see also* pp. 337, 339).

Marshal Wade was now in command, but General Ligonier was general of the foot, and of him Russell spoke in the highest terms, declaring that he knew no one more beloved and more deserving of it. The Marshal also seemed "assiduous to act for the general good " (pp. 310, 314).

In August the news came of the King of Prussia's renewed hostilities against the Empire, and in consequence of his march with a large force towards Bohemia, Prince Charles of Lorraine was obliged to recross the Rhine (p. 336). The views of the English court are expressed in a letter from Fanny Russell to her

brother : "Everybody is very sorry that poor Prince Charles was obliged to cross the Rhine, but he made the finest retreat that ever was known. What a devil the King of Prussia is; 'tis he that has made poor Prince Charles do this to save his army" (p. 338).

At the end of August, Lord Carteret sent orders to Marshal Wade to march further into France and lay siege to three or four towns, or else to march directly towards Paris. "These Don Quixote schemes" vexed the General much, and were absolutely rejected by his brother marshals. The French at this time were proving very troublesome to the foragers, parties of them lurking in the woods and ditches, ready to snap up the men and carry them off prisoners to Lisle. They were always sent back again, but that meant expense to Government (pp. 339, 340). The allied army now began their march back to their winter quarters. Near Tournay, a report that Saxe was at hand caused a resolution to "march to attack the enemy," which the troops obeyed with the utmost joy and assurance of success; but they shortly heard that the French had "all fled," so there was nothing to be done. This was the army's view of the matter, but Mr. Lecky says that they marched to attack Count Saxe behind Pont Espieres two days after he had left the place.

Col. Russell's letters to his wife in 1745 are wanting, and the only notice of the battle of Fontenoy is in a letter from his brother-in-law, John Revett, congratulating him on his happy escape from "the damnable fire of the French" and on the honour he had gained by his "conduct and bravery on that occasion" (p. 346).

In 1746, there are several letters written at Plymouth, where troops had gathered in readiness to support Admiral Lestock's expedition to L'Orient. There were so many delays that Russell feared, by the time they reached the Admiral, there would be neither laurels nor plunder left, but hoped the first comers would not "be quite so unreasonable" (pp. 349, 352). On the 10th of October, they sailed (p. 354) but never landed, and were back again at Plymouth within ten days.

The letters of 1747 begin with the embarkation for and arrival at Flushing (p. 357), where the English forces and English fleet were thankfully received. Russell believed that if they had

not arrived there, "the honest magistrates of this town and the States of this province had certainly delivered up and sold it all to the French," and that if these defenders were to leave it, it would soon be in the hands of the enemy, who had now got as near as the island of Catsand, only four miles away (pp. 358,361). Their grand army then lay between Mechlin and Louvain, the Duke of Cumberland being at Liere and behind the river Nete.

Report ran that there were great divisions in the French councils, Marshal Saxe's favour with the King bringing "the envy of all the princes of the blood and great men upon him, he treating them at the same time with the greatest contempt imaginable" (p. 368). On June 20, Cumberland was defeated at Laffick, near Maestricht. Accounts of the battle will be found on pp. 369-371. Sir John Ligonier was taken prisoner, and courteously entertained by Saxe, who "owned to having lost eight thousand infantry, one thousand horse, and one thousand officers." The real figures were supposed to be higher still, wherefore the French were "not at all uppish," nor the English at all dispirited.

The Duke of Cumberland did wonders, was in the middle of a French squadron and was only saved from being taken prisoner by the strength of his own arm. Marshal Saxe was "as near being taken by the Scotch Greys"; as he said himself, "one of them had his *pat* (*sic*) on his shoulder and he was forced to run for it" (p. 372). Colonel Russell often regrets in his letters that he was not "more expert" in speaking French. He certainly was not very expert in spelling it!

The letters after this are chiefly concerned with the French siege of Bergen-op-Zoom. Russell believed—seeing that Prince Hilbourghausen had fifteen thousand men in the lines contiguous to it; that there were five thousand men in the garrison who could be re-inforced from these lines; and that the town was open to the water from the East and so could be supplied "with every one thing wanting"—that if the Governor and those under him did their duty, there would be no fear of the enemy. But the Dutch had sent an old man of eighty-five to command the garrison, and judging by his past actions and character, it was feared that things would not go well (p. 374). Meanwhile the Guards remained at Flushing, and the Duke's army was still encamped beyond Maestricht. The French got

their trenches close up to the town ; their engineers were very good, and those of the allies very bad, and there was much reason to doubt the disposition of the Dutch. The defences, however, were strong, fresh troops were sent in, and old General Cronstrom promised to defend it to the last, " but how far a man's senses will hold out at eighty-five," it was impossible to say (p. 377). As a matter of fact they held out nine weeks.

Then the French stormed the place, taking it so by surprise that they were in the town before the garrison was under arms. " All who could make their escape took to their heels, those who could not made the best defence they could." When the slaughter and confusion were over, the " Scots Hollanders " and one or two other regiments had very few either men or officers left. The engineer who escaped declared that the works had all along defended themselves, and that " before the town was stormed the old general was fled and left the garrison asleep " (p. 387). The French next occupied themselves with reducing various small forts upon the Scheldt, after which it was believed that it would " be time to go into winter quarters on all sides."

At this time the health of the English troops in the island of Walcheren was suffering terribly. On Aug. 5 Russell wrote, " Notwithstanding all our care of our men, of which all our officers are concerned about, and pique themselves that nothing on their part shall be wanting, yet we daily fall sick in such numbers that we have a hundred and eighty men now down, chiefly with agues and fevers, in our battalion, and yet the sickly season is not yet begun." And a month later, " These low countries and ditches can't be the scene of action long, for after all this dry weather, we must expect rain, when it does come, with a witness. And we need it much to wash not only the town but the whole island, filling the dykes and ditches with wholesome water instead of putrified, nauseous, stinking puddles, which infect the very air, and greatly increase the country's distemper " (p. 385). A good physician was sent from London, who declared that unless the men were removed they would be utterly unfit for the next campaign, and in October they were ordered to Bois-le-duc, by which time there were only fifty-five men, four sergeants and two drums in the battalion of Guards who had not been ill. " To describe to you the melancholy objects I saw yesterday when our poor souls were embarking,"

wrote Russell, "would give you the spleen, for such a sight I never saw before. It was far worse than a field of battle. However, it is a great comfort that our sick are rather better than worse to-day, and I hope we may not lose many upon the voyage" (p. 391).

At Bois-le-duc, the troops found a "well-regulated hospital under the direction of a proper man," but though their quarters were better, the air and situation were not, the whole country being under water. The result was that the men were as sickly as ever, and Russell wrote that the French, having driven them out of the healthy part of the Low Countries, might now take their ease, and leave the climate to do the rest (p. 396). In October, the Guards were moved to Breda, taking as many of their sick as they could, and leaving the rest to be fetched by the waggons on a second journey; but no sooner had they marched out than "that old villain, old Cronstrom," now Governor of Bois-le-duc, gave orders that all the sick should be turned out into the street, "and if they did not immediately comply, he would send to the main guard, and give orders for their being pulled out by their head and shoulders." Breda, it was hoped, would be more healthy, but it did not prove so, for in November Russell wrote: "Our men, I'm sorry to say, are much worse than better. What effect the cold weather may have I can't tell; at present it only makes 'em relapse, and gives the distemper to those who had escaped it before; some of those that one hoped might recover fall at present into fluxes."

When the army was settled in winter-quarters, Russell was anxious to get leave to go home for awhile, and as usual begged for the interest of his sister's mistress, the Princess Amelia, in the matter. The Duke of Cumberland spoke to him about it, but in a teasing manner, and Russell, knowing that "his Royal Highness was what they call, and has been for some time at the headquarters called, cherry-bobbing, was very short in his answers," and refused to be "drawn" (p. 398). However, in December, he was appointed first major to his regiment, and then, to his great joy, his "station and command" were at home (pp. 398, 408). After this, there are only a few scattered letters. One, on p. 412, alludes to his service as colonel of the regiment stationed in Minorca, whence he was invalided home in the spring

of 1754, but although better for awhile, his recovery was only temporary, and he died in the following December.

Col. Russell's letters contain many notices of Col. Braddock, by the light of which the failure of his subsequent proceedings in America is in no way surprising. He appears to have been both ill-tempered and indolent; very difficult to get on with, and remarkably fond of allowing other people to do his work (pp. 350, 364, 388). At the same time, Russell praises his excellent reports to head-quarters and his "refined" knowledge of the French language. There are also several notices of Lady Vane (pp. 215, 223, 224, 388), the "Lady of Quality" whose memoirs are given in *Peregrine Pickle*; and in Fanny Russell's letters to her brother are many details concerning the Princesses and their doings, and a good deal of the society gossip of the day.

The army names have been identified, as far as possible, by means of the War Office MS. Army Lists, now at the Public Record Office. All proper names are printed as spelt by the writers.

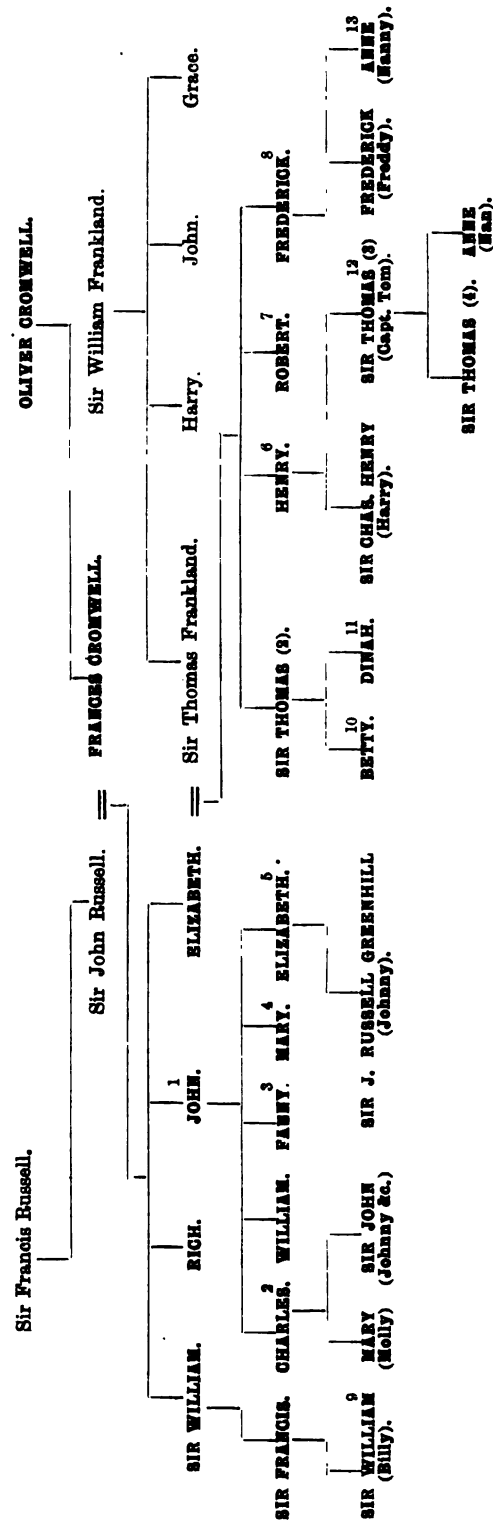
It may not be amiss to remind the reader that reproductions of many of the fine Cromwell portraits contained in the Chequers Court collection are to be found in Dr. S. R. Gardiner's "Oliver Cromwell."

The Report on these papers and this Introduction have been prepared by Mrs. S. C. Lomas.



A table of the members of the Russell and Frankland families mentioned in this volume.

The descendants of Oliver Cromwell are printed in black type.



1. Governor of Fort William, Bengal. Married Col. Edmund Revett's widow (Joanna, niece of Lord Cutts) as his second wife.
2. Went-Combs had two sons, Edward and John. Edward married Col. Revett's daughter, Mary Joanna.
3. Went-Combs had two daughters, Maria and Mary. Maria married Col. Revett's eldest son, John.
4. Married Mr. Holmes of Calcutta.
5. Married Mr. Sam. Greenhill.
6. Governor of Fort William in succession to his uncle, John Russell.
7. Murdered at Jiddah, in 1797.
8. Sir Thomas Frankland had three other sons, William, John, and Richard, and two daughters, Mary and Frances (m. respectively to Thomas Worsley and Roger Talbot, Esqs., both of Yorkshire).
9. Died young.
10. Married John Morley Trevor.
11. Married Lord Lichfield.
12. Admiral, in 1756.
13. Married Lord Pelham.



THE MANUSCRIPTS OF  
MRS. FRANKLAND-RUSSELL-ASTLEY,  
OF CHEQUERS COURT, BUCKS.

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SIR JOHN CROKE.

1595-1607.—Manuscript note-book of John—afterwards Sir John—Croke, M.P., Recorder of London, and, in 1601, Speaker of the House of Commons, giving the substance of twenty-nine speeches delivered by him to Queen Elizabeth and King James, in Parliament and in the Exchequer, &c.; also a speech of King James', summaries of three by Lord Keeper Egerton, and copies of various documents. A folio book, covered in parchment, containing thirty-nine written and many blank pages; the writing being extremely small and much contracted.

The following is an abstract of its contents, the curious headings being given verbatim.

1595, August 15.—“L' effect de mon donne oracies in nomine de tout le societé al Georg Wild, Esq., reader del Inner Temple, 15 August, 1595.”

Praising his “great charge and bounty and well-performance” of everything belonging to his office, whether as regards *exteriolem* or *interiolem apparatus*; assuring him that whatever has been done on their parts—“either in attendance in general, wherein the gentlemen have showed very good attention and diligence, or in those particular charges sustained by some gentlemen of the bar and under the bar, which hath been very well performed by them”—has been done with the greatest alacrity and good-will: thanking him for his care and toil, and wishing him “prosperous and happy” success.

1595, November 13.—“Le effect de mon respons, 13 November 1595, devant maior et Aldermen de London, sur leur declaracion a moi que ils ont moi eslieu pour leur Recorder.”—Acknowledges with thankfulness their good opinion of him and trusts that by God's help he may be as able as he will be ready and willing to perform the duties of his place towards God, her Majesty and their honourable city. Prays toleration of his lack

of gifts, and assures them that he will never "draw the beam of justice to the contrary part," but will follow "*juste quod justum est.*"

Copy of the oath of the Recorder of London.

1596, May 23.—"Le substanc de mon speach devant le [*sic*] roigne, sur presenting de Stephen Slanie, adonque Maior, a sa Majestie, die domini, 23<sup>th</sup> die Maij, 1596, qui meme le iour fuit fait chevaler."

"The blessed and happy estate (most dread and most gracious sovereign) which, God be blessed and your Majesty praised, under your Majesty's most happy and blessed government we have enjoyed and do enjoy, such as no former memory can mention, nor any foregoing age hath known—and as long as any age endureth, may we still enjoy it in that blessed hand it is—doth prove that which an ancient writer speaketh, that *nullum pulchrius, nullum prestantius a deo munus erga mortales quam sanctus et dei simillimus princeps.* . . . To speak, most sacred sovereign, of the great happiness and blessings which by your most gracious government and princely goodness have redounded to this your honourable city, and of our thankfulness, our loyalty, our love, our duty, thereby bound unto your Majesty, is the argument I should speak of, but it is such and so great, that were my voice the sound of a trumpet, or had I the tongue of the most eloquent, I were not able to speak of it as I should. Many great and famous kings, most renowned sovereign, your Majesty's kingly progenitors, have risen up and done many great and worthy things for this your honourable city . . . but your princely bounty toward it hath surmounted them all, insomuch that whatsoever former times have conferred upon this city, it hath been by your most gracious goodness so confirmed, continued, enlarged and increased, that all happiness which former age[s] hath brought it hath been in comparison but a show and shadow to that happiness which under your most gracious government we now enjoy. To be by your gracious goodness *regia sedes*, the kingly seat of your royal Majesty, the free chamber of your crown, by your princely favour, the head and metropolitan city of your kingdom . . . the usual place of repair for your courts of justice and parliament, to their great enriching, to have a perpetual, continuing and succeeding body incorporate, which none can make but your Majesty, to have election of governors and magistrates under your Majesty of themselves and within themselves, and the execution of laws, of customs, and your sword of justice within this government committed unto them, which can be derived from none but from your imperial and royal sceptre; to be made happy with the often access and near resiancy of your sacred royal person amongst us; to be vouchsafed this most gracious favour, once in every year to present your servant, the governor of this city under your Majesty, before your Highness' presence, from whom only he is to receive his allowance, his light, his life, and to see your most gracious face and eyes, the unspeakable

joy and comfort of your subjects thereby to have opportunity to lay open our causes and occasions before your Majesty, these are blessings of greater comfort and happiness than can be spoken. . . . And your royal Majesty vouchsafing to commit the government of this your city unto the charge of this your servant, and the execution of justice and patronage of the poor and orphans, he wholly desireth to do all acceptable service unto your Majesty. He doth not defraud judgment or justice, or neglect to be helpful to the fatherless and distressed or give just cause to make sad the heart of the widow; and in this time of some dearness, rather than of scarcity—and much refreshed and relieved by your princely and royal bounty towards this city—he doth not lay aside the care of the poor, or eat his morsels alone, or prefer *privatum commodum* before *bonum publicum*, but in all things endeavoureth to discharge the trust of your royal Majesty reposed in him . . . setting always before his eyes that which is meet for all your Majesty's servants and magistrates always to set before their eyes, *si male regit, habet regem a quo regetur*; if he govern evil, he hath a king and queen of whom he shall be governed, full of magnanimity, full of wisdom, full of justice and full of piety, and other king or queen, if it be the will of God, if it be the will of God, may England never know. *Quod vivimus*, most sacred sovereign, that we live—for there were and there are malicious and cruel enemies bent against us that would devour us up quick, but by the goodness of God, the holy hand of your gracious Majesty, our gracious Gideon, hath delivered us from their cruelty and still will deliver us;—*quod bene vivimus*, that we live in peace, that we live in plenty . . . that we live in true religion and service of God, the root and foundation of all our happiness; these things your most gracious Majesty hath brought to pass, and as your royal Majesty, at the first taking the imperial sceptre into your sacred hand, did publish this heavenly edict, that you and all your people would serve the Lord, so mauger Rome and mauger Spain, and treasons at home and treacheries abroad, I will not say unworthy a king, unworthy a Christian, but unworthy a man, so hideous, so horrible, my lips do tremble to speak of them, my heart doth bleed to think of them; . . . your most gracious Majesty, *per tot discrimina rerum*, hath still continued *semper eadem*; your royal heart hath known no fear, but hath stood fast in the Lord your God, and you have maintained and defended, and in despite of all these treasons and treacheries and conspiracies whatsoever, still do maintain and defend that God in your kingdom is truly worshipped, *non secundum varietatem opinionum*, if I might be worthy to mention those most gracious words that flowed from your sacred lips, worthy to be written in letters of gold, or *secundum inquisita* or *exquisita ingenia*, but *ut lex divina jubet et rerum cogit*, most princely foreseeing that *Εβελόθρεσκεια*, a religion after every fancy, is the fountain of all superstition, and ruin and overthrow of all religion and commonweales. . . . Blessed are your nobles and servants, that daily stand about you, and hear and

see your wisdom, your judgment, your mercy, your justice, your zeal, your piety and all your heroical and princely virtues; blessed are the pilgrims and strangers and servants of God, that are comforted and refreshed by you; blessed are your people and subjects that have such a sovereign, and blessed be the Lord God of heaven and earth that would your most gracious Majesty to be our queen because he loved us. That God of all days, and before all days, lengthen your Majesty's days and reign over us, as the days of heaven, and continue them to never ending days, as long as any days endure; and bring sudden and shameful and fearful confusion, desolation and destruction on whomsoever shall lift up evil thought against you."\*

1596, October 29.—“Le substanc de mon speach in lescheke, lendemain de feast de Simon et Jude, 29 Octobre, 1596, sur presenting del Alderman Skinner, maior, in lieu Sir Stephen Slanie.”

“It is observed (most honourable) that to every city and common weal, laws and magistrates are the same that the sun is to the world, or health unto the body, for . . . laws and magistrates wanting to a city or a commonwealth, there is nothing but darkness and confusion, . . . laws being the strength and sinews of every city and common weal, and magistrates the life and soul of the law; and if they should be divided, which rather in imagination than in truth they can be, the conclusion is that better it is for a city or a commonwealth to have good magistrates without a law, than good laws without a magistrate. . . . By the goodness of God and most gracious providence of her Majesty we have both good laws and good magistrates, . . . neither is it to be accounted amongst the least of her Majesty's princely benefits vouchsafed to this honourable city that we have the election of this chief magistrate, the Lord Mayor of this city, of ourselves and amongst ourselves, a liberty granted by her Majesty's most noble progenitors, but most graciously confirmed by herself. [*Here follows a lengthy discourse upon the duties of a magistrate.*] To these things the foregoing Lord Mayor hath applied his diligence and good endeavours, and hath run his race and finished his course with all uprightness and integrity. The succeeding Lord Mayor, now presented unto your lordships, desireth to equal those good courses . . . and, to use his own words, with a single and upright heart to serve God, her Majesty and the Commonwealth . . . humbly desiring your honourable allowance and assistance all the time of his service.”

[1597, January ?+].—“Le substance de mon speach al Tower pour le mort de Alderman Skinner, et sur le presenting de Alderman Billingesly a le Tower in vacationem inter Christmas and la terme.”

\* This speech is given at considerable length (although not nearly *in extenso*) as a specimen of the rest.

† The late Lord Mayor is spoken of as dead on Jan. 2, 1597. See Calendar of Cecil MSS., part vii., p. 2.

The action now to be performed, of presenting this newly elected Lord Mayor, occasioned by the untimely departure (if it had pleased God otherwise) of the former, doth show that no man can tell what a night and a day may bring forth, for in less than the compass of one night, our chief governor, under her Majesty, and two great aldermen have been taken from us. For the one, in the short time of his government he ruled well, and endeavoured and performed good things; and for the others, they carried themselves very commendably, and are gone in peace to their grave, leaving a good report behind them.

‘When cedars do fall, the pine trees should tremble, and when the greatest citizens and men of account are touched, the inferiors should call their ways to a reckoning. Who seeth not, that is not wilfully blind, how of late the chief of all sorts of men have been summoned, the great and wise counsellors of our land, the great, learned men, the renowned men of war; no state, no calling, no profession hath been free. What should I speak of the other admonishments of God evident now upon us, the staff of our bread in some sort broken, the sun of long time seeming to be turned into clouds and darkness, the moon into mist and wetness, the heavens to continual weeping, the earth, glutted with waters, into barrenness, to deny her increase, the sword of the enemy abroad to threaten us, famine and fear of mortality at home to be round about us, and greater things than these to hang over us, did not our most gracious sovereign, the beloved of God, even like Moses stand in the gap between the wrath of God and us, and by her intercessions turn away his fearful displeasure from us . . . to whose devout petitions the Lord hath given his blessed grant that our dearth and scarcity hath been moderated, our plague and mortality hath ceased, the sword of our enemy hath been turned against himself, the seas, the winds, the rocks have been armed for our defence that they have not been able to set foot upon our land, and contrarywise, the arm of her people hath been made strong against the face of them, to make them to turn their backs, and in their own country, ten of her people to chase a hundred of them, and a hundred many thousands. This is the Lord’s doing and it is marvellous in our eyes . . . And albeit it hath pleased Him of late to take many governors from amongst us, and to make some intermission of our solemn feasts and solemn assemblies, yet hath he not let us sit long destitute, but hath raised up others in their places, and in place of the governor of the city, lately taken from us, we have proceeded to the election of another . . . before this time eligible to the place, and only forborne for that he was sequestered to some other service of her Majesty, and yet now her Majesty vouchsafing to spare him from herself to serve her city; . . . and having chosen him according to the charters of her Majesty and her most noble progenitors granted to us, for his approved fidelity, discretion and sincerity, held fit to serve her Majesty in this place, according to the tenor

of her Majesty's writ in that behalf directed in the absence of herself and of her Barons of the Exchequer from Westminster, we present him here to be admitted, desiring that he may be admitted accordingly, and that this her Majesty's honourable city, and chamber of her crown, and this her Highness' kingly castle and Tower, having all one most gracious lady and mistress, may in all duty, love and unity, apply themselves to do her Highness' service."

1596[-7], February 6.—"Le substanc de mon speach devant le roigne, die dominica, 6<sup>to</sup> Februar, 1596, sur presenting Alderman Billingesley a sa Majesty."

The manifold blessings received from her Majesty's blessed hand are such that it is vain presumption in any man to utter them in words, seeing that, under God, they owe all that they enjoy—truth in religion, peace of conscience, safety for goods, lands, liberty and lives—to her, who watches while they sleep, exposes herself to perils to preserve her people from danger, is the glory of God's name, the wonder of the world, the terror of her enemies, the comfort of her people, the wisdom of her wise men and the strength of her strong men. Even him that seemed to cause the earth to tremble and the kingdoms to shake, who made a wilderness of the lands and prisoners of princes, by the help of God to his blessed handmaid she has daunted in his own kingdom by the hands of her servants, the Omnipotent Maker of the world having guided the journey, speeded the victory and made the return of her servants the trump of his fame, with little or no loss of English blood.\* For all these things they prostrate themselves at her feet, and presenting to her her servant, whom she has been pleased to spare from her peculiar service, pray for her approbation, the only life of their choice.

1597, September 29.—"Le substanc de mon speach in Guihale [Guildhall] jour St. Michael, 1597, sur election de Alderman Saltonstall, maior, in lieu de Alderman Billingsley."

"You are assembled according to your accustomed manner and ancient liberties and charters of this honourable city . . . for the election of your chief magistrate under her Majesty for this year ensuing, a thing of great moment and importance, as your religious and reverent and solemn assembly for performance of it doth witness . . . To be Lord Mayor of this honourable city, by the goodness of God and most gracious government of her Majesty, famous in all the known parts of the world, is a most high and honourable calling, yet the honour of the place hath this burden with it, it consisteth not in having many men's caps and 'curtesies,' or ensigns of honour to be borne before him . . . but as his authority in government is before all others, so his labour, his care, his diligence for the good of the place over which he is set must be more than others." [*Enumerates the duties of a chief Magistrate, and exhorts his hearers to make a good choice.*]

\* The expedition of Essex to Cadiz in 1596.



1597, October 29.—“Le substance de mon speach in lescheker, lendemain de Simon et Jude, 1597, sur presenting Alderman Saltonstall, succeeding Alderman Billingesley.”

No man can govern others who cannot govern himself, nor be a good citizen unless he is a good man, far less can a bad man be a good magistrate. The wisdom of the old English laws concerning the election of magistrates is shown by their requiring that the man chosen should be *Deo devotus, regi fidelis, regno utilis*, and *loco cui proficetur idoneus*. [The speaker goes on, with allusions to Pliny, Aristotle, Æschines, Samuel, Tully, Job, and Euripedes, to enlarge upon the goodness of the Queen, the privileges of their city, the duties of the chief magistrate &c., and ends by presenting the new Mayor (who, like his predecessor, has been in the Queen's service) in the usual form.]

1598, April 30.—“Le substance de mon speach devant le roigne, die dominica, 30 Aprilis 1598, sur presentinge Alderman Saltonstall a sa Majestie apud Whitehall.”

Assures her Majesty of their deep gratitude to her, the saint and servant of God, who as a sure tower of defence diverts all evil from them, giving them safety from their enemies, deliverance from scarcity and freedom from oppression, peace, prosperity, plenty, gold and silver flowing in their streets, virtue (by her example) in her nobles, integrity in her judges, sanctity in her clergy, probity in her people, and truth in religion, the cause of all. Happy and more than happy is England in the possession of such a Queen, who of her princely zeal spies out the good and lifts them from the dust, and of her heavenly magnanimity casts down the proud and godless, “making all to know, where God and Queen Elizabeth will give, envy cannot hurt, and where God and Queen Elizabeth will not give, labour cannot help.” The richness of her mercy, the brightness of her justice, all that, like himself, serve her in the execution of her laws do know, and “him that propounded peace and prepared war, and imagined evil enterprises which the protection of Queen Elizabeth would not suffer him to perform,” him the Avenger of her Majesty hath laughed to scorn, and by the hands of her servants hath filled her land with the spoil of her enemies. As they are now celebrating the fourth decennial of her most glorious and happy reign, so they pray that from year to year without end of number, they and their posterity “may still celebrate the continuance of the same, even so long as years or days shall be numbered.”

1598, August 5.—“Le substance de mon charge pour le subsidie in Sowthwerke, 5 August 1598.”

“You are assembled (as you understand by her Majesty's commission which hath been read unto you) for the rating and assessing of the subsidy granted to her Majesty at the last high court of Parliament.” A subsidy is an aid or relief, or more properly “an aid to deliver men from dangers under which they labour.” Blessed be God and her Majesty, we are in

no danger, but because we now sail in safety and in the haven, shall we plunge ourselves in senseless stupidity or be drowned in careless security; forget the dangers past from which we have been delivered, and neglect to provide for perils to come?

“Who knoweth not what great preparations our potent and malicious adversaries did make (nay do make) against us, intending the bloody conquest of our country, the servile thralldom of our people, the rooting out of our name and nation; . . . and how by the goodness of God and most gracious providence of her Majesty—for whose sake her land and people are blessed—their malicious designments have been defeated, and the hurt they intended against us turned upon themselves? Shall we think that their malice is hereby made less? Doth not the man of sin and beast of Rome still labour to undermine our religion, our greatest happiness; the ambition and tyranny of Spain stir up traitors of inborn subjects both here and in Ireland to disturb our quietness, and watch opportunities to over-run us with invasions? Hath her Majesty, mauger Rome and mauger Spain, defended us in true religion, the greatest happiness of a kingdom, and rooted out superstition from amongst us, the fountain and well-spring of all private and public calamities; hath her Majesty restored the ancient rights and liberties of her crown, and maintained us with all clemency and justice in most inward and comfortable peace when all our neighbour countries round about us have been infested with bloody wars and massacres, blood streaming in their streets, with civil dissensions and foreign invasions; . . . hath her Majesty poured out her own treasures, disposed the revenues of her crown, exposed her own sacred and royal person to peril, to bring us this quietness, and shall we be wanting in anything to such a sovereign, or, in this small contribution, not given to her Majesty but given to ourselves . . . shall we be slack or backward? Doth not the private good of every man consist in the well doing of the public, or is there any man so senseless as to imagine that his private shall stand or can stand when the public doth go to ruin?

The safety of every commonwealth consisteth to have peace at home and arms in readiness to defend this peace, but arms cannot be obtained without treasures, nor treasures be had without contributions. That commonwealth is happy wherein both Prince and people do willingly confer whatsoever they have to the good of the commonwealth. This on her Majesty's part hath been most graciously performed, and more than a shame were it for us to be negligent in it, and a double ingratitude to God and her Majesty, that by her inestimable charge hath fortified her kingdom both by land and sea, and made it a safe harbour for her people, a bulwark against the enemies of God, of her Majesty and of our country, and a refuge for the distressed servants of God from other countries. It hath been said of the Phrygians, otherwise a mighty people, that they were never wise till they were stung. Let it not

be said of us Englishmen that like monsters we carry our eyes in our polls, not to see any danger till it be upon us. O what a dreadful spectacle were it to have our enemies on our necks and to be destitute of means to resist them; or to have our treasures then to be gathered when we should make head against them. In this comfortable time of our peace . . . let us have vigilant eyes to foresee dangers to come, and willing spirits and free hearts, not only to undergo any charge of our purse, but any peril of our person, to maintain this quietness, and let it be sounded in the ears of all our enemies that Englishmen's goods and lives are at the devotion of Queen Elizabeth."

And you, to whom this service is committed, are to carry yourselves with all uprightness and integrity, not favouring the rich and leaning heavily upon the poor (a thing too usual in these taxations), but proportioning every man justly according to the measure of his ability.

1598, October 30.—"Le substance de mon speach in lescheke die lunæ, 30 October 1598, sur presenting Alderman Some adonque la."

The magistrate is the soul of the law, and the law of the magistrate. A great and learned man affirmeth that no man is meet to be a magistrate that either ambitiously doth seek it or greedily doth undertake it, for the honour, rather than the service of the place. How great the burden of magistracy is, they only know that bear it; honour is the reward of travail, and incessant travail the inseparable companion of honour.

"It is memorable, which amongst our own records is registered, that he which sustaineth this place hath *sacramentum regis custodiendum*, the most sacred and holy oath of the king to keep, and therefore he is said in the highest degree to hurt the very majesty of his sovereign, and to incur forfeiture of body, lands and goods, and whatsoever he may forfeit, that in the name and under colour of the authority of his sovereign, maliciously or corruptly doth anything against law, against right, against justice." [*Here follows a discourse on the duties of a magistrate.*] "In our election of this chief magistrate, we are commanded by our charters . . . to choose a man faithful, discreet and fit for the government of the city . . . and not rashly or hand over head to take any man to so great a charge. How this hath been regarded in the election of the now resigning Lord Mayor, his own work and good carriage in the place hath sufficiently declared, and the expectation of this now succeeding doth promise the like," whose allowance and admittance by this honourable court we most humbly desire.

1599, April 29.—"Le substance de mon speach, die dominica 29 Aprilis 1599, apud Grenewich, sur presenting Alderman Some a sa Majestie."

On the duties of a magistrate, the virtues of her Majesty and the glories of her rule.

1599, October 29.—“Le substance de mon speech in lescheker, die lunæ, 29 October, 1599, sur presenting Alderman Mosseley.”

“The strongest walls of a city (most honourable) are the religious integrity of the governor and the virtuous and honest disposition of the citizens; to be profitable unto all, to be hurtful unto none, and therefore it is truly said *optimi muri civitatis, boni mores civium*.” That city is best governed where the citizens do obey their governor and their governor the laws, for a lawless governor is armed injustice, than which nothing can be more cruel. “And much doth it avail to the good government of a city that he which is set over it be no stranger to it, but well acquainted and experienced in the laws, in the customs, in the disposition of the citizens . . . Notable was the law amongst the Egyptians by which every man was bound to yield an account to the governor by what course of life he lived, and if any man were found idle or without an honest and lawful course of life to maintain him, it was capital unto him, foreseeing that in doing nothing, men did learn to do evil. The same law is in force by the ancient common laws of this land, and by the ancient statute of view of frankpledge, though not so penal, and a discreet severity in punishing such offenders [is] more profitable than too remiss lenity.” [*Presents the new Mayor in the usual form.*]

1600, May 4.—“Le substance de mon speach devant le roigne apud Grenewich, die dominica, 4<sup>to</sup> die Maij 1600, sur presenting Alderman Mosley.”

On self knowledge, her Majesty's goodness, and the overruling power of God.

1600, October 29.—“Le substance de mon speech in lescheker, die mercurii, 29 October, 1600, sur presenting Alderman Ryder la.”

A good report without good desert doth profit nothing, desert, and not report, being the true touchstone of all men's actions, yet the good opinion of men is not to be condemned. Envy ever follows virtue, and the higher a man's function the more is he subject to detraction; moreover, sometimes “to him that ordereth all things well, every thing succeeding evil, and to him that ordereth all things evil, every thing succeeding well, to show the power of Him that ordereth and disposeth all, that the race is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong.” It is not our kindred and progeny, the well-done deeds of our ancestors, nor anything which we possess that we can truly call our own, but only the deeds which we ourselves have done. Nor must those employed in public functions be discouraged that they must labour through good report and ill report, through the hate and envy of those “whose detracting lips and itching tongues and long listening ears do lie in wait to blemish and to hear and speak evil of those that serve in public places, . . . but this must be their anchorhold, with all diligence and endeavour to live uprightly and in integrity to God and to the place they serve in.” [*Presents the new Mayor.*]

1601, May 3.—“Le substance del speech devant le roigne apud Whitehall, 3<sup>to</sup> Maij 1601, sur presentinge Alderman Ryder a sa Majesté.”

“The ways of man (most dread and most gracious sovereign) are before the eyes of God; he pondereth all his paths; the all-seeing eyes of God and of the Queen, the lieutenant of God, do behold the evil and the good in every place; according to that which most gravely and religiously was said to us, there is *oculus in sceptro*, an eye in the very sceptre, to discern between the good and evil, in grace and mercy to protect and defend the one, in justice and judgment to render (*sic*) unto the other, and it is not possible that it can be evil to the good, or well to the evil, Queen Elizabeth reigning. . . . There is no wisdom, there is no understanding, there is no counsel against the Lord, nor against his blessed handmaid our Queen, the anointed of the Lord; he bringeth to naught the devices of princes against you. The counsel of God and most mighty hand of God, most mighty sovereign, hath placed you in your seat . . . the counsel of God and most mighty hand of God ever will and ever may defend you in your seat, will or nill they all that lift up hand or heart against you; none can rob the hearts of your people from you. . . . You have put on justice as a robe and mercy as a crown, . . . and sitting in your throne of judgment, you do chase away all evil with your eyes, and he that in his heart is not thankful unto God for this his great blessing to us, and in his heart doth not kiss the blessed footsteps of your sacred Majesty for it, let the fearful curse of God be upon him and upon his family, let shame be his covering and confusion his clothing. What we have (most gracious sovereign) by having you we all do see and know, but what we shall have or what we may have, not having you, if it be the will of God, never may we see or know, and never may we see the time wherein we shall say that rather *carendo* than *frueno intelligimus bona*.

And this your city, which of your gracious goodness you have been pleased to lift up above all the cities of your kingdoms, to make it the treasure-house of your princely bounties and favours, clothing us with purple and scarlet, heaping honours upon our heads, supplying to our wants out of your own treasury, pouring bounties upon us, remitting towards the relief of our poor of your own just tributes unto us; . . . London, in these their governors under your Majesty prostrate at your feet, voweth a vow to the mighty God of Queen Elizabeth and to your Majesty, to love those that love you, to hate them with perfect hatred that are against you, to lay their lives at your gates for your safety; London ever will love loyalty, and under your blessed government London hath learned to fear God and the Queen, and not to consent in deed or in thought to those that are seditious . . . knowing that God will bring every work to judgment, with every secret thing, whether it be good or evil. For the service of your Majesty in the government of your city, . . . we have

chosen this your devote and faithful servant, and do humbly present him at the feet of your Majesty, most humbly desiring your most gracious allowance, the only life of our choice."

1601, July 21.—Copy of an order of Common Council, granting to John Croke, Esq., Recorder of London, the yearly fee of 40*l.*, to be paid quarterly, "which William Daniell, serjeant-at-law, had granted to him by this court on the 2<sup>nd</sup> day of July, in the time of the mayoralty of Sir Edward Osborne, knight, and which Mathew Dale, Esq., had since granted unto him by the same court, on the 22<sup>th</sup> of September in the 31st year of her Majesty's reign." Provided always, that in his absence the said Recorder shall procure, at his own charges, a learned counsel to be his substitute in the Courts of the Lord Mayor, the Hustings and (when required) the Common Council, and also that the grant shall not be prejudicial to the town clerk, nor a precedent for the future. Martis, 21<sup>o</sup> die Julij, anno 48<sup>to</sup> Reginæ Eliz.: Rider, mayor. Martin, Harte, Slanie, Garrard, Banninge, Lee, Lowe, Holliday, Watts, Goddard, Rowe, Hampson, Weld, Anderson, *ac* Cambell et Craven, *vice-comites*.

*Margin*: "The copy of an order in court for enlarging my fee."

[1601, October 27.]—"Le substance de mon speech al parlement quant ils moi eslieu speaker pour les comens, termino Michaelis, 42 and 43 Elizabeth."

Acknowledges thankfully their honourable opinion of him as vouchsafed in his election, far above his deserts, but, when he looks at the persons for whom he is to speak, "this great and honourable body, whereof some for their excelling virtues and worthiness worthily called to the government and to sit at the highest stern of our state, in general the choice and selected knights, citizens and burgesses of this land, amongst whom many great and grave and famous learned men do show themselves full of wisdom, learning and eloquence"—the persons before whom he is to speak, "our heroical, dread and sacred sovereign, shining with all wisdom and majesty, the nobility, clergy and the whole state and wisdom of the kingdom"—and the things whereof he is to speak, "the great and high and weighty affairs of our country and commonwealth"—and when, turning the other eye upon himself, he beholds his own weakness and unworthiness, his heart quails under the burden, and says to him, "Who am I that should go on such a service?" He therefore prays to lay before them his imperfections.

"I am plain bred, of a weak understanding and judgment for so great a work, of frail memory, neither nature hath given nor art hath added unto me those furnitures which might enable me to so great a service, neither hath my diligence and too much mis-spent time, which now I am enforced to bewail, supplied that to the wants of nature which it might and ought to have done. I have been brought up in the plain study and learning and profession of the law, and, more than my profession guided me and gave me occasion, have not looked into

or exercised myself in the great and weighty affairs of the commonwealth, things far above the compass of my calling. Neither art or nature hath made me eloquent. I am of a slow and unready speech, and laden with many wants for so great a service . . . and therefore, in my duty to you all, in my zeal and affection to the good service of this place, wherein I will never be wanting, give me leave humbly and earnestly to entreat you . . . to spare me from this great work, too weighty for me to undergo, whereof no unwillingness, (which shall never be found in me to do you service,) but altogether unableness, best known to myself and now laid open unto you, doth enforce me humbly and earnestly to entreat you to be freed."

"This speech ended, the House continued in their nomination of me, and *una voce* it pleased them to call upon me to take the place, and Sir William Knolles, comptroller, and Sir Jo: Stanhop, vice-chamberlain, came to the place where I sat, and took me by each arm, and did lead me to the chair, and then I used further speech to effect as followeth."

"Seeing that it is not hitherto your pleasure as yet to remit me from this great and over weighty charge . . . give me leave, I beseech you, with your honourable and loving favours in all duty and humbleness to lay open my disabilities and wants at the feet of her sacred Majesty, and then, knowing the heart of the Queen and of yourselves and the course of all men's ways to be in the hand of God, to leave myself to be disposed as it shall please God, her Majesty and yourselves, . . . humbly desiring that if this charge shall remain upon me, that my defects by your supplying helps may be relieved, that you will vouchsafe your benign and favourable interpretation of my speeches and acceptance of my best endeavours, and that with your grave and honourable councils and directions I may be still supported, the special hope and refuge and comfort of my travails."

[1601, October 30.]—"Le substance de mon speach devant le roigne quant ieo fui present speaker pour le comens." [*The speech is given, with some variations, in Cobbett's Parliamentary History, Vol. I., p. 907.*]

"Upon this speech, it pleased her Majesty to speak some thing in the ear of the Lord Keeper, which he delivered to this effect, that her Majesty commanded him to declare that, by experience of my former services, she both liked and allowed and also commended the choice which the Commons had made, and very graciously and willingly gave her most gracious approbation to it, and howsoever I had alleged disabilities in myself, my meetness and sufficiency and wisdom of the House to make such choice was approved by her, and therefore with her very gracious and princely approbation I was commanded to undergo the service. And thereupon I used a second speech, to effect as followeth."

[*The speech is reported in Parliamentary History, Vol. I., p. 908.*]

"Upon this, the Lord Keeper conferred again in private with her Majesty, and after directions received from her, made a most learned and eloquent oration at large, discoursing of all the

occasions of her war and what provocations contrary to benefits received had been used, and of the continual care and study of her Majesty to preserve her kingdoms in peace, and applying all her endeavours for the weal of her people, graciously granting our ancient liberties with caution to use liberty of speech in comely manner, and to press for access [only] upon urgent and weighty occasions, and rather to show ourselves serviceable than importunate, with many other grave and learned observations."

[1601, December 19.]—"Le substance de mon speech al roigne quant le parlement finie." [*Summarized in Parliamentary History, Vol. I., p. 955.*]

1602, June 6.—"Le substance del speech devant le roigne apud Grenewich, 6<sup>th</sup> Junij 1602, sur presentinge Alderman Garrard."

"The divine power (most sacred and most renowned sovereign) doth rule and govern all human things, and is present in all men's actions. . . . All power is from the Highest and from your Majesty next and immediate to the Highest derived, to whom it pleaseth your sacred Majesty in your divine and princely wisdom to confer it. As all rivers are from the sea and return thither again, so all power and authority whatsoever within your kingdoms is from your crown. Of your crown it is holden, before your crown it is to be laid down, and at your kingly pleasure to be retained or returned from whence we have received it. . . . A great philosopher being asked what commonwealth is most happy, made this divine and Christian answer: that commonwealth is happiest wherein the king that reigneth feareth God; justice and piety exalting a nation, oppression and impiety bringing ruin. What felicity, what happiness in this behalf God in your Majesty hath given us, it sufficeth that we feel and enjoy it and with thankful hearts to God and your Majesty do acknowledge it such as no former age hath known."

And although swelling ambition and the hellish vice of envy have laid in wait at the heel of your glory, lifting their banners against you, and raging with madness that God doth prosper you, yet the righteous God hath upheld and defended you, and hath manifested to all the world that he hath pleasure in the prosperity of his anointed and blessed servant. These happy successes which have always accompanied your royal actions, we do wholly acknowledge to God and your Majesty, his blessed instrument of all our good, whose gracious providence and watchful care hath defended your kingdoms and us, your people, from thralldom and oppression, "continuing this your city and chamber of your crown, the ruin and spoil whereof they thirsted after, to be the beauty of England, the glory of [your] kingdoms, flourishing with all blessings our hearts can wish for. For the government whereof for this year following, . . . this your faithful and devoted servant is chosen and most humbly presented at the feet of your Majesty, most humbly desiring your most gracious allowance, the only life of our choice, whose duty by



hereditary band is bound to your Majesty, vouchsafing to honour his father with your service, whose son rejoiceth that he hath been born and lived and breathed to be called to your service, which with all diligence and faithfulness he voweth to perform."

1602, October 29.—"Le substance de mon speech in lescheke die veneris, 29 October 1602, sur presenting Alderman Lee."

On the flight of time, the duties of a magistrate, and the virtues and gracious goodness of her Majesty.

1603, May 7.—"Le substance de mon speech devant le roi, 7<sup>o</sup> Maij 1603, sur son primum approach a le citie."

"The joy and gladness wherewith our hearts are filled (most gracious King) in beholding your presence, maketh our tongue sound forth rejoicing; what we feared, you have turned from us, what our souls desired, you have brought unto us; how beautiful are your feet unto us.

God, in your Majesty, hath turned our mourning into joy, and compassed us about with gladness. We had heaviness for the departure of our late gracious queen, who so long, with so great wisdom and felicity, governed her kingdoms as the like in many ages hath not been read nor heard of. She sleepeth at rest with the Kings and consuls of the earth in the house appointed for all the living, and after a happy and famous reign, leaving a reverent renown behind her in earth, hath obtained a crown of eternal felicity in heaven. We lamented for her, but joy and unspeakable joy in your Majesty by the goodness of God is restored to us, in giving us a King after his own heart, after the hearts of all his people," advancing true religion, justice and equity, banishing impiety, "abandoning that hateful vice of flattery, branded by your Majesty with his proper mark, the pest of princes and wreck of republics," rewarding the just, repressing the proud, walking always as in the eyes of the Almighty, "rejoicing in that hereditary and kingly style, 'the poor man's King,' the help of the helpless and safeguard of the innocent, king over all; most gracious Lord of the honest.

"You have with patience expected God, and he hath brought it to pass, and hath delivered you from many dangers to be our King, and, instead of kingly ancestors (*sic*) hath given you royal offspring to be princes in many lands." He hath inspired wisdom, love and loyalty in the hearts of your nobles, and fidelity and obedience in the hearts of your people, and hath given us βασιλικου δωρου, <sup>o</sup> a kingly gift, Θεοδοτου, a gift from God himself. The kingdoms which his right hand hath united, may his outstretched arm evermore defend, and "whom his most gracious providence hath placed over us, his almighty protection ever compass about."

And we, your servants, and citizens of this your city, "honoured by your Majesty and your kingly progenitors to be the chamber of your imperial crown," will ever faithfully serve

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\* An allusion to the King's own book.

you with devoted hearts, and with all the authority and power which from your crown we have received.

1603, May 22. Die dominica.—“Le substance de mon speech devant le roi al Greenewich, sur presentinge Alderman Lee, adonque maior, al roi, a quel jour il pleist al roi (maintenant apres il commaund le sieur Admirall de imposer le sword sur le maior et fair ly chivaler) ovece son maine devene (?) de imposer le sword sur moi, et de fair moi chivaler.”

Assuring the King that the more they behold him, the more is their joy increased; lauding his zeal for justice and the welfare of his people, his ready ear to hear and his ready hand to help them, his removal of grievances (*margin* “proclamation to repress patents of monopolies”), and his “Christian edict to avoid all impious profanation of the Sabbath, the publishing whereof hath joyed [his] city with joy that cannot be spoken”; and declaring their fidelity and loyalty.

“Upon this speech, it pleased the King to command the Lord Keeper to use such speech as he had been accustomed for the approbation and allowance of the Lord Mayor, and admonition of him of the duties incident to the place, which being done with great eloquence and gravity by the Lord Keeper, and great compendiousness, contracting his speech for that he declared it was the King's pleasure to use some words himself of his princely and gracious and thankful acceptation of the ready duty showed by the Lord Mayor and citizens, of which the Lord Keeper said he would crave pardon to make any mention, though directed by the King to give signification of it, for that he was not able to do it as he had received it from the King, and his words were not worthy to express that which from the King himself we should hear. And thereupon it pleased the King himself, upon the speech of the Lord Keeper finished, to make a most excellent and princely oration to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen in a continued speech very near of half an hour, with that method and readiness as did both admire and exceedingly rejoice the hearers, whereof no man is able to make report or relation in any proportion answerable to that which was spoken.”

It pleased him first very graciously to excuse that he had so long deferred his own making known to the Lord Mayor and aldermen and citizens his gracious and thankful acceptation of the readiness of their duty expressed toward him, which he intended to have done at the Charterhouse, but the straightness of the place was not fitting for it, and after, proposed it at the Tower, but some indisposition of his health at that place caused it to be deferred till that time, and now with very great zeal and piety did acknowledge that it was God that had brought him to this kingdom, and preserved his right unto him, and given ready and willing hearts to his people to acknowledge his right, wherein, albeit they had done their duties, and what the band of religion and conscience and their allegiance had bound them to, yet, to so loyal a people, he did acknowledge there was a reciprocal band, owing by the King unto them in thankful acceptation of their

love, and desire to do all things for their good, which should be as far performed by his Majesty as ever by any King whom God had brought unto the kingdom: showing he came not as a stranger to it, but naturally born unto it, of the next and nearest blood of the kings of England, of the same language with us, of the same realm and island, both kingdoms making but one island and continent, which, as anciently they had been one, and, by the disposition of God that ordereth all things, of long time divided, to the great discommodity and many inconveniences of the people of both countries, so in the fulness of time, it had pleased the same God, in his person to unite both Kingdoms again, he nothing doubted to the great good of both the nations: that he was of the same religion with us, whereof no man need to doubt; all the days of his life he had professed it, all the days of his life he would profess it, and if he should do otherwise, his own books and writings would be a witness against him. He brought justice according to our own laws, which he had no purpose to alter. He had not only brought union, to unite that which was separate, by union small things growing great, and by disunion great things growing little, and showing the sweetness of union, that the author of truth itself in the psalm said it was good, it was sweet and pleasant for brethren to dwell in unity, and spake it with admiration of the goodness and sweetness of it; and therefore both nations being brethren as they were, to embrace union, to apply themselves unto it, the stronger to support the weaker, the weaker to be helpful to the stronger, not the one to be heavy or burdensome to the other or to exhaust the good things one from the other, but as at a great fire many candles might be lighted, and the fire receive no diminution, so they might impart of their helps the one to the other with much comfort and without detriment or prejudice to either nation: that likewise he had brought peace, the very name whereof was sweet and much to be desired, and thereby set open the ports of his kingdoms to free traffic and commerce of merchandise with all the princes of Europe, for his own person and for his own nation having no difference with any of them; and though this kingdom and his late sister by some provocation and attempts of neighbour princes, had been drawn and intricated into some actions of war, he would therein apply himself either for the establishment of a peace or otherwise as he should find by conference and advice of his Council of Estate to be most for the good of his people and his kingdoms, which above all things he would preserve; and upon these parts amplifying many things, to the exceeding joy and comfort of all that heard it, his Majesty did conclude his speech with all assurance of all love and princely protection to his people, and bestowed knighthood upon the mayor and recorder, as before is showed.

1607, June 25.—“Memorandum quod die Jovis, 25<sup>to</sup> die Junij, 1607, crastino nativitatis sancti Johannis Baptistæ, placuit Deo et domino regi quod vocatus fui in locum unius justitiariorum

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domini regis ad placitam coram domino rege tenendo recedere  
 Laurentio Tanfield, militi, in scaccarium domini regis ad locum  
 Thomas Fleming, militis, capitalis baronis, ibidem, qui fuit juratus  
 capitalis justiciarius in banco domini regis sur le jour devant.

"Le effect de mon respons al sieur Chancellor sur son declaracion  
 a moi del pleasur le roi de user mon service in le dit court ovece  
 un excellent et grave exhortation de les dueties incident et le  
 gracious expectation que le roi ad conceave de mon indevors."

That his Majesty has been pleased to cast his gracious eye  
 upon him is a greater comfort than he is able to express, but  
 his weakness and unworthiness lead him to pray that the weight  
 may be laid on more able shoulders, and that he may be per-  
 mitted to continue to serve his Majesty in his present position  
 of serjeant of laws; albeit, with faithful and true heart he will  
 undertake any service which the King commands.

Many and great are the cares of this great service, and he has  
 learnt from his lordship "that to do well and hear evil  
 is oftentimes the martyrdom a judge must suffer," but his  
 lordship's favourable supportation is and always has been his  
 greatest comfort.

SIR FRANCIS TRAPPES, Bart., to [WILLIAM FRANKLAND ?]

1638, November 17. Harogat.—Has paid 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* to his  
 cousin, George Trappes, and believes this is all that is due upon  
 the annuity. Sends his service to Mrs. Frankeland. 1 *p.*

[SIR JOHN MELDRUM (?) to CHARLES I.]

[1639, May. Newcastle ?]—"Most gracious sovereign, I am  
 not altogether insensible of this business whereof I am called to  
 give my advice. I know I shall suffer some disadvantage  
 because I am a Scot by nation and education, and the best blood  
 that runs in my veins is thence extracted. What I shall now  
 speak, examine, some may happily impute it as pre-  
 ceeding from strength of affection to that place and people from  
 whence I came, but I protest my zeal to your Majesty shall at  
 this time suspend the agitation of such principles, and I will  
 set aside all particular relationship, and look upon the question  
 as it is, and not as passion or affection shall set it forth.

"The question is concerning war; an unknown subject, sweet to  
 those who have not tried it. The worst of war is commonly in  
 the loss, and in conclusion of the most advantageous war that ever  
 was waged, all the reckoning being cast up, the conqueror hath  
 had little whereof to glory; but this is not a war between the  
 King and a stranger, but betwixt a sovereign and his subjects, a  
 near relation, and there need to be weighty motives to dissolve  
 this knot.

"Subjects are easily lost; we see it in the work of every day;  
 but once lost are not easily gained. Affections are like crystal  
 glasses, which being once broke, no art nor cement can solder  
 them again. But these are not such subjects as the kingly

prophet speaks of (a people whom I know not shall serve<sup>o</sup> me), but your Majesty may say of them as Adam did of Eve, who was framed out of his rib, 'this bone of my bone,' &c., or rather as David said of his subjects, in the day of his inauguration, 'for my brethren and companions' sakes,' your Majesty being theirs and they yours by a double right. You are not only *rex factus* but *rex natus*, therefore the union being so strict, the motive had need be weighty which should cause a man to set his own house on fire and destroy the work of his own hands. Now let us consider two things: first, the necessity of this war; secondly, the motives, whether they be of moment that a king should hazard the uncertain chances of war and the miseries that accommodate [*sic*] it, whether then to forego the same.

"For the first, it is a good note out of Tacitus, that *bellum* should be *ultimum refugium*, the last because 'tis the worst refuge, and if we consider the wisest kings that ever swayed sceptre within later times, how willing they have been to decline the stroke of war, almost upon any terms; if your Majesty considers the practice of Louis the 2nd of France, and Henry the 2nd of England, in the large and last catalogue of all their kings, you cannot point out two of more deep and profound judgment, better versed in the mysteries of government, yet what means they used to divert the course of war if at any time it came within their [*blank*]. They counted it no dishonour to yield to their subjects' demands, though somewhat unjust and unseasonable, yea, they themselves were the first seekers and propounders of peace, and so, by that means, when the storm is over, and things come to be debated upon the great carp [*torn*] they were masters of their own ends and their subjects' affections [*torn*] obtained a victory without a stroke.

[*The next paragraph is too much mutilated to print.*]

"It should be in the body politic as in the body natural; phlebotomy should never be used but when the humours are so predominant that no other course can remove them, and that unless they be expelled, they will cause a dissolution. But, God be blessed, there is no such necessity in this case. There are sundry rough humours in the body politic, it cannot be denied, and some (it may be) work obstruction in the lesser pipes of government, but your *rena bastilia* [*basilica*] and *bona* [*rena*] *cara* are full, and the royal spirits in them have their full and proper influence and motion, without any opposition. What then is to be done for [*one*] is not fit for every subject; some humours are expelled by 'leintures' where purgations make them more malignant.

"There are three means to be used which have not yet been tried, and [*any*] of which is better than the means prescribed.

"First, remove the occasion. This can be no impeachment [*of your*] sceptre. The wisest Kings have had the oversight in govern[ment] which a wiser day hath taught them to recall.

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\* "*Secare*" in the MS.

Your father reigned gloriously, and commanded as well the affections as the bodies of the Scots, yet he never sought the obtruding of [*blank*] and infinies (?) and yet no man more zealous of kingly government than he. It is an act of extreme folly to hazard the substance for the shadow, not worth the contending for, and if your Majesty were master of your own desire, you could not add one cubit to your stature. If this like not, let me work it out. By this means they will either swallow the hook, or endure the proposal with lesser regret. Distasteful things make most at first, lesser afterwards. By degrees your Majesty may work them [to] that which for the present they rather die than embrace. We see how the Romans, by degrees, brought a royal slavery over the whole world, which if they had first propounded in downright terms, had hardly been accomplished. So Norman William by degrees brought the English to wear the yoke, which if it had at first been tendered, he either must have missed his aim, or had no people on whom to impose it, for impatient were the English nation to hear of a conqueror, or to be branded with the name of a conquered nation. Thirdly, [*sic*] we see the way to conquer was sometimes to fly. What if your Majesty should seem to yield in this matter to the Scots command, and give them the advantage of a fair game. [*MS. much damaged here*] and wait then a seasonable opportunity to [accomplish?] these things. Proposals of this kind I should hold most safe and more secure than that bloody one of the sword. I should hold that kingdom most miserable that is forced to make the remedy worse than the disease. Thus much of necessity of war.

"Secondly, those things in agitation are not of such great value as to require such a desperate adventure as the hazard of a kingdom at a cast for the gain of it. Plutarch wisely compares those that know not to proportion their means to the end to such as fish with a golden hook; the loss of the hook is of more consequence than the fish you take. Truly, to speak plainly what I think, they that advise war in this kingdom scarce know what 'tis to get, nor greatly care for the loss of a kingdom, for they may [*torn*] thrive one game,\* and fish in troubled waters. Such counsellors were the [la]te bishop of Rosse to the late Queen of Scots, the bishop of Brooks to the Lady Jane,† that miserable King of Hungaria, who were the occasion of bringing of Turks into Hungary, and the French nation into Scotland, two guests that both nations may wish they never know the way thither again. Three reasons have been given to persuade to war which I will not now answer, but leave to him who is better able and more fully instructed for such a purpose, wherefore considering that there is *nulla salus bello, nulla necessitas belli*, my advice to your Majesty is not to use war.

"In this advice, though I shall displease others, I shall please

\* Perhaps the original had "thrive on the game."

† *Sic* in MS., but the proper reading no doubt is "to King Ladislaus."

myself, because I have spoke as I think, and I hope when your Majesty shall be necessitated to 'draw the sword, I shall be as ready to do your Majesty service as they who now talk much of war, but neither know where to begin it nor where to end it." 8 pp.

[It seems rather likely that this letter may have been written by Sir John Meldrum, as it resembles in style that printed by Rushworth (vol. III., pt. 2, p. 628), and as, in the latter letter, Sir John refers to what he had formerly said to the King at Newcastle upon war. That Sir John was with the King in his earlier journey appears probable, as one of his servants got into trouble at York, while the Court was there on its way north. (See Cal. S.P. Dom. 1639, p. 51.) The contemporary copyist has evidently had some difficulty in reading the MS., and the copy is much worn and torn.]

T. BELASYSE to his mother, MISTRESS BEL[ASYSE].

1647, May 14.—My father has written to you as fully as he could by Uncle Ingram. He has been very ill, but is now better.

Postscript [by Henry Belasyse]: "Be not too hasty till you hear of my health, and pray heartily for me. My earthly joy, farewell. H.B." Seal with device. 1 p.

Overleaf. Draft of part of a letter about money matters.

The EARL OF WARWICK to his grandson, ROBERT RICH.

[1656?] May 28, Friday.\* Warwick House.—"Robin, I have received your letter and am not a little troubled at your withdrawing of yourself anew from your friends, and where we shall not know where to have you. If anything be done in your business this term it must be speedily done, for your father is necessitated to go to the Bath for his health, and stays only upon it, and this term is so short that if we were all agreed upon the business, I do not see how we could transact it, the books to be drawn being so long. And if we shall over-slip this term, you can act nothing in this business till Michaelmas term, which is the latter end of October. I fear my Lord Protector does not mean you shall have his daughter, his demands are so high in things that cannot be granted, for you know what ado I have had with your father about them. And the more trust my Lord Protector leaves with me t'will be the better for you. If you would have withdrawn yourself for a few days you might have gone to my house at Rotchford and lain there as long as you would, and nobody to trouble you. Your father takes it very ill that you have been often here and never came to visit him. I shall this night or to-morrow morning, if Mr. Pyrpoint comes from the Wells, speak with him about your business, but if my Lord Protector insists upon these high demands your business will soon be at an end, for I assure you nothing could have made me

\* The letter has not been dated accurately, for May 28 did not fall on a Friday in any year between 1652 and 1658, both impossible dates.

come to half that I have offered, but seeing your great affection to my Lady Frances and her good respect to you." *Signed.*

*Postscript.* I would have you send me word where you are that we may know how to send to you.  $1\frac{1}{2}$  pp.

*Endorsed by Lady Frances:* "Lord Warwick to his gr: sonne."

C[HRISTIAN], COUNTESS DOWAGER OF DEVONSHIRE, to  
[her grandson] ROBERT RICH.

[1656, May?]*—*"Sweet Robin, your grandfather was here with me yesterday and has communicated to me his proceedings; there has not been a possibility for any of your friends to send to you, otherwise you would not have been so great a stranger to their inclinations to further you in what you principally desire. I will assure you my Lord of Warwick hath shewed a very great forwardness and a very tender affection for you, and has omitted no opportunity after he was able to stir abroad to attend upon your occasion; your friends desire your liberty and freedom as much as you can do, and receive a great part of your joy that you are likely to be delivered suddenly from your obscure condition; you have more honour and gratitude to pay to the most excellent and principal person, to whom all your devotions are addressed, than all the hazards and miseries of your life will be able to satisfy, and I heartily wish that may ever be your chief endeavour, whereby you may perpetuate your own felicity. I am extremely glad to hear that you find yourself better in your health. I beseech you for these few days neglect nothing that may improve it; though you slight a cold, yet others look upon it with trouble; care of yourself will now be more considerable than ever, that this romance may receive a happy close. I have curiosity enough in my desires to see you; if I could be disguised as easily as yourself, I should watch my opportunity. I shall heartily pray for you that you may glorify God as he hath manifestly blessed you."  $1\frac{1}{4}$  pp.

*Addressed:*—"Devensher. For my best child, thes."

*Endorsed:*—"Lady Devonshire to myself;" *but in Lady Frances' hand.*

CHRISTIAN, COUNTESS DOWAGER OF DEVONSHIRE, to COL. COOKE.

[1656 or 1657<sup>32</sup>?]*—*Prays to be informed "what is like to succeed in the treaty" for her sweet Lady Frances, as she is much troubled to find less probability than she expected of bringing that business to a happy close. Finds herself a person suspected, and confesses that she has a great partiality for her dear lady Frances. Desires to know "whether Charles Rich show a forwardness to reconcile the difference." *Holograph.* 1 p. *Seal of arms.*

\* The letter *may* belong to 1660 (see the Countess's letter below), but the allusion to reconciling the difference seems to point rather to the marriage treaty. Compare Mary Cromwell's letter to her brother Henry, printed after letter ccxii., in Carlyle.



ROBERT, 2ND EARL OF WARWICK, to his grandson [ROBERT RICH].

[1657? ]—"Thou small cur, yet a cur to the best finest lady in the world, there is nothing can excuse you from running away but the hope I have you have since seen your happiness, but be of good comfort for a few days, for in one seven-nights your sun shall shine on you to a lasting comfort if you continue worthy of her favour, and so small white cur, God bless thee. Your grandsire as you please."

From your mistress' chamber, this Wednesday afternoon.  
*Holograph.*  $\frac{1}{2}$  p.

*Endorsed by Lady Frances*:—"L. Warwick, in a pleasant humour."

ROBERT, 3RD EARL OF WARWICK to LADY FRANCES RICHE.

[1658? \*]—Assures her that he had no desire to dispose of any things in her hands, in relation to his son's affairs, "who had the honour of that relation" to her Ladyship, but merely wished to see them in hopes of gaining some light concerning his debts, that his creditors might not take any unreasonable advantage, now that he (Lord Warwick) was securing them their money. Begs her to believe that no actions of his life will be so pleasant to him as those wherein he can express the value, esteem, and (if he may say so) kindness which he feels towards her. *Holograph.*  $1\frac{1}{2}$  pp.

*Endorsed by Lady Frances*:—"Lord Warwick, relating to his sonne."

C[HRISTIAN], COUNTESS DOWAGER OF DEVONSHIRE, to  
LADY FRANCES RICH.

1658, [before August 6.]—"I bear a very great part of your trouble and grief at this time, for your most worthy sister.† My lady's fits being so terrible, and her weakness increasing, I thought it fit to offer to your consideration a remedy that I had recommended to me when I was in my great extremity winter was twelvemonth. It is called the universal cure, or quintessence of gold; the gentleman that makes it lives in Shropshire, and I have heard that the medicine has done miraculous cures, and that to very young children, the remedy being very safe. I know not any that has taken it but my Lord Southampton, and I have heard it was with very good success. His pains were very intolerable and his disease in the opinion of most physicians desperate. I presume not to offer this as a fit cure for my lady further than as the physicians shall approve of it. I know most of them look upon these remedies as irregular and extravagant, yet in great extremities they have been consenting, when other medicines have not prevailed. I believe Dr. Bates or some other

\*After the death of the 2nd Earl in March 1658.

† Mrs. Claypole died August 6.

of the physicians that are with you are able to inform how that agreed with my Lord Southampton. I only offer this to your consideration that by discourse you may inform yourself of the doctors' opinion of such a particular remedy. I would not be named in it, because I know they have an undervalue, many of them, for those universal medicines. I beseech you, madam, put her Highness in mind to make a trial what Mistress Mullains can do, I have known very great and sudden alterations made by that experiment. You will believe these to be the effects of a restless night to offer you this trouble at this time; truly it proceeds from a very earnest and passionate desire to give your noble sister ease of her torments. I would go five hundred miles to fetch any remedy that might procure her relief." *Signed.* 3½ pp.

The EARL OF WARWICK to LADY FRANCES [RICH]  
at Hampton Court.

[1658, after August 6.]—"I hope your Ladyship will not believe me importune in the declaration of myself very much concerned in what befalls your Ladyship, and that as in all things that gives you any satisfaction I am most pleased, so in all your griefs I am most afflicted; which, Madam, added to those obligations I received from the honour of my acquaintance with that noble and worthy lady your sister, gives me a double cause of excessive trouble, and I do most unfeignedly condole with your Ladyship's so great a loss from my heart and soul. I shall say no more at present to increase your trouble, but shall pray to heaven to supply those losses to you, which all must be subject to that live in this world, with what may make you most perfectly happy." *Seal with crest and coronet.* 1 p.

*Addressed* :—"For my Lady Frances, at Hampton Court."

CHRISTIAN, DOWAGER DUCHESS OF DEVONSHIRE, to  
LADY FRANCES RICH.

[1658], August 14. Ampthill.—Condoling with her upon the death of her sister, which she knows will be a great sorrow to all her near relatives, having been "so much a witness of their tenderness and affliction," urging upon her the consolations of religion, and offering unfeigned sympathy to the Lord Protector and her Highness in their sorrow. *Holograph.* 4 pp.

THE SAME to THE SAME.

[1660?]"—"Sweet my Lady Frances, I believe by Mr. Mount you were advertised of all that could be done in your business. Sir Charles Herbert took care of the petition, which was a very good one. I went myself the night before I came out of town to have delivered it to my Lord Manchester. Although I stayed at his house till 9 o'clock at night, yet it was not my good fortune to meet with him, but I sent him the petition by a very good friend of mine. Sir Charles Herbert was here with me this last

night, he tells me that by no means it should be offered at this time. When there is a fit opportunity I am confident my Lord Manchester will have it in his care. The order of the Lords' House and the many discourses of the House of Commons, I doubt not but are come to your knowledge, and therefore you do very discreetly to keep at a distance, to observe what the consequence will be. That is not to be expected suddenly, therefore you must have patience. Whenever I find any occasion wherein your friends may be serviceable to you, I shall be sure to give you an advertisement; it troubles me very much to see so little probability for a good success in that you claim. I hear that my Lord Duke very much undervalueth any pretence can be made to his estate.\* I hope you will be confident of what falls within my power." *Signed. 2 pp.*

*Addressed:* "For my Lady Frances Rich."

JOHN RUSSELL to LADY FRANCES RICH.

1662, November 28. Chippenham.—"In spite of all that distance into which my duty has thrown me, you are still so really present that I find it now as difficult a thing to write to your Ladyship as it but lately was to speak to you; . . . my soul has not been sluggish, but alas is both unable and afraid to pay its devotions. . . . You know, madam, what I ail, what I would tell you, what I would have. Be gracious to one that humbly expects his life or death from your decree.

"I dare not, Madam, be so rude as to beg a letter from you, and yet my respect to your Ladyship's quiet gives me this impudence. Would you, Madam, be rid of me, and all those disturbances which you are still likely to receive from me, do but bless me with a line or two, and I shall certainly die for joy, and so you will escape those further impertinences which else you must suddenly expect." 1 p.

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1662, December 12. Chippenham.—"I should be afraid thus to repeat your Ladyship's trouble, did I not now consider myself only as your servant, and upon that account value my own preservation. It is that, Madam, which has so hugely endeared me to myself and this world that I begin to be fondly tender of that life which will speedily prove burdensome to me if I am denied your livery. . . . When I wrote last, I was afraid to receive a favour from your Ladyship, lest it should fill me with such ecstasies as might throw me out of my very being, and now I die unless I may obtain one. Thus devout, religious souls tremble when they are going to heaven, and yet pine and mourn because they are not there. . . . But why do I at this distance beg for that I ought to fetch? Yes, Madam, I am resolved very speedily to throw myself at your Ladyship's feet; . . . I fly, methinks I am all wings, and if in the next moment you see me not waiting upon you, it is because, Madam, I bring with me my poor all." 1½ pp.

\* Newhall, Essex, now given to the Duke of Albemarle, had been granted to Cromwell, and was settled by him on his daughter Frances.

JOHN RUSSELL TO LADY FRANCES RICH.

[1662?] Chippenham.—“Love and fear, grief and impatience, are my perpetual tormentors. I cannot sleep but with a great deal of disturbance, I have not the same advantage of air as other men, I do not so much breathe as sigh, this is the condition I have been in ever since I saw you last, and now, Madam, that I have made known my torments to you, give me leave to tell you that there is nothing (in this world) can give me anything of ease but one line from your Ladyship, for which I as earnestly beg for as I would for a morsel of bread if I were ready to starve; and since, Madam, it is in your power to take me off this rack, it concerns your generosity very much not to use cruelty to one who cries you quarter, and casts himself at your feet, where I beg that you would be pleased sometime to remember that I am, Madam, your Ladyship's most humble and most dutiful servant.”

[LADY FRANCES RICH TO JOHN RUSSELL.]

[1662? ]—I am very sorry you have entertained an affection which proves so troublesome to you and hope you will not wonder if I take care to preserve myself from the passion which has done you so much mischief. You are too reasonable to interpret this slighting of you, for I consider you so much herein as to make you my example, and for your sake am an enemy to that wicked disease called love, because it handles you so severely. I assure you, Sir, I so far sympathize with you as upon your account to be afraid of it, and advise you as soon as possibly you can to rid yourself of such an uncivil guest. Surely that which unmans you, which torments you with much fear, grief and impatience, which disturbs your rest, denies you the common benefit of air, (and so near Newmark[et] Heath too,) and turns all your breath into sighs, must needs be very dangerous to a poor silly woman. You have no reason to complain of these lines, because they express as much charity and care for you as faithfulness to myself. You are too honest to wish another infected because you are sick. I hope your recovery, and if I have not forgot the content of your last, I think I have more than satisfied your own desire, for you were so reasonable as to consider my poverty, and so only requested one line.” *Draft.* 1 p.

JOHN RUSSELL TO LADY FRANCES RICH.

[1662? ]—If this letter is not so tedious as the last, it is only the fulness of my poor heart which spares you. “I ask not, Madam, what is become of my last scribblings, I make no complaints of your Ladyship's silence, I beg no expressions of kindness from you, I do not so much as tell you how much I honour and serve you. The excess of my passion for you, as well as my respects to you, strike me dumb, and confound me. . . . It is confessed to your hand that the same understanding which commands me to love you, requires you to slight and scorn me; only, Madam, indulge me this freedom, to assure your Ladyship

that I must, in spite of your too, too reasonable severity, live or die yours. . . . I am such a sinner, methinks its pride in me to pray, nor may I ever expect to be blessed unless, like heaven, you forgive and show mercy to your Ladyship's most humble creature." 1 p.

JOHN RUSSELL to LADY FRANCES RICH.

[1668, beginning of?] Tuesday. Chippenham.—. . . . "The greatest pleasure I ever had in my life is that of having seen you, and the greatest torment, in being at this distance. It is certainly but just that so great a good fortune as that of having found you should cost me something, nay, though it were my life, I should not think I had bought it at too dear a rate. . . . Even at the same time that I suffer that I see you not and am in doubt whether you love me, I would not change conditions with those who are most fortunate, who see, and who enjoy. I cannot now in any company exceed a smile, and when I have viewed all about me, I retire into a corner by myself. Be pleased therefore, dear Madam, that that convenient time (as you were pleased to call it) may be with the soonest, and that after so much suffering, I may enjoy the greatest of happinesses. 1½ pp.

LADY FRANCES RICH to JOHN RUSSELL.

[1668, beginning of?—I have received yours, and have only now time to thank you for the very great expressions of love I find in it. I will not now complain of you or chide you, otherwise I could take it ill you should, after all that has passed between yourself and me, say you are in a doubt whether I love you; nor can I allow you to mention so much your suffering upon my account, since I must tell you my usage has been very favourable, but I excuse all such escapes of your pen, as proceeding from an extravagant passion, and for your sake wish the object of it more considerable. To make it so is the account your fuller satisfaction is delayed, and till those affairs depending are ripened, be content with the very good fortune you have hitherto had, and as patiently as you can, lengthen out your consideration and respect of her who has, she thinks, very early put you into a capacity of pretending to her and deserved the expectation. At Mr. White's return from Hursely, you shall hear further." *Draft, written on the back of John Russell's letter.* 1 p.

JOHN RUSSELL to LADY FRANCES RICH.

[1668?] February 14. Chippenham.—Assures her that it is impossible to express the torture he is in until she satisfies the hopes she has given him leave to entertain, he being like a man pressed to death who cries, more weights, or like those good souls who have had a foretaste of the blessedness to come. He is all wing, flame and desire, and conjures her, by heaven's example, and by her pity, compassion, bounty and goodness, to

perfect what she has so generously begun, to abbreviate the tedious dark interval in which he languishes, and to pronounce his jubilee and triumph. 1½ pp. *Seal of arms.*

JOHN RUSSELL to LADY FRANCES RICH.

[1668, Before May? \*]—"Thus far I have forced myself to endure what I cannot help, but I find it impossible to get beyond this place without looking back. . . . I am jogging on to a place that can yield no pleasure whilst you are not in it, and only comfort myself in this, that I am going to prepare it for your Ladyship. Oh God, how it torments my grateful soul that after all is done it will be no more worthy of you." 1 p.

*Endorsed by Lady Russell* :—"My dear husband's letters."

JOHN RUSSELL to his wife, FRANCES RUSSELL.

[1668? Newmarket.]—"My dear, Lord Thomond has gone a-hunting, but expects to find you here on his return, has taken great care in having a good dinner upon your account, and will be "extraordinary concerned if you come not, neither will my sister† be content without this messenger coming to you. If you make haste, you may be here soon enough. Pray, if you can possible, let me see thee, dear rogue." 1 p.

THE SAME to THE SAME.

[1668? Newmarket.]—"My dear, my Lord Thomond and the rest were yesterday to see my Lord North, and stayed so long that it was dark. Some advised him to take a candle and lantern with him, but he swore like himself, or the devil, that he would not. The coachman, being a stranger, laid them down without hurting them. They lay all night at a farmer's.

"My Lord Bryon [O'Brien] came to Newmarket, and this morning I am going out a-hunting with him. I let you know this, because you may take your choice whether you will come hither in the afternoon or stay till Monday and dine with them.

"Dear rogue, make much of thyself and let not thy domestic affairs trouble thee, and in so doing you will oblige your poor but loving husband, and dear dog."

*Postscript.* "About five this morning I writ this nonsense." 1 p.

*Addressed* :—"For my dear wife, Mrs. Russell, at Chippenham."

FRANCES RUSSELL to her husband, JOHN RUSSELL.

[1668? Chippenham.]—"My dear, I have received thy letter and am sorry I cannot answer thy desires. There is no possibility of my coming; the horses are at plough, and

\* They were married, May 7, 1668.

† Henry, 7th Earl of Thomond, married, as his second wife, Sarah, daughter of Sir Francis Russell.

besides, my present indisposition will not suffer me to wait upon that good company where you are. I am sure you cannot want a great deal of company to eat up your good dinner. I should have been very glad if I could have made one. Give my humble service to my lady and lord, and beg their pardons. I shall take some other time to wait upon them."

*Postscript.* "Eat for thyself and me too, for I shall fast till I see thee." *Draft, on the back of her husband's letter.*  $\frac{3}{4}$  p.

SIR JOHN RUSSELL to his wife, LADY FRANCES RUSSELL.

[1664, April 28 or 29.\*]—"To-morrow morning, about three a'clock, I shall set out of town, waiting upon the corpse of my dear father, and intend not to leave them† till they are committed to the earth; and were it not for leaving behind me thy dear self, should be contented to be buried with them. Thy dear rogue, J.R."

*Postscript.* "Mr. Par is writing to Mr. White."

THE SAME to THE SAME.

[1666,] December 4.—"Sunday night I came to London, and to-morrow morning my uncle William and myself are to meet my Lord B. and I believe shall conclude our bargain. 18,400*l.* is the most that he will give, so that this night I have to consider about it. The Scots are utterly routed. They were in number fifteen hundred; they fought within three miles of Edinburgh. The greatest part of them are killed, the rest taken and fled." This is certain, and will be in the next Gazette. 1 p.

THE SAME to THE SAME.

[1667, March 7‡?] Thursday.—Cannot get his money before Tuesday. Has met with as much crossness as ever, but hopes it is nearly over. To complete his misfortune, learns from his Uncle Russell of poor Will's illness. Prays for news. 1½ pp.  
[*Post ma, Ma: 8.*]

THE SAME to THE SAME.

[1667?] May 5. London.—I pray you tell Will Nelson that his company is desired here in order to finish my business, which I do not think will keep me from being with you on Monday or Tuesday next [week?]. "Dear child, make much of thyself, and let it not be in the power of that ridiculous woman to give thee any trouble." I hope she will have gone before you get this. Tell Dick Shaw that Mr. Francklen of Newmarket has charged a bill

\* Sir Francis Russell was buried at Chippenham on April 30 of this year.

† The word corpse is usually written as a plural noun in the 17th century.

‡ Neither March nor May 8 fall on a Thursday in 1667 or the following years. Apparently the letter was written either on March 7, 1667, or May 7, 1668. The postmarks of these letters are sometimes the same date and sometimes a day later than the date of the letter itself.

of 35*l.* upon him, payable at sight, but what it means I know not.

"All the news I can tell you is that the King will certainly be at Newmarket at *Strawberry's* match, and that the Queen is breeding. She keeps her bed, and is extraordinary careful lest she should mis-carry. My Lord Thomond and my sister send you their services, and I think will leave this place at the same time that I shall. My sister is very fine, and so is every body that is in town but myself. I do not perceive that there is any particular fashion, but everybody pleasing their own fancy. Those few things I am to buy for you shall be bought by my cousin Chicheley . . . . Send word to James Nellson that when the King comes, there will be one or two come down to run with him, therefore let him be in heats. His name is so famous at court that the King has a desire to see him run." Mr. Kingsmell has given me some marshall gloves for you all, "but I find Madam Frances most in favour, for she has a pound of marshall powder, as well as gloves.

"I supped the other night at my Lord Mountague's, where I was much made on, and my Lady extreme kindly asking after you. Our feast was a venison pasty, and as fat a one as ever I saw. There was a great deal of company, my Lord Arendoll of Warder for one, who you are much beholden to, for he did not only enquire after you, but began your health. My paper will let me say no more to you but that I am your affectionate husband till death." 4 *pp.*

SIR JOHN RUSSELL to his wife, LADY FRANCES RUSSELL.

[1667, May 11?] London, Saturday.—I hear that Lord Crofts leaves town to-morrow afternoon and hope to get room in his coach, and to be with you on Monday or Tuesday. "There is no more news than when Will Nellson left this place. The King will be at Newmarket, but leaves not Whitehall till Thursday. My Lord Thomond tells me that the King told him he would see Chippenham, but I believe his stay in the country will be so short that he will have no time. If he does, it will be only in a morning, to bowls, and back again to Newmarket to dinner." 2 *pp.* [*Post mark Ma., but the figure defaced.*]

THE SAME to THE SAME.

[1667?] May 12.—Has been in much trouble, his business still hanging just as it was, but now Mr. White has come to town, he hopes "everything will go glib," and that he will be with her this week, and perhaps Lord Thomond also. His Lordship sends thanks for the pigeon pie, which unfortunately has lain at the warehouse until this day, but whether spoiled or no he takes it very kindly of her, and intends to present her with "a new fashion fan." 2 *pp.*



SIR JOHN RUSSELL to his wife, LADY FRANCES RUSSELL

[1667, May ?] Thursday morning. London.—At my first coming to town, I met with my Lord Gorge, who is desirous to go on, so pray tell Mr. Percivall, “that, excuses set aside, he and my writings must forthwith come to town.” This is of great consequence to me.

“I find nothing here as I expected, but am confident that your great ones had rather have England served as I lately told you than some people should be in power.” I am this morning going to see your son. My thoughts are wholly with thy dear self and little ones, and as soon as Mr. Percivall is in town, I shall leave it, therefore pray haste him away. 2 pp.

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

[1667,] June 22.—Has seen her son, who still has a cold, but looks fat. Will go again to-morrow, and take either Nurse Fletcher or Dr. Coks, as “he is very full of heat all over him, like the red gum, which the learned say is good for him.”

*Postscript.* “The Dutch have left us. I hope they are not with you. My Lady Rouse is dead.” 1 p.

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

[1667,] June 25. [London.]—“My cousin Waller and Mr. Percivall, being slow men of London, have hindered my being with you so soon as I expected,” but I hope to set out for Chippenham the day after to-morrow. My brother Claypole and I have seen your son Rich, who is well. “It is now reported that the Parliament is to be called within thirty days, and that the Dutch treaty is broke off. I hope this ill-news may prove like what we have heard formerly, but I fear it is too true.” 1 p.

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

[1667, June 27 ?]—“I have now ordered my business so that to-morrow I intend to set out of London, leaving Mr. Percivall behind. I believe by the time this comes to you, you are as much alarmed as you were lately. The Dutch are come up almost to Gravesend; they have made some disturbance here, but all will blow over, as it did the other day. I just now come from Wolledg, where I think they are so strong it is impossible any ships can come by. On Saturday expect me.” 1 p.

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

[1667,] July 9. London.—I can tell you no more than in the letter I sent you yesterday by Sir John Chicheley, but I believe my Lord G. intends to go on, for he is at the business from morning till night. He has already been to three counsel about it, Fountaine,

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\* Date, Friday (erased) 28th, but the post mark is [Thursday] June 27th.

Ellis and Raymont, and is still going to more. "Few believe we shall have peace. Some say the Dutch demand liberty to be allowed in England, and many such unreasonable things." 1 p.

*Postscript.* This is my third letter to you and I have not heard one word.

SIR JOHN RUSSELL to his wife, LADY FRANCES RUSSELL.

[1667, July 13?] Saturday night.—Lord Gorge tells me faithfully that I shall know his mind on Monday next. "Lord Fanconberg will suddenly be in town, but not my Lady. Mr. Bellasis is yet alive, but so weak that I never saw anything like him. He admits of no company, but hearing that I was in the house, desired to see me. He is just winking in the socket. The news of peace is still stronger and stronger. I hope by this time you in the country believe it, though we have made you often fools." Tell your son Will that his sword and belt were forgotten to be sent, but I will take care of them.

*Postscript.* "Since I writ this, my Lord George has been with me, and we are like to go on. He presents his service to you." 2 pp. [*The post-mark, although very indistinct, appears to be Jy: 15, which was a Monday.*]

THE SAME to THE SAME.

[1667, July?] Sunday. From my chamber at Mr. Wing's.—Though you were yesterday troubled with a letter from me, I know not how to spare you now, for my only pleasure is in thinking of you and the little ones. I wish my business with Lord G. may not fall out as I have heard you prophecy; my fortune hitherto has been ill, but I shall not trouble about things that I cannot help, and beg you will endeavour the same. Yesterday's great news of our peace with the Dutch has come to nothing. "My service to my Lord Tho[mond] and the rest with you. Mr. Feltham promised me yesterday to give my Lord an account of our London lies, so we reckon all that is reported here. Sir Thos. Billingsley is as much yours as formerly. I find no alteration in him unless it be that he looks younger. As for his apparel, from head to foot they are the same you remember in your father's time, not so much as a pair of new shoes, or a hair altered in his periwig since he left Chippenham. For my part I believe he has been no further than Westminster, keeping the Kings and Queens company. I am confident they will want new clothes before him.

My dear heart, farewell. I am thine till death."

*Postscript.* "Kiss poor Will and Betty for me. I will do the like for you to Rich." 2 pp.

THE SAME to THE SAME.

[1667, July? London.] Saturday.—Cannot yet tell how his business will go, as if a decree is needed it will be next term

before it can be done ; if not, the bargain stands. "The great news now is that the peace is certainly concluded, but upon what terms is not yet known." 1 p.

SIR JOHN RUSSELL to his wife, LADY FRANCES RUSSELL.

[1667, July. London.]—I have to-day received your letter, and one from my Uncle Russell, which wholly concerned yourself, so I shall "leave you to imagine some ugly thing said of you. But (setting Mrs. Chinery's way of discourse aside) it was that that pleased me, though no news, for it was always my belief," yet it is pleasant to find my relations of my mind.

My Lord has put me off for two or three days more and then our counsel is to see whether the bargain may not go on, and the decree be let alone till next term. "I find my Lord very willing to proceed, but the carefullest man that ever I saw in my life. Peace with the Dutch is once more believed, and I think we may now trust to it." Nurse Fletcher is sending down your house-keeper. Do not take too much care, but make much of yourself. I hope your claret is good. If not, let me know, and anything else you would have me do for you. "I often wish you with me, or one of your little brats. Your son Rich is well." 1½ pp.

THE SAME to THE SAME.

[1667, September 10,] Tuesday.—I have had a meeting with Lord Gorges, and believe all will be arranged if the trustees are here on Friday, as I have engaged they shall be. Pray tell Mr. Parr this, and desire Will. Nelson to get my Uncle Gerard to sign the release I left with you and trust it to him, or send it to Mr. Doget, or any of his friends here in town. The discharge must be only for what is in the schedule, 550*l.* and interest, but I mean to pay him the rest of what I owe him out of my first payment. The witnesses are to be Mr. Dowman, Goodman Powers, and Mr. Floyd. "My sister Katherine must likewise do the like for 400*l.*, but Mr. Percivall has taken care about that . . . And now, my dear, give me leave to tell you that the trouble I am now in about my business, and all that I ever met with, never was so great a concern to me as the thoughts of leaving you in so much trouble as I did the other day. I shall be glad if anything in this letter may be pleasing to you, and that it may be in my power to remove your melancholy, for whilst you are so, it is un-possible for me to be happy. Therefore, my dear child, if you have any kindness for your poor husband, let me find an alteration in you by your next letter." *Postscript.* Saturday is the day for sealing, as Lord G. goes out of town on Monday next. 1½ pp.

[The post mark is September 10, which fell on a Tuesday in this year.]

SIR JOHN RUSSELL to his wife, LADY FRANCES RUSSELL.

[1667?] September 12.—Is so angry with her for her severe letter that although his London troubles are like to end on Saturday next, he cannot be in good humour until she makes him amends, and is no longer so cruel as to doubt the real love of her poor husband, who thinks himself in purgatory whilst absent from her dear self. 1 p. [*The date is that of the post-mark.*]

THE SAME to THE SAME.

[1667,] November 21.—Since coming to town, I have wholly attended to my business, and hope to be with you next Tuesday. "My [Lord] and Lady Fauconberg I this day dined with. My Lord is very melancholy at the loss of his two sisters. He intends to keep Christmas with you." My Lady has taken a cook-maid for you. I have not seen her yet, but she was under-cook to Lord Castleton, and Lady Fauconberg thinks is very fit for you. "Pray dismiss your bedlam cook with all the speed you can. I am sure she cannot but be a great plague to you . . . I can tell you no more news now than when I left you. The Parliament takes great pains, but as yet no effects are seen, but much is expected from them." 1 p.

THE SAME to THE SAME.

[1667, November 23], Saturday. London.—My business will not possibly let me be with you until Wednesday next, but your cook sets out on Monday.

"The Parliament is very severe against all that have received bribes, and are daily inquiring them out. Mr. Ashburnam, Parliament man for Sussex (as I take it) is voted out of the House for being guilty of the afore-mentioned crime. Lord Clarendon's business is as it was. Next Tuesday both Houses are to have a free conference."

*Postscript.* "My Lady Thomond is younger and brisker than ever I knew her."  $\frac{1}{2}$  p.

THE SAME to THE SAME.

[1667-1670.\*]—Has been to see her son, who looks much better than when she left him. Must spend a day or two in reckoning with Brooks, but will certainly be with her on Tuesday night, for he finds no comfort in this place or company and will make all possible haste back to her. 1 p.

*Postscript.* "Remember to burn this."

THE SAME to THE SAME.

[1667-1670, London.] Tuesday.—"My dear child, you might be sure that it was something more than ordinary that hindered

\* Sir John died in March, 1670. It is doubtful to which of the visits to London this and the following letters should be given.

me from writing to thee by the last post. I thank God I now believe my troubles wearing away, but in all my life-time I never met with so insolent a base, dirty, proud fellow as Parr has been since his coming to town." My uncle and I intend to leave town next Thursday by the Cambridge coach, and pray you to let your coach meet us there at the Black Bear. "I long to be with you, and am making all the haste that I can possible to dispatch my affairs in this dirty place. I just now came from my Lady Thomond, who you and I are mightily beholden to. I have made no other visit since I came to town unless it were to your son Rich; he is very well and a brave boy." Your last kind letter came very seasonably, for I never was so melancholy in my life as I was then, but the thoughts of so soon enjoying your company have banished all that away. 1 p.

SIR JOHN RUSSELL to his wife, LADY FRANCES RUSSELL.

[1667-1670.] Storford.—Intends to make all the haste possible to get back to her. Cannot lodge at Mr. Wing's, as his daughter has the smallpox, but means to lie at Mrs. Bladon's if he can have room. His letters are to be sent to Thos. Percivall's. Her son has had and is like to have a cold journey, but no doubt a day or two of her care will recover him. Sends kisses to her and her son and daughter, for which she is to pay Rich, the bearer. 1 p.

THE SAME to THE SAME.

[1667-1670.]—Hopes to end his troublesome business in time to leave town on Monday morning by the Cambridge coach, and means to reach home the same night, being too impatient to see his wife and her nursery to make two days' journey of it. Lord Thomond will set out at the same time and will be with her on Tuesday. Begs her not to be melancholy and sends kisses to the "poor souls" Will, Betty and Rich, who, he hopes, will have better fortune than he has had. 1½ pp.

THE SAME to THE SAME.

[1667-1670.]—Immediately on arriving in London has seen Mr. White, who promises a speedy end to all the troublesome business. Has been to Lord Fauconberg's, "where was a great deal of company dined with him, the Duke of Albemarle, my Lord of Thomond, and my Lord I know not who." Saw her sister, but my Lord stayed with his merry company. Is too weary to write more, but will be home on Saturday. 1 p.

THE SAME to THE SAME.

[1667-1670.] Saturday night.—Has reached London safely, and he and Lord Gorge are once more like to make a bargain. He offers 100*l.* more than formerly, but wishes to have the Michaelmas rents. 1 p.

SIR JOHN RUSSELL to his wife, LADY FRANCES RUSSELL.

[1667-1670, London.] Sunday night.—Finds that he cannot possibly get away until the end of the week, although he is far more impatient for her company than she can be for his. 1 p.

THE SAME to THE SAME.

[1670, January? London.] Tuesday. At Mr. Gargrave's House.—His Uncle Russell still thinks to make a great bargain for him, but he will be very careful what he does. His brother and sister Sheers send their services. Cannot but think her very happily bestowed. 1 p.

THE SAME to THE SAME.

[1670, Jan. 20.]—I had no sooner reached Mr. Gargrave's house than I was sent for to my Lady Fauconberg, who will not suffer me to lie out of her house, and continually expresses her kindness to us and ours. Mr. Strickland and his spouse are likewise here. I wish I could tell you anything good about our own concerns, but Lord S. is as unlikely to get money as ever. To-night my Uncle Chicheley is coming to give me his advice, "and I doubt not but one way or other to bring my affairs so that we may live happier than we hitherto [have] done." The beginning of next week I shall be with you, and the Monday after, you must think of coming here, for my lady knows not how to be without you, and bids you to prepare against that time. You are to make me your [deputy?] at Chippenham, where, when you are weary of this place, your husband will receive you with kindness home again. He knows not how to live without you, yet is well satisfied for you to be with so good a friend.

*Postscript.* "Tuesday last Lord Fauconberg left this place. To-morrow suffers Devall\* who I perfectly knew, but am never the better, for my ring and watches are sold, and never more to be heard of." *Torn.* 2 pp. [*Post mark, Ja. 20.*]

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1669-70, February 10. Chippenham.—All things here are as well as is possible without thy good company, which nothing should have robbed me of but my Lady Fauconberg. "When I consider that you are with a person that has so much love for you . . . I cannot but be satisfied, in spite of all my ill-fortune. No, child, if thou designest to make thy poor husband happy let not the cares of this world trouble thee, and it is done." My service to "the best and greatest lady in the world," and to Mrs. Bella Strickland.

*At the end of the letter are some childish scribbles signed W. R., and noted by Sir John: "What your son desires besides craving your blessing and sending his humble services*

\* Claud Duval, executed Jan. 21, 1670.

to my Lady Fauconberg, you may read as perfectly as I can."  $1\frac{1}{2}$  pp.

*Addressed:* "For the Lady Russell, at the Lord Fauconberg's house in Lincoln's Inn Fields, London."

LADY FRANCES RUSSELL to her husband, SIR JOHN RUSSELL.

[1670,] February 10.—"Although I am got well to this place, where, as you told me, I should be received with a great deal of joy and kindness, yet methinks I want thy dear self to complete this present pleasure which I now enjoy. I can most truly assure thee that as well as I love this place, and as much respect and fondness as I meet with from my dear sister and other persons, yet I could not live contented here without thee." Last night your Uncle Chicheley and Mr. Secretary supped here, and I find it is thought necessary for you to come up yourself about the business with your Uncle R[ussell], and, should any difference arise between you, then is the time for your Uncle C[hicheley] and Mr. Secretary to umpire between you.

"There is little of news stirring. The pretty widow is now sick of the small-pox, but the danger is past. The little Cavendish heir\* died last night of a consumption, which has caused a great deal of sadness at Southampton House. I have received visits and compliments from every [one] but Lady Poul[et?] who, I hear, is very angry at your letter to her Lord. I pray God bless my dear, and send him safe to his most passionately fond, dearly [loving] wife."

*Postscript.* "I pray God bless my dear, dear sweet babes. Kiss them over and over from their poor mama. I long to hear how you all do. Give my service to Lady Russell, and a kiss to my little patient." 2 pp.

*Postscript by Lord Fauconberg.* "You had need make haste up, for your wife is so courted by the Venetian Ambassador that I fear he will make you a cuckold. My service to all with you, and kiss our babes from me.—Yours, Fauconberg."

EARL OF CLARENDON.

1671, April 3. Montpelier.—Copies of the letters written by the 1st Earl of Clarendon to the Duke and Duchess of York, on hearing that his daughter had joined the Church of Rome. 3 pp. [*Printed in State Tracts, the Harleian Miscellany and elsewhere.*]

SIR WILLIAM FRANKLAND to VISCOUNT FAUCONBERGE, at Fauconberge House, near Charing Cross.

1678[-9], January 21. [Thirkleby.]—"I acknowledge to your Lordship the news of the further prorogation was not at all unexpected or surprising to me, though it came very

\* The MS. has "Candish ayer."

opportunely, for this day Major Talbot (who dined with me) and myself had agreed to write to York for taking our places in the coach against Thursday sennight, but since it hath pleased God and the King to order it otherwise, we must bear it patiently, for when all is done, *stultitia hominis et sapientia Dei gubernant mundum*.

I am extremely grieved to hear of the return of your Lordship's old distemper, but hope the country air will restore *sanitatem corporis*, as your study and garden will *tranquillitatem animi*, in which consists Epicurus's *summum bonum*. I have not writ so much Latin these twenty years, but as things are at this time, see no reason why an English tongue, as well as an English heart, should not grow every day out of fashion." 1 p. *Seal of arms*.

THOMAS LASCELLES to SIR WILLIAM FRANKLAND, at Thirkelbye.

[16]78[-9], February 3.—I have communicated yours about the election of knights of the shire to several freeholders hereabouts, and have not failed to make Sir Gilbert Gerard's and Sir Henry Calverley's interest<sup>a</sup> as strong as I can. I hope they will carry it, "though Mr. Marwood, by his brother Metcalfe's interest, puts in to give us some trouble; my Lord of Durham also hath recommended his elder brother with some earnestness, and a kind of little threatening, but obstinate tempers will not be wrought upon by any impressions but such as they like." Pray give my service to your lady, and to Mr. Sanderson and his lady.  $\frac{3}{4}$  p.

————— to [SIR WILLIAM FRANKLAND].

[16]78[-9], February 3. York.—Mr. Tancred will tell you that the County Court is adjourned, and that no writ came. Sir John Kay desired my assistance, but I told him honestly that I had engaged all the friends I could for Lord Fairfax and Lord Clifford, and believed the whole county was so resolved for them that it was not possible to shake their interest. He seemed not very pleased, nor willing to desist, but I am confident all his striving will be in vain. He wishes to make the country believe "that my Lord Fairfax waives it, and it is so far very right that he does not seek it, but desires to be excused, and yet I am assured he will accept it," and have been bold enough to tell him that he must not refuse.  $\frac{3}{4}$  p. *Signature torn off*.

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1678[-9], February 3.—Lord Fairfax dined with me to-day and we pressed him exceedingly to declare his joining with Lord Clifford, but all that we could get from him was that if he joined with any, it should be with Lord Clifford. We suppose he will

<sup>a</sup>For Northallerton borough.



declare himself at the meeting next Friday, at the George. No one openly opposes Lord Clifford so far except Sir Jo. Kay, but it is feared that he may strike in with the interest of the Lord L[atimer] get many of the West-Riding gentry to be present at that meeting, and set up one of them against Lord Clifford. As the great design of this previous meeting is to prevent clashings and bandyings at the great popular meeting for the election, I am hugely desirous that his Lordship's interests should be strengthened there. Your own presence would be of great use, but if your distemper will not permit of your coming, it would be well for you to prevail with some considerable North-Riding gentlemen to be there. Although Lord Fairfax desires to be excused, yet he has declared that "if his country choose him, he will serve them the best he can." *Signature torn off. In the same handwriting as the preceding. 1 p.*

*Noted by Sir William, "the latter letter."*

SIR WILLIAM FRANKLAND TO VISCOUNT FAUCONBERGE.

1678[-9], February 4. [Thirkleby].—The gout is so violent upon me that I cannot rise from bed. I have little to add to what the two enclosed letters from my old intelligencer will tell you.\* "I hope our fears of a surprising election are now past, for on Monday, the day we feared, neither Lord L[atimer] nor none for him nor any writ appeared. I could wish your Lordship had writ to Sir Richard Grahme to have engaged him for my Lord Clifford, for I hear he is very busy for Sir J[ohn] K[aye] . . . I hear just now from Thirske that my Lord Derby refuses to give Sir William Went[worth] his interest there, pretending to him a pre-engagement, though he has hitherto recommended none, and am confident if your Lordship had an opportunity of discoursing with him it might have been gained for my nephew, for I find the town very well disposed to him, and do believe, if my Lord Derby do not concern himself in the election, he is in a fairer way than anybody to be my partner, and I am certain he will be a very good one." Pray show the enclosed letters to none but my lady, as the hand may be known, and I would have no prejudice come to one who shows himself so zealous for the good of his country. *Signed. 1 p. Seal of arms.*

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

1678[-9], February 7.—Not being able to go myself to the meeting of the gentlemen at York, I prevailed with Mr. Chamber to do so, asking him to compliment Lord Clifford and Lord Fairfax from you, and to tell them that, according to your instructions, he had sent to try to engage all the gentlemen of this Riding for their Lordships' interest, and had reason to be confident that they would be very unanimous in it. I have also sent my servant with letters to their Lordships and Sir Jo. K[aye] (who had writ for my assistance, but my answer was

\* Probably the two preceding letters.

pre-engagement) to the same effect, and have heartily pressed Lord Fairfax to declare his resolution of standing and to join with Lord Clifford. I thank your Lordship on behalf of my nephew (now in Lincolnshire). By some expressions in your letter, you seem to think that I had once some intention of standing for the county, but I can assure you I never gave the least countenance to such an idea. "When they were apprehensive at York of a surprising election, some public-spirited men, considering how they might best oppose it, resolved upon the sudden to get me to appear, and in the mean-time were labouring all about to make as many voices as they could (and I heard since they had got a great number) and were very confident, in case my Lord L[atimer] should have offered at such a thing, that they were provided for him. Upon notice of this, being unwilling to engage in this business, I persuaded nephew to undertake it . . . though thus far I'll deal truly with your Lordship, which is more than ever I yet owned to any, that in case upon my appearance at York an irregular election should have been offered at, I would without fear of any great man whatever, if nobody else had appeared to oppose him, have stood myself rather than have submitted to such a trick upon the country. But all that matter is now at an end, and we are carrying on the interests of the two Lords with all our might." I write this lying upon my bed, but though I be lame, I have not been lazy in this busy conjuncture. 1½ pp. *Seal of arms.*

SIR WILLIAM FRANKLAND to VISCOUNT FAUCONBERGE.

1678[-9], February 9. [Thirkleby.]—Mr. Bell has written to his wife that he believes Lord Derby "acquiesces upon your Lordship's letter for nephew," and has desired her to promote his interest, which she is very ready to do, so I make no question but he will be my partner. I have sent a post to Lincoln to him, and we shall hasten the election as fast as we can, as Mr. Hayes sends word that the writs are come to the sheriff. Mr. Chamber has given you an account of Friday's meeting. I wish all counties may agree upon as good a choice.

*Postscript.* "Some say young Arthington will put Sir John Reseby [Reresby] out at Aldbr[ough]." 1 p.

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1678[-9], February 14.—The two Lords at York expressed themselves as much obliged to you, especially Lord Clifford. After some pressing, Lord Fairfax was persuaded to declare that he would join interests with Lord Clifford, and Sir J. K[aye], who at first declined to quit his pretences, afterwards agreed to do so; although Lord Clifford is still not without some (I think groundless) apprehensions on his score.

I forgot in my last to tell you that Lady Davison died last Saturday, and was to be buried as yesterday. I should have

gone to see her, but Chas: Belasyse wrote from Blakestone, desiring me not to do so, although my lady took my intentions very kindly. I have written to desire his company at the election to-morrow at Thrisk. No news of any opponent.

Jack Davison continues at Coxwold and did not go to my lady's funeral, by her own desire, as I hear. 1½ pp.

SIR WILLIAM FRANKLAND to [LORD FAUCONBERG].

1678[-9], February 16.—“Yesterday nephew Saunderson and myself were chosen at Thrisk with an universal consent, no antagonist appearing to dispute it with us. We had a great deal of good company besides our neighbours—as Sir Mete[alfe] Rob[inson], the Talbots, Mr. Lascelles, &c.—for Sir Godfrey Copley, Mr. Rush (Ruisse) Wentworth and Mr. Jo. Wentw[orth's] son came from Aldbr[ough] to the election. I find the two first are very confident of their cause there, saying they have it in their choice whether they will be chosen by the nine or the greater number; but I believe they will stick to the latter, and rely upon the committee of elections, for they expect the sheriff will return the other, right or wrong, and seem to think that Mr. Aldbr: [? Arthington] will at last resign to Sir Jon[athan] Jenn[ings] to join with Sir Jo. Res[by].

Upon Thursday the election was at Burrow-bridge, where Sir Henry Goth[ericke] and Sir Tho. Maul[everer] were chosen without opposition, Sir Jon. appearing and being mounted for the first.

Upon Friday Sir Gilb[ert Gerard] and Sir Hen. Cal[verley] were chosen at North-Allerton, Mr. Marw[ood] having desisted.

Sir Jo. Hewley is drinking hard at Knasbr[ough] against Sir Tho. Slingsby, but not given over his pretences at York, where the election is to be Monday sennight.

I hear Sir Jo. Dawney will certainly be chosen one at Pomfr[et] and the dispute will lie between Sir Pat[ience] Ward and Mr. Ramsden. Sir Rob. Eden and Colonel Tempest, as I am told, join interests against Sir James Clavering and Mr. Vane for the county of Durham, and for the city, Col. Tempest's son, Sir Ra. Cole and Mr. Blakestone are competitors. I suppose your Lordship has an account that Mr. Humphrey Wharton and Mr. Cradock are chosen at Richm[ond], as the two Thompsons were, I suppose, yesterday at Scarbrough. I am rather better of my gout, but unable to go, though I was at Thrisk, where my son Tom was carried for me.”

*Postscript.* My nephew returns you a thousand thanks for your favour about Thrisk. Undoubtedly your letter to Lord Derby prevented any other recommendation. 2 pp.

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1678[-9], February 18.—Ch: Belasyse, being newly returned out of Bishopr[ick], tells me that Lady Dav[ison] several times

in her sickness expressed her inclinations to the match, and also has mentioned her approval of it in her will. He seems to think however that the feofees, Col. Tempest and Ra : Dav[ison] will not be very forward in their concurrence, and I scruple to finish the matter without their consent, though the young man could be persuaded to it. I shall send Tom up in April at latest and Mr. Davison means to go up with him. Our ladies are not inclined to go up this session, but how their minds may alter, I know not. I am very glad of Lord Derby's letter, for I do not hear that he has written or sent to Thrisk. 1 p. *Seal of arms.*

SIR WILLIAM FRANKLAND to LORD FAUCONBERGE.

1678[-9], February 21.—I have written to take places in the coach (which by that time will go in four days) for Wednesday, the 5th. Parson Frankland has been here (with whom Ralph has remained since he left your Lordship) and commends the boy very much. I will send him away with all expedition. I dont know what to think of the business of Mr. Dav[ison]. His uncle Ra[lph] has written for him, intending to send him to Cambridge, and says that "when it is convenient for him to marry, he shall choose according to his own desire, and if his mind does not alter as to the present lady, meaning Grace, he shall be as forward for it as those that make more noise, complimentally adding that it is into an honest and just family."

Jack is resolute to return quickly and go with Tom into the south. Mr. Bell has just shown me an obliging letter written to him by Lord Derby's direction, engaging his interest for my nephew.

*Postscript.* "Tis said that Lord Grey's brother joins with Captain Widdr[ington] (I dont like the conjunction) against Delaval and Fenwick. I have writ to Craike to engage the freeholders and hope have prevailed with many to give their voices for Mr. Vane and to advise with Sir Gilbert Gerrard in the choice of the other, though the parson there had laboured hard for Col. Tempest. I got Mr. Chamber to go and second my letter. Sir Thomas Slingsby and Mr. Stockd[ale] are chosen for Knasbrough, and Sir Jo. Hewley is labouring hard at York, and many are of opinion that he will put Sir Metc[alfe Robinson] hard to it. If I had been able, I had been at York to have countenanced our good neighbour." 1½ p. *Seal of arms.*

DR. JOHN TILLOTSON, Archbishop of Canterbury, to the EARL OF SHREWSBURY.

1679, April 22.—MS. copy of the letter to the Earl of Shrewsbury, and the first part of the treatise written in order to persuade the Earl to leave the Church of Rome. 13 pp. [*Printed as a tract. British Museum press mark, 224 C. 23.*]

LORD FAUCONBERG to SIR WILLIAM FRANKLAND, BART.,  
at Thirkleby.

[1680 ?] February 28. Sutton Court.—Encloses an abstract of the settlements made at his sister Dalton's marriage.\* His wife has gone to buy her the things asked for, and will, it is hoped, bring back better news of Miss Russell than they have had the last few days. Knows of nothing new in public affairs.  $\frac{3}{4}$  p. Signed.

*Underwritten (in the same hand as the letter).—*Note, signed R. G., stating that Mr. Gunton has taken back the saddle, and repaid 5l. 10s. 0d. for it.

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1679[-80], March 20.—I am harassed and spent with attending upon our poor aunt, who is now gone to her long home. She was an excellent woman and left this life for a better with great tranquillity, and (as she had reason) a desire of change. She left my sister her best suit of hangings, and your son Jack ten pounds. Lord Belasyse, Sir John Talbot and Mr. Clerke are executors. She has left my sister Dalton a hundred pounds, and my Aunt Vavasour five hundred. "Thus we drop, and one generation passes as another comes. God grant we may so live as to meet in the heavenly Jerusalem, for here we have no abiding city." Her death was hastened by putting herself upon a milk diet without advice, which course Dr. King declared to be mortal, for though very successful with gout, it is dangerous where there are complicated diseases. 1 p.

THE SAME to THE SAME.

[1680,] April 6.—"My dame acquainted my sister and yourself with the loss our family has had of an excellent good woman, gone to everlasting rest, her Father's house, but a little, a very little before us. The tapestry which she left my sister for a legacy consists only of three pieces, but very deep and fine. They lie here to be disposed of by your order.

"I cannot entertain you with anything considerable of a public nature. The design of burning the Rump by apprentices will not be found to have so much in it as is reported, and the Irish information (though very probable in itself) yet comes to us by a very ill hand, the fellow proving no better than an infamous Tory.

"The effect of yesterday's extraordinary Council (to which I had a summons but went not) is yet unknown to me, having had no visit, or other news from London, so that you must

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\* Barbara Belasyse married, 1st, Walter Strickland, and 2nd, Sir Marmaduke Dalton of Huxwell, Co. York.

be content to have intelligence a post later than your neighbours. My lord D[uke] of Bucks will probably have a trial for bugery. There are great intricacies in the story of it, which may better entertain you in the North, when I come. Your son Tom is a very good youth, a little soft, and very studious, to that degree as I conceive it may be of advantage to him to spend a month or two with you and me in conversation, both to unbend his bow and give him some assurance, which he wants more, I think, than letters. At Michaelmas Sir William Russell is intended for Cambridge, whose purse and disposition suiting very well with my nephew's, I think may be a convenient companion, and for both your interests in point of management, but this is yet remote."

*Postscript.* "The borders of the hangings are sewed on, and may be taken off, which will take off the depth near three quarters." 1½ pp.

LORD FAUCONBERG to his brother [-in-law, SIR WILLIAM FRANKLAND].

[1680?] April 13. Sutton Court.—By this two or three days converse with my nephew I find him improved in every way. He is so much pleased with both his master and his landlord that he has no desire either for a Northern journey or the University, "He is in the first form and second scholar; says both the Assembly and Church Catechism in Latin, to which if the Papal were added, he would be provided for all events. Upon the whole matter, I judge him capable of very little further improvement at school, and his studious humour considered, I think it may be his advantage to get assurance by keeping us company a month or two from midsummer, which is the time I purpose to go down. . . . As to public concerns, so great a serenity and quiet in the minds of men has not been seen this many years; fair measures are taken at home, advantageous alliances pursued, which is hoped may produce a good effect in Parliament the next winter.

Sir William Waller did notoriously misbehave himself in favour of my Lord D[uke] of B[uckingham] who lately came from France, and rid into the town upon a cart-horse, *incognito*, yet so as very many knew him. The Court removes to Windsor on Monday next."

*Postscript.* My cousin Levison-Gower and his Uncle Will dined with me to-day. The latter earnestly desires your help next sessions about the old business of Stitnam [Stittenham] Hutton's Ambo and Wiginton, concerning which he makes sad complaints. It is advisable for you to appear his friend in this trivial matter, which he sets so great a stress upon. 1½ pp. *The last sentence only in Lord Fauconberg's own hand.\**

\* For date, see Luttrell's *Brief Relation of State Affairs*, vol. I, pp. 39, 41. The Court removed to Windsor on April 19, which fell on a Monday in this year.

LORD FAUCONBERG to SIR WILLIAM FRANKLAND, Bart., at Thirkleby.

[1680 ?] October 29.—John Athey is going down to Cambridge, and will give you both a good account of the young gentleman there, who, I hear, is much improved. I have found a friend who, if you please, will furnish you with the thousand pounds for your daughter's portion, at five per cent. "The money upon my faith is not mine, nor does it otherways concern me than in my well-wishes to you." 1 p.

MARY, LADY FAUCONBERG, to her brother-in-law, SIR WILLIAM FRANKLAND, at Thirkleby.

[1681 ?] April 16.—"My Lord's indisposition, which is occasioned by coming out of that we generally call the nettle spring all over his body and face, gives me the satisfaction and you the trouble in this, to tell you he is extreme sorry the thousand pound he once mentioned to you is now disposed of, and not to be had. My sister Russell has sent for her son from Cambridge and I fancy designs not his return thither again. The occasion of his sudden remove is from a prospect of a change in his condition. What success there may be, a little time will show. I thought this account reasonable to give you, not knowing whether it may not make you think of new conditions for your son as to chamber, &c." 1½ p.

LORD FAUCONBERG to SIR WILLIAM FRANKLAND.

[1681 ?] June 1.—I suppose you heard of my nephew's perfect recovery from his tutor, whose letter prevented Mr. White from going down to him.

"I am glad to hear our county will imitate the rest in their loyalty, and that Sir Med[calfe] Rob[inson] is so active in it. I hope Ripon will hereafter choose the Jennings and that all other counties and boroughs will satisfy their addresses by their choice of members, which (by the return and submission of great men) we may probably make an experiment of this winter. Lord Halifax is in very great esteem and favour, and your humble servant so very much at ease here as will secure my dear sister and you this summer from the trouble of his neighbourhood." 1 p.

THE SAME to THE SAME.

[1681,] August 13.—I am just now told Lord Shaftesbury will be tried the 27 inst.

I forgot to tell you that Wither is with me again and a very good youth, "but your friend Ralph the arrantest little rascal that ever was, good for just nothing but mischief . . . was wilfully the occasion of killing me a new horse within a week after he came from Northampton, and a hundred other roguish tricks." I intend to send him down to his mother and they may bind him to a tailor or shoemaker. I will make up his money to five pounds. 1 p.

MARY, LADY FAUCONBERG, to her sister [-in-law,  
LADY FRANKLAND].

[1681?] August 20.—“I trouble my dear sister the seldomer because I know you love not writing, and do assure her that I expect no answers. All I desire is that you will continue your kindness and friendship, which I must always have a great value for. Your son is very well. My sister [Lady Russell] and he have been together at Cambridge and Chipnam above a month. She writes me word he is the most improved since he went thither that ever she saw, and has been very well pleased with this little diversion from his book, which Mr. White writes he improves in mightily. I expect my sister will be at London this night. Pray present my service to your good man, and tell him I take it ill he never writes to me. I am no newsmonger, or you should have it.”

*Postscript.* Betty Russell presents her service to you and Sir William. My Lord is now pretty well again.  $1\frac{1}{2}$  pp.

LORD FAUCONBERG to SIR WILLIAM FRANKLAND, at Thirkleby.

[1681\*,] September 8. Sutton Court.— . . . “I am like to have a troublesome suit with the Church of York, which I did not apprehend in this Dean’s time, considering our present and past relation. I pray favour me to send for Mr. Chamber, and when you are well instructed in it, take the first occasion you can meet with to know Mr. Rooksbye’s opinion, who I hear is their counsel, for I would not wittingly engage in such a matter without a clear title.”

The King went this morning to Newmarket, where some think there will be more company than ordinary. 1 p.

THE SAME to THE SAME.

[1681?] September 29.—Considers both the proposals presented to him very advantageous, and advises the prompt carrying on of the one, that if it fails, they may proceed with the other.

Thinks that although he can never hope to get so much land for his daughter, yet he has no reason to despair of procuring so much money for his son. 1 p.

———— [to SIR WILLIAM FRANKLAND].

1681, November 5.—“I have a thousand things to say to you, but nothing to write.

“The juries were yesterday empaneled, but I have not yet met with the list of them. Sir John Cope is foreman of the one, and Sir Peter Colliton of the other. This last, I hear, may prove tolerably honest, and probably encourage indictments against the

\* The King went to Newmarket on this date in this year. See Luttrell, vol. 1, p. 124.



Lords, which two or three days more must show. I am told from a very good hand that your neighbour at Nunnington<sup>a</sup> will have the silver trumpet, and then Jack Talbot, &c. may stay at home if he pleaseth. I am sure he cannot do it with more content and satisfaction than your humble servant.

"My Lord Fauconberg with his family are come to town, but begins already to be troubled with his rheums and talks of returning." 1 p.

LORD FAUCONBERG to [SIR WILLIAM FRANKLAND].

[1681,] November 10.—"I am now got to a place and a season of the year what will not suffer me to use my own hand, which I hope you will excuse.

My Lady Ogle went from Northumberland House yesterday, but whither is not yet known, only she left a letter for her grandmother upon the table to this effect, viz.:—That having a perfect aversion and detestation to Mr. Thinn, and fearing that she could not be free from his importunities by any other method than concealing of herself, had obliged her to retire, and resolve never more to see him, unless the law force her to it; which resolution has so enraged the esquire that he now publishes his being married to her, the Lady Orrery, her three daughters and Mr. Brett being present, which is not denied by my Lady Northumberland. In order to the nulling of the marriage they are setting up poor Mrs. Treaver's title to him, which, *in foro conscientie*, I believe is good, but whether it will prove so in the Spiritual Court I must question . . ."

"My Lady Russell, being, it seems, in good humour on the Gunpowder Treason night, writ to her son a letter in verse, to which, he not being poetically given, your young gentleman has taken up the cudgels so ingeniously that I thought it would neither displease yourself nor my sister to pay threepence for it."

If the pears I sent you come just ripe, there is no such fruit in the world. To eat for three months together a fruit more delicate than the best peach or fig at midsummer commends a garden and makes me resolve to plant nothing but pears henceforth, and I believe they would ripen as well at Thirkleby as here. This pains I take only to make you as good a gardener as myself. *Unsigned.* 2 pp.

THE SAME to THE SAME.

[1681,] November 22. London.—"I am very glad my pretty niece is disposed to so honest a gentleman as from several hands I hear Mr. Smelt is reputed to be, to whom I pray present my service. . . . I have just now brought to me a list of forty substantial men, to be offered for a jury to the Court on Thursday,† of which number Sir Sam. Barnardiston, Dubois, Papillion, Rudge, Hubland, Boneale, and the two Godfreys make

<sup>a</sup> Sir Richard Graham, cr. Viscount Preston in 1680.

† At Lord Shaftesbury's trial.

a part, by which you may judge what we are to expect. Lord Townsend, Lady Northumberland and others are just come in, which forces me to conclude, with my good wishes of all health and happiness to the new couple." *Signed.* 1 p.

M[ARY,] LADY FAUCONBERG, to her sister [-in-law, LADY FRANKLAND].

[1681,] November 26.—I have bought all your daughter's things and hope you will like them. I got the better lace for her gown because it may be useful hereafter. It would lace a petticoat all over when she has a mind to alter the skirt of her gown. "I will not tell you in this what her gown and petticoat is of, but you may be sure it is that which is most worn, and will do my pretty niece most credit and service." 1 p.

*Overleaf, Postscript from Lord Fauconberg:—*

*"The Lord Shaftesbury's acquittal the other day\* was accompanied with unparalleled disorder, of shouts, ringing of bells, bonfires and such extravagances as I fear may at long run produce ill effects, parties being more exasperated than ever, even to such a degree as discourages all hopes of an accommodation at our next meeting, if elections be not very prudent." My service to the young couple. Signed. ½ p.*

LORD FAUCONBERG to [SIR WILLIAM FRANKLAND].

[1681,] December 6th. London.—. . . "The little Duke of Richmond is made Master of the Horse, and kissed the King's hand upon it on Sunday night. Major Oglethorpe is gentleman of the horse to him, whose wife (quondam Mrs. Wall) is at present very ill with her lady, having of late made some discoveries.

"The Duke of Grafton is to have Col. Russell's† regiment, for which the King pays the Colonel five thousand pounds. It is said his Majesty has granted Audley End to his Royal Highness upon payment only of the last 20,000*l.* that remains due to the Earl of Suffolk.

If we have a Parliament, as some say and as probably our foreign affairs may oblige us to, I hope you will bring my sister up, and leave her at Sutton Court while you are at Oxford. I am removing with my family on Friday next, finding myself to be a better gardener than statesman. My Lady Russell, I hope, will go with us for a little time, but talks altogether of Chipinham. Her daughter has had perfect health ever since you went down, and so admirable a creature both in body and mind that I believe she will not keep her long, though there be no other

\* November 24, 1681.

† Col. John Russell, 3rd son of the Duke of Bedford, Colonel of the King's regiment of foot Guards.

temptation than what she carries about her: they both present their services to you all, particularly to the young bride."

My eyes have not been so bad for two years as since I came to town. I have let blood and used several medicines, but without effect. If they continue so, I shall not pass my time so well at Sutton Court as formerly.

I thank my good brother B[elasyse?] both for his cheeses and for his kind letters, and you for your magnificent present of ale, some of which I hope may be reserved for your own drinking.

"My dame is gone this afternoon to christen the heir of Hornby. The father received a commission two days since to command the Richmondshire regiment that was lately his father's, which your son in time may do, and thus you see, one generation drives out another." *Signed.* 1½ pp.

LORD FAUCONBERG to his brother[-in-law, SIR WILLIAM FRANKLAND].

[1681,] December 28.—I am heartily sorry your old enemy has found you out again, but hope to hear that Squibbs' medicine has made your fit shorter. "We are obliged to you both for your excellent ale and brawn, which does us great credit this Christmas amongst our neighbours. As to public affairs, I hear of nothing new since my Lord of Argile's escape out of Edenbrough Castle, which I think will have no great consequence."

With postscript by Lady Fauconberg, adding her thanks for the noble present of brawn. *Signed.* 1 p.

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

1681[-2], January 12.—Is almost in despair of seeing him this spring. His nephew's cravats and cuffs are waiting for him at Chipenham, "where the good lady and her fair daughter remain about a fortnight or three weeks longer." *Signed.* 1 p.

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

[1682,] February 23. Sutton Court.—"My being out of town made me unable to prosecute the story I sent you in my last concerning the murder of Mr. Thin, for which the Count Coningsmark upon a very strong supposition has been since committed and will be tried, I doubt with danger of his life, if any other have been of his counsel than the Captain, whose resolution is admirable. The murder has carried Lord Shrewsbury and several young lords into Holland, where we may expect to hear of more blood, such force has gold upon the minds of poor mortals, and such, at long run, are the effects of it in all families." *Signed.* ¾ p.

## LORD FAUCONBERG to [SIR WILLIAM FRANKLAND?]

1681[-2], March 3.—“Yesterday\* at three of the clock, my Lady Portsmouth, with seventy in family and thirty thousand pound advance money, set forward towards her own country; from whence she came with a less train, some years past. She proposeth to return in June, having carried money only to last her so long. The King, Queen, &c., went this morning for Newmarket, where his Royal Highness will meet, continue, and return with him hither about the Holy Week. The King has graciously granted to the borough of Thetford a new charter, reserving only to himself the nomination of the Recorder, &c. Hertford and Lemster [Leominster] are following the same example, as, we hope, most of the boroughs of England will do if they be wise.

The Spanish, Dutch and other foreign ministers seem to be disgruntled; but Luxembourg must go for all that. Count Coningsmark, by his gold, has made it appear that as well Middlesex juries as judges (*durante bene placito*) are penetrable.

Our amorous Lord Lieutenant is gone incognito in the train of the Great Lady, or at least intended yesterday to do so.

The Hon. Colonel Legg was yesterday sworn of the Council and a new edition of Earls is coming out.” *Unsigned.* 1½ pp.

## LORD FAUCONBERG to his brother [-in-law, SIR WILLIAM FRANKLAND].

[1682 ?] March 18. Sutton Court.—“My present retreat and garden (where by the way I now have forty workmen) furnishes me with nothing worth the postage . . . From Newmarket, where our English world now is, I hear only who wins the plates, but from abroad, that mighty preparations are making for victories of another nature, which I fear may come home to us at last. I am here making preparations for my annual guests, the nightingales, whose melody is not less agreeable, though less noisy, than that of the jockeys.” 1 p.

## THE SAME to THE SAME.

[1682 ?] March 27. Sutton Court.—Lady Russell is going up to town about your son’s tutor, whence my dame will write to you if I go to Newmarket. “I hear people of the best quality are huddled up with strangers in the same room, and some have bedfellows they scarce know; the concourse thither is wonderful. Yet I shall have difficulty to prevail with myself to leave thirty workmen that I have had in the garden above this month.” If I go, I shall lie at Chippenham one night and Cambridge the next, whence you may expect an account of your son.

I have sent Chambers the copy of a late letter from the Doctors at York, with my answer.

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\* Luttrell gives March 4 as the date of the Court leaving Whitehall for Newmarket, and also of Lady Portsmouth’s departure for France.

If Mr. Emott be a witty man and speak Latin well, I can help him to something considerable, "but he must cross the seas, and leave the wife, if there be one, for a time. Let me know your opinion of him, honest Mr. Browne not being spiritual enough for this active sort of employment." 1 p. *Seal with crest and coronet.*

LORD FAUCONBERG to his brother [-in-law, SIR WILLIAM FRANKLAND].

1682, April 6.—I was this last week at Newmarket, "but could not return by Cambridge, being certainly informed that the Master and Fellows of Trinity College were prepared to attack me with a speech for a subscription to their new Library and building, which I could not have honourably avoided. . . . Nothing is talked of but the preparation for receiving——\* on Saturday, when it is said the town will be all in bonfires."  $\frac{3}{4}$  p.

THE SAME to THE SAME.

[1682,] May 4. Sutton Court.—The Duke went down to sea yesterday†, and by the way both at Putney and at Erith (as I am informed) was complimented by very many lords and other people of quality. Sir William Jones, our late Attorney General, died here yesterday,‡ which is a loss to the city that can only be exceeded by that of their charter, which probably will follow.

My Lord Duke Hamilton by taking the Test has exalted himself here below, and his wife above, for I am told from a very good hand that her heart is so broke as she cannot live.

The King of France is now raising eight thousand horse and ten thousand foot to increase his army, which hastens our 'envoyée' (sic) Lord Preston over, that they may not annoy us. Notwithstanding these proceedings in France against the Pope's supremacy, the poor Protestants are more persecuted than ever, and I am afraid in that our Nunnington neighbour will not prevail.

The Earl of Suffolk is going to marry Lord Manchester's eldest daughter. Dick Brett and Sir John Bright are rivals to the younger. Thus you see the mettle of our old fellows to venture upon girls. We have strange rains in these parts. I hope it will bring up grass apace upon the moors." 1  $\frac{1}{4}$  pp.

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1682, May 27, [Windsor].—"Mr. Rooksby has been no less punctual in observing orders than your son was after his slow return to Cambridge, which will probably occasion the disappoint-

\*The King. See Luttrell, Vol. I. p. 177.

†The Duke of York embarked May 3, 1682, to go by sea to Scotland, to fetch his wife.

‡Luttrell gives the 2nd as the date of his death.

ment of any future consideration how far it might or might not be his or your joint or separate interest to close with it, her wonderful composition of body and mind having attracted addresses of such importance as were madness to reject. The King and Queen, with all the noblesse, went this morning down the river to meet the Duke and Duchess. The first return this day back, but their Highnesses repose themselves at St. James' two or three days. The King, by order in Council, has forbid all that have relation to his service to converse with the D[uke] of M[onmouth]." 1 p. *Seal with device.*

LORD FAUCONBERG to SIR WILLIAM FRANKLAND, Bart., at York.

[1688,] January 12\*.—"I did ever apprehend that your son's present maintenance would prove uneasy to your circumstances, without a greater present fortune, which has occasioned my almost as often repenting as thinking of the too early overture which by an accident was made in it. I left your letter in the ladies' hands, without the curiosity of informing myself what entertainment it met with. I only desire that if there be occasion to write any more upon this subject, your letters may be directed to them, and not to a foolish projector that has artificially found out a way to disoblige all his friends at his own charges." 1 p.

M[ARY] LADY FAUCONBERG, to her sister-in-law,  
LADY FRANKLAND.

[1688,] March 1. Sutton Court.—"I had writ to my dear sister sooner and should have given you an account of your son and daughter but that I knew whilst Sir William was here you had a constant one from him. They are both very well and I hope very happy. I am sure by what is yet seen there is a great appearance of it, for I never saw greater kindness than seems to be on both sides, and I am confident coy Mrs. Russell will be as fond Mrs. Frankland, for your son by his handsome, kind and prudent behaviour has, as in justice it ought, so won upon her as I believe whatever she had, she has now not only a kindness but a value for him, and I am persuaded her behaviour will be such to him and you as will become the relation she is in to you both. I am sure if it were necessary (which it is not, nor I hope never will) she should not want my advice in order to it, for I should be very sorry to see her in any kind misbehave herself to you and my brother as well as her husband, and I am confident you will find her as dutiful to you both as your own. Pray if there be anything either as to them or yourself wherein you think I may serve you, let me know it, and be assured of my faithfulness and kindness to you and readiness.

My lord's eyes being very weak, he has desired me to make his excuse and assure you of his hearty kindness. We both shall be extremely rejoiced to hear of your safe delivery, and join in

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\*So dated, but the post-mark is Ja : 11.

our desire that you will not stir from York till you are so, it being a place of better help than you can propose to have in the country. I will tire you now no longer."

*Postscript by Lord Fauconberg.* "My dame has been so considerate of my poor weak eyes, as to leave me neither matter nor room to trouble you any further" than with the assurance of my affection. 2 pp. Addressed: "For the honourable the Lady Frankland at York."

LORD FAUCONBERG to SIR WILLIAM FRANKLAND.

[1683,] April 3.—Praising the conduct of Sir William's son, in cases of such difficulty as would have puzzled a man of more experience. Lady Fauconberg is "downright fond of him, as of her own, and now rather loves the pretty wife for his sake." 1 p.

SIR ROBERT HOLMES, Captain General and Governor of the Isle of Wight &c., to DAVID URRY.

1683, April 22.—Appointing him captain of the Militia company of foot belonging to the parish of Freshwater, in the West Medina regiment, whereof Sir Edward Worsley, knight, is colonel, and desiring him to exercise his men and officers duly in their arms, and to keep them in good order and discipline. *Parchment. Signed.* 1 p.

LORD FAUCONBERG to [SIR WILLIAM FRANKLAND].

[1683,] May 5. Sutton Court.— . . . "Your son continues to give great proofs of his prudence, by a wonderful conduct through greater difficulties than you can imagine, or be informed of by paper. Lady R[ussell] is so extravagantly fond of her d[aughter] that from a causeless jealousy of being less beloved by her than ———, some disorders might possibly have been derived to the family, if your son had not managed the matter with great skill, and been powerfully assisted by his friends, all which seems now a little palliated, though still it continues aunt and nephew, mother and daughter, to such a degree as your last kind invitation of them all into the north, is suspected to be a contrivance of ours; and truly I wish it had, and consequently been less extensive.

"We often hear of a generous speech of Sir W[illiam] F[rankland] to his wiser son, advising him to take up money, and not consider 200*l.* or 300*l.* debt. Our niece has only been once here since she left us, which is now seven weeks. It must be acknowledged that her beauty and other perfections might have disposed her better, but my dame has doubled her kindness to me ever since, which before was divided. There are other circumstances by no means to be hinted in paper, let only my sister know of this, nor let it be discovered by any of your letters that you know so much as I suppose you will be able to collect out of these distracted heads."

*Postscript.* "Prince George, brother to the King of Denmark, by the King's approbation, is coming over to make his applications (and consequently marry the Lady Ann).<sup>\*</sup> Lord Preston has been at Windsor these ten days, and is now returning with money and orders to attend the motions of that court<sup>†</sup> this campaign. That King pretends to look towards Stratsbourg, but most believe his designs this summer are upon Italy. Captain Nicholson, who was Lady Winchester's page, has been twice through Moratania as far as Mount Atlas, and is now returning again thither, but (I fear) all that matter will come to naught.

"The gentleman to whose house you once came to me after dinner seems to decline apace, though it be not yet observed. There is a yacht going for the Italian players, and Mr. Neale has built a house at Winsor on purpose for them." 3 pp.

LORD FAUCONBERG to his brother-in-law, SIR WILLIAM FRANKLAND, Bt., at York.

[1683,] May 15.—The young people have been here some days. He is strangely fond of her, and I believe the kindness would soon be mutual, if separated from ———, therefore we think it would be well for you to write how much your wife desires to see her daughter, and to enjoin your son to come down without delay. "The sheep and lamb bleat after one the other." 1 p.

THOMAS FRANKLAND to his father, SIR WILLIAM FRANKLAND.

1683, May 16. Sutton Court.—My spouse and I came here last Thursday, and shall stay until the middle of this week. "I suppose you have heard how they have seized of my Lord Gray, and that he is to appear at Council to-morrow at Hampton Court. My Lord Hallifax is now just a-falling, for he had no hand in this match, neither did he know of it. He went to wait of the Duke, and he took no more notice of him than he does of any other man." I believe you will wonder at my Lord's letter, but I must wait to tell you the reason of it until I see you. 1 p.

*Postscript.* I hope to get my cousin Saunderson's things ready by next Monday.

LORD FAUCONBERG to SIR WILLIAM FRANKLAND, Bart., at York.

[1683,] May 17. — "The young people (their week being expired) are gone, for I suppose her mother's permission allowed no longer stay. I should be very glad for my nephew's good (though otherways I love not crowds) to keep them here all summer, but that cannot be obtained." We all think you should send for them, to prevent indifferency growing into aversion. "We have had no singing this week, and indeed such an altera-

<sup>\*</sup> They were married 28th July, 1683.

<sup>†</sup> Of France.



tion since the last time they were with us as is not to be imagined." 1 p.

LORD FAUCONBERG to SIR WILLIAM FRANKLAND, Bart., at York.

[1688,] May 19. London.—Lamenting the widening breach between the young couple, which is putting his wife into all the affliction imaginable, and urging Sir William to summon them to go down to him so as to get her out of town. Has had warm debates with my lady [Russell] and Mr. W., who accuse the young husband of being severe and imperious and charge himself and his wife with being the cause. [*Begun at Sutton Court, and finished in London.*] 2 pp.

THOMAS FRANKLAND to his father, SIR WILLIAM FRANKLAND, at York.

1688, May 19. Soho.—“This day Sir Patience Ward is tried for perjury. Some are of opinion that he will come off, but most think he wont. I desire to be with you, for I hope then we shall set all things as they should be, which are not quite so at present. . . . My spouse gives her duty to my lady and yourself.”  $\frac{3}{4}$  p.

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1688, Ma[y] 23.—Hopes that they may set out in about a fortnight, and that all will now go well again. Trusts that Mrs. Saunderson will like her things.  $\frac{3}{4}$  p.

LORD FAUCONBERG to SIR WILLIAM FRANKLAND, at York.

[1688], May 24.—Has had a stormy interview with Lady Russell, but it ended in promising showers. His poor wife, “notwithstanding the many injuries received, seems yet unwilling to part with her niece, an imprudent, but excusable effect of good nature.” Again urges Sir William to send for the young couple, in order to separate his daughter in law from her mother. 1 p.

THOMAS FRANKLAND to his father, SIR WILLIAM FRANKLAND.

1688, Ma[y] 25.—Fears they may not be able to obey his father’s injunctions at once, on account of his wife’s health. All is now very well between them, my Lord [Fauconberg] having had some discourse on the subject. Begs his father kindly to invite my Lady [Russell] down.

There is a report that the Duke of Albemarle is dead.  $\frac{3}{4}$  p.

LORD FAUCONBERG to his brother-in-law, SIR WILLIAM FRANKLAND, Bart.

[1688,] May 29.—I must tell you we have had warm service since my last, but all is now ended in a seeming compliance, and

your son, who ought to know best, says that all is well. "The truth is, he has an excellent object to dote upon, and if well guided now at first [she] will probably prove as good and virtuous as handsome, but do you and him look to that. I can do no more. . . . My good wife has been honourably true to him, and the truth is, without us he had been lost."

*Postscript.* "My thoughts of their removal are the same as formerly." 1 p.

LORD FAUCONBERG to SIR WILLIAM FRANKLAND.

[1688,] June 5.—Both outward appearances and your son's affirmation say that all is now serene and easy at home, and if your daughter be not breeding, I am wheedled by the women, who make me believe so.

"Lord Cast[leton] has left his son with me to be provided for and bound apprentice at my charge, only the 100*l.* per annum is settled." 1 p.

THOMAS FRANKLAND to his father, SIR WILLIAM FRANKLAND,  
at Thirkleby.

1688, June 6.—I did not a little wonder at your thinking me reserved with my Lord [Fauconberg], for indeed my freedom in communicating all my affairs to him and my lady has not a little helped to raise this late unhappy storm here amongst us, which is now quite blown over; but my wife is still too ill to come down to you, although she very much desires to do so. In any case I shall come to see you, "to acknowledge your kindnesses and submit myself as a son ought to do to so good and kind a father and mother." 1 p.

MARY, LADY FAUCONBERG, to her brother-[in-law,  
SIR WILLIAM FRANKLAND, Bart.]

[1688,] June 9. Sutton Court.—"I find by yours to my Lord that you are still apprehensive matters are not so well as is represented to you by your son, &c., and that your daughter's breeding is a wheedle. As to the first, I can say no more than what my nephew tells me, and I suppose he gives you the same account he gives us, for I see them very seldom, and when I do, can observe nothing but what is very well, and I hope everything that is kind will be improving between the young couple, for what has been the occasion of the contrary has proceeded from no solid foundation, and therefore I conclude a little time and consideration will make all vanish. As to her being breeding, I am, as well as all womenkind, deceived the most imaginable, if a little time do not make it apparent. . . .

"Here is very little news. The Common Council voted the other day that the Lord Mayor had right of choosing one of the

sheriffs, and that all proceedings in the Common Hall from 1644 to 1660 ought to be esteemed void and no precedents.

"Our Danish Prince is coming from Denmark we say at Windsor, but others say from Paris, where he has been incognito for several months, and has his equipage made there for him." 2 pp.

LORD FAUCONBERG to SIR WILLIAM FRANKLAND, at Thirkleby.

[1683,] July 17. Sutton Court.—"I am so blind with writing a long letter of a public concern, as obliges me to use the laconic style . . . I advise your son first to sell coach and horses . . . then to go down together, and from you, to travel, while the wife stocks the pasture." 1 p.

THOMAS FRANKLAND to his father, SIR WILLIAM FRANKLAND, at Thirkleby.

1683, July 19.—It is said that Lord Russell, who was to suffer on Saturday, is reprieved for a month. Prince George will be here this afternoon. My wife and Lady Russell send their service to you and my mother.  $\frac{3}{4}$  p.

MARY, LADY FAUCONBERG, to her brother-[in-law, SIR WILLIAM FRANKLAND].

[1683,] August 3. Sutton Court.—Both my husband and I think that when the young people go down to Thirkleby, very little notice should be taken of what has been written concerning them, and very little advice given, although we are sure that your kind and good counsel, both to mother and daughter, will do much good. "Let your son be treated by you all with a respect suitable to a married man, for I do assure you, that is very necessary in order to the giving him a value at home. . . . You know my lord has not the good fortune to be thought the fittest man in the world to conduct or advise a young husband, which opinion, it may be, has not been advantageous to your son, for I do truly believe both my sister and your daughter have been and are afraid she should be made a submissive wife, which, without ground, they have concluded me . . . Burn this." 3 pp.

LORD FAUCONBERG to his brother[-in-law, SIR WILLIAM FRANKLAND].

[1684?], May 21.—Fears that Sir William's son and daughter Smelt "are no well-wishers," yet begs to assure them both of his hearty respect and kindness. Believes his son will be sending him news about his daughter Fr[ankland]. Is now going for two days to Copt Hall. 1 p.

THOMAS FRANKLAND to his father, SIR WILLIAM FRANKLAND.

[1685, February.]—Your friend does not know what to advise, for the session may probably not be long, and the consequences

of it fall heavy on particular persons, yet on the other hand, there are some in the same circumstances who intend to be chosen. "Sir H. C[holmley] is more agreeable in respect of the dependence he has by a great sum of money due to him. . . . Lord Cl[ifford] demurred till he had approbation, as several others have done." 1 p.

THOMAS FRANKLAND to his father, SIR WILLIAM FRANKLAND.

1684-5, February 10.—I have to-day received Mr. Skaife's letter and the bill for 50*l.*, which I intend to get accepted to-morrow.

"Tis reported my Lady Portsmouth is going away dissatisfied at the disappointment of her son, my Lord Dartmouth being made Master of the Horse to the King, which was given to the Duke of Richmond by the late King, though executed by commissioners. My Lord Allington being dead, Lord Dartmouth is also made Constable of the Tower, and James Graham is Privy Purse. Lord Peterborough is Groom of Stool to the King, and my Lady to the Queen. I am informed we shall certainly have a Parliament in May, therefore you are desired to consider well what you intend to do about Thrisk, for your friend thinks it your best way to be favourable to your infirm limbs and stay at home." I believe it may be best for me to waive it also. My wife sends her duty to my mother and yourself. 1 p.

——— to [SIR WILLIAM FRANKLAND].

[1685,] February 10.—The King has been graciously pleased to declare he will call a Parliament, which I suppose may meet about the beginning or middle of May. Sir H. Cholmeley has been with me, but I know not what to advise till I hear from you. I believe we shall pitch upon Lord Clifford and Sir John Kay for the county. "I would have you consider whether it may not be as proper for your son as yourself, and whether it be desirable even for him is a question." 1 p. *Signature cancelled.*

[SIR WILLIAM FRANKLAND to LORD FAUCONBERG.]

1684[-5], February 13.—His melancholy reflections upon the loss of the late King, who had preserved the nation so many years in peace and plenty, are turned into joy upon consideration that his present Majesty has succeeded to the throne with a peace, calmness and universal content which are a happy omen for his reign. The gentry and all sorts of people in his Lordship's Lieutenancy are full of submission and loyalty, testified by ringing of bells, bonfires and other marks of rejoicing, and are much encouraged by the King's speech to the Lords of the Privy Council, containing assurances of the preservation of the Church and State as now by law established. *Draft.*  $\frac{3}{4}$  p.

THOMAS FRANKLAND to his father, SIR WILLIAM FRANKLAND.

1684-5, February 19.—Your friend has consulted several others, who agree with him that unless you be free to come up

to all the measures, which he apprehends you are not, it will be better for you to give your gouty limbs some ease. Lord Fauconberg prays you to lay out all your interest for Lord Clifford and Sir J. K[aye]. 1 p.

[THOMAS FRANKLAND to SIR WILLIAM FRANKLAND.]

1684-5, February 26.—“Your friend says it is as impossible to judge of measures at your distance as for a blind man of colours; that that same thing from Sir J. K[aye], Sir H. Ch[olmley], Sir M. Rob[inson], &c., will have a different operation from what others may utter . . . for which reason he thinks the son may make a better shift in the crowd than the father can do, who being an hurt deer, some of the herd will be afraid of him, and others perhaps behave themselves worse. . . . The writs will not be issued out yet awhile. The committees of Council are wholly taken up with the ceremonies of crowning the King and the Queen, where all the Lords’ ladies are likewise to attend in their robes.”  $\frac{3}{4}$  p.

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1684-5, March 3.—Your friend bids me tell you that he has acquainted his Majesty with the hints in your letters of Sir Met. Rob[inson’s] and your proceeding in proclaiming the King at Thirsk, who thereupon took occasion to declare he supposed you would not stand for that place, but rather leave it to your son.

Some of the ministers here have been called to question for preaching indiscreetly against Popery. We wonder we have heard nothing of the North Riding address, of which a model was long since sent down. 1 p. *Seal with Lord Fauconberg’s crest and coronet.*

THE SAME to THE SAME.

[1685, March 5 ?]—Advising him not to stand for Parliament, but to write such a letter as may be shown to the King declaring his submission to his wishes. This is the method taken by the wisest of the same complexion. Not above three or four in all England give open defiance, and it is thought they may pay dear for it. 1 p. [*Dated from the postmark.*]

LORD FAUCONBERG to his brother-in-law, SIR WILLIAM FRANKLAND, at Thirkleby.

1684-5, March 5.—“This day Lord Burlington and myself, with a very great number of Lords and gentlemen, presented the address from the county of Yorke, and I do with much impatience expect that from our own Lieutenancy, which with fewer hands ten days since would have been more acceptable than now with a million.

"Mr. Wortly came up with a resolution to stand for Huntington town, and Titus for the county, but are returned with differing thoughts, as are very many others of their complexion, so that I do not now hear of any more except Hamden and Mildmey that seem to persist in it, and tis thought even those will not continue to do so. I pray let my neighbours of Thirsk know that I have already made their excuse to the King upon what I gathered out of your former letters, but I hope notwithstanding, my advice to them and you will be followed, and if you will, as I hope for your own sake, decline standing, it may give you a fine opportunity for complimenting the King, who has spoke to myself and Sir H[ugh] C[holmley] at several times, that your son seemed to be a pretty gentleman, and might better fill your place. An hour's discourse I know would fully convince you of this matter. 'Tis less prejudicial that the son be disappointed than the father ruined." 1 p.

[THOMAS FRANKLAND] to SIR WILLIAM FRANKLAND.

1684-5, March 7.—Informing him that Sir H. Capel, Sir Wm. Temple and Will: Herbert all of them decline standing.  $\frac{3}{4}$  p.

LORD FAUCONBERG to SIR WILLIAM FRANKLAND, Bart.,  
at Thirkleby.

[1685, March 10?]"—"I received your certificate with an address from Thirsk and carried them all immediately to the King, who, I suppose, remains better satisfied with that town. . . . I am every day, as I get new light, more and more convinced that it is imprudent and almost madness for you to stand, and I am very sure if you knew what I do, you would decline it." Lord Fairfax proposes to be at Gilling on Thursday week and has promised me to visit you at Thirkleby, but I hope you will go to him. He professes to be much your friend, but intimated that my sister's liberty of discourse had disoblged some of her neighbours, especially those of Kilvington.

"Our master has already declared that no man shall ever be admitted into Court, that either fights a duel, is drunk or keeps a woman openly. He received the Marque de Lorge, envoy from France, in the same manner that my Lord Churchill was received by that King, which is very differing from our usual method, nor does that ambassador live so familiarly with us as formerly, which measures has already put another face upon the affairs of Christendom, and however you may think I write like a courtier, so soon as ever the builders make my country house capable to receive me, I shall again retire to my garden with as much serenity of mind as ever." 2 pp. [*Dated from the post-mark.*]

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1684-5, March 12.—I am glad for many reasons that you resolve to ease yourself and lay the burden upon your son, whose

shoulders are better able to bear it, though I should not be sorry if even he had been excused at this time. Your friend's discourse was such as became him, "but a letter from yourself upon this occasion of your declining (because you perceived it was more acceptable than your loyallest endeavours to serve would have been) will signify more to your advantage than all the characters such indifferent men can give, who perhaps find it difficult to keep their own chins above water." I pray you therefore, as soon as the election is past, to write a submissive letter, particularly mentioning your great fit of the gout when his Majesty passed through those parts. "The person is not ignorant of the most minute things that has happened, either public or private, and will not endure any pretences to justification. Submissions only, with acknowledgments of errors, are acceptable to him . . . This parliament is like to be composed of very loyal men, and I believe only some very few of such Excluders as have made their submissions and given assurances to behave themselves much better hereafter. I have already seen a list of almost forty, such as are to be wished, and the boroughs generally good, but from the counties perhaps some double returns." 1½ pp.

THOMAS FRANKLAND to his father, SIR WILLIAM FRANKLAND.

1684-5, March 12.—I enclose a letter to the borough of Thirsk, for you to use as you think fit. Young Williamson was with me last week asking me if I had received the money for a close which Mr. Skaif bought of his mother. It would be very useful to him just now, as he is about to set up for himself. 1 p.

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1684-5, March 14.—Asks if his presence will be necessary at Thirsk, as Lord Clifford means to go down, and has offered for him to travel with him. 1½ pp.

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1684-5, March 17.—"Cousin Jones and Lord Lumley were married this morning, and are gone to Thiselworth, to my Lady Talbot's.

"The candidates for Westminster are Sir Thomas Orby, Mr. Bonitor [Bonython], Sir William Dolben and Sir Gilbert Gerrard, our neighbour. The two last join, and some believe will carry it. The election was begun yesterday, but the numbers being great on all sides, Sir Gilbert desired a poll, which was granted to be this day, when they all appeared in the field. Some people got a black box and carried it about upon a pole, crying 'no black box, no Excluder, &c.,' to which 'tis reported reply was made 'no Peter pence men.' Sir Thomas Lee and Rich. Ingoldsby, who stood at Alisbury, pretend to say they had six voices to one, though others are returned. Lestrangle is chose for Winchester. My Lord Clifford began his journey on Monday last, so that my design was thought of too late." 1½ pp.

LORD FAUCONBERG to SIR WILLIAM FRANKLAND, Bart.,  
at Thirkleby.

1684-5, March 18.\*— . . . "The hint you give of something being talked of at York was impossible for me to avoid, since everybody I met with, especially northern men, inquired concerning you, and used such liberty themselves as made it necessary to say something, which, however temperate, was sure to be carried either this way or that." Pray write such a letter as may make your abstinence meritorious. 1 p. *Seal with crest and coronet.*

THOMAS FRANKLAND to his father, SIR WILLIAM FRANKLAND.

1684-5, March 21.—Informing him that they are anxiously waiting for his letter, and that such a one as he wrote to Sir H. C[holmley] (without the admixture of other affairs), would be quite satisfactory. 1 p.

SIR WILLIAM FRANKLAND to VISCOUNT FAUCONBERG.

1684[-5], March 24.—This week will be the election at Thirsk, where I believe Sir Hugh Cholmley and my son will be returned without competition.

I acknowledge that I had intended to stand for this borough myself, hoping by this opportunity to have repaired in some measure past errors and mistakes, which were rather of a passive than an active nature. I do not however wish to defend them, being much more inclined to give proofs of submission than to offer arguments for my justification. Therefore when your Lordship intimated that his Majesty did not approve of my standing, I disputed the thing no longer, thinking it better to serve his Majesty in his way rather than my own, and hoping it will be accepted as an earnest of that duty and loyalty of which my heart is full. *Draft.* 1 p.

LORD FAUCONBERG to his brother[-in-law], SIR WILLIAM  
FRANKLAND, Bart., at Thirkleby.

1685, March 28.—I this morning showed your letter to his Majesty, by whom it was very well received. He was pleased to acquaint me with some information he had received against your son, but I confidently told him I believed it false, as upon examination it proved.

I wish you had writ something about the county election fit to show to Lord Burlington, "though I have acquainted him with your carrying so many in to York, *de non apparentibus et non existentibus eadem ratio.*" 1 p.

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\* So dated, but the post-mark is Ma : 17.



THOMAS FRANKLAND to his father, SIR WILLIAM FRANKLAND,  
at Thirkleby.

1685, March 28.—Neither the Duke nor Duchess of Somerset being in town, he cannot show how ready he would have been to serve parson Fra[nkland?]. Hears that Sir H. C[holmley] and himself are already returned. Assures his father that his friend has given a very good character of him to the King. There are four earls to be made presently after the coronation, viz.: Mr. German, Col. Talbot, Lord Dartmouth and Lord Churchill, and many think Lord Bellasys for a fifth. The King has been informed that he (the writer) “stickled very much for Sir G. Gerrard,” but it was false. 1½ p.

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

1685, March 31.—Hears that the election at Thirsk is at last over. Fears he may have some difficulty in carrying himself so as not to displease the one or not discharge his trust to the other, but with God’s assistance will do only what is consistent with all honour, duty and honesty to both. Is afraid he and Lady Dalton will make very little of Coplecroo: but would like her Ladyship or her steward to be consulted about it. 1 p.

LORD FAUCONBERG to [SIR WILLIAM FRANKLAND].

1685, June 6.— . . . “This House of Commons so much exceeds the former in loyalty and prudence that I hope his Majesty will never be in danger of wanting supplies in our days. I acquainted the King this morning with your zeal to his service, and have commission to assure you that he takes your resignation and services by your son as kindly as if you had performed it in person.” 1 p.

J[OHN] GIBSON to SIR WILLIAM FRANKLAND, Bart., at Thirkleby.

1686, April 16. Welburne.—Thanks him for his fine flowers and offers to send him some anemones, the double scarlet, the carnation or blue, both single, or the double star anemone, red, green and white. Encloses receipt for making gooseberry wine, with criticisms thereupon. Sends him “*Papists protesting against protestant popery*, done, as all the rest” (so Mr. Ingleby tells him) “by Goter, an old Benedictine, at Somerset House;” also Dr. Beveridge’s sermon and Sir William Petty’s essay.

Is told by Mr Darley that the Sessions dismissed the maltsters without licenses. Justice Clayton had taken money of several for licenses before the sessions, and probably some chief constables and clerks also, but that will be restored. Sir William Bowes of the Bishoprick suited the court for 20*l.* to prosecute Sir H. Marwood for his fish-garth, and got it away with him, Sir R. Grahme and Con. Bradsh[aw] being the two, out of five, who opposed it. 2 pp.

Enclosing,

Receipt for gooseberry wine.

J[OHN] GIBSON to [SIR WILLIAM FRANKLAND].

1686, August 21. [Welburne.]—Returns a book, which had been mislaid. Discusses the making of gooseberry wine. If Sir William comes to Nunnington, will if possible wait upon him there. My lady is coming home this day, but my lord not till next week, as he has gone westward.\* His sister, Lady Fenwick, is lately dead.

*Postscript.* "The Bishop of London has been before the Commissioners about Dr. Sh[arp]'s business.† Time given him to put in his answer to their charge." 1 p.

LORD CUTTS to [his brother-in-law, JOHN ACTON‡].

1687, August [7-]17.—Imperial Camp at Mohatz.—"In my last, which was (to the best of my remembrance) upon the thirteenth instant, I could not possibly give you any particular relation of the battle, but now in short accept of what follows: Upon Tuesday the twelfth of this instant, the Duke of Lorraine discamping from within a little march of Siclos, began to move with the army toward that place, his Highness having the avant-garde, and the Elector of Bavaria the arrière-garde. We had no sooner begun our march, than a great body of horse appeared to our arrière-garde, and seemed only to design the hindrance of our march, and harass the troops, or fall upon our baggage, but the Duke of Lorraine having taken good care of everything, and providing for the worst, by making the troops march in order of battle, and made the best advantage of the ground that the nature of it admitted of, they marched in two columns, which (as often as the enemy appeared) faced about and formed the two lines, according to our order of battle, the right wing having the avant-guard and the left wing the arrière-guard. Upon our right hand (when we marched in columns) were high hills, which covered us like a wall upon that side. Our baggage marched between the two columns and those hills, being by that means quite covered from the enemy, who continued skirmishing (in bodies with our arrière-guard). The Elector, as often as they advanced, halted and made head against them, firing several pieces of artillery from time to time as he saw occasion, which obliged them as often to retire. The Duke of Lorraine, who had no mind to engage in a battle if he could well avoid it, till he had drawn them a little further and gained the plains (for as the hills were on one side, so opposite to them was a great deal of wood and thick) continued the march as fast as he could without inconvenience or danger. Whilst these things happened we discovered a body of Jannisaries, who had gained a little hill and begun to make a brisk fire upon us with their

\* Lord and Lady Preston, of Nunnington.

† The Bishop was summoned on his refusal to suspend Dr. Sharp, Dean of Norwich, for preaching against popery.

‡ A copy, sent (as appears from a note in the margin) by Mr. Acton to his wife. Lord Cutts volunteered for service against the Turks in Hungary in 1686, and greatly distinguished himself there, especially at the capture of Buda-Pesth.

small shot, and in a moment almost begun to discharge several pieces of cannon at us. The Duke of Lorraine upon this told the general officers that he saw now that the enemy would engage us in earnest, and desired them to remember how they had behaved themselves in a former occasion, recommending to them the care of their several posts and at the same time the interest of the Emperor and the Empire, which depended very much upon this battle and than which he was sure (he said) nothing was dearer to 'em. He did all this with negligence and easiness suitable to the greatness of his character, and concluded assuring them that he did not doubt of their courage, of which he had had such frequent proofs, and therefore (by God's permission) was sure of the victory. As he rode along the line (for he resolved to place himself at the left wing, where the most violent shock was like to be) he let fall several short expressions to encourage the soldiers, telling them if they would stand by him he would not forsake them; that he hoped they would soon reap the fruits of their long fatigues and pains; that he hoped (by the morrow) to see them refreshing themselves in the enemy's camp; that he had provided for everything but a retreat, which he had not so much as thought on, as being resolved and by God's assistance assured of success, &c.; all this was done by little and little carelessly as he rode along, stopping now and then from time to time. When he came at the left wing, seeing about six thousand horse of the enemy that wheeled about and desired to gain the foot of a hill which was upon the flank of our left wing, he took some regiments out of our second line and reinforced the first, extending the left wing so far (up upon hills) as to stop and hinder the enemy's design. The Janissaries now begin to fire very warmly. Their artillery galled our lines and their whole army began to advance. The Duke put on his cuirass and helmet, mounted his charging horse, and taking his sword in his hand, said to us who were about him *Allons, a moi messieurs*, and so advancing before the first line in the place where the thickest fire was, he commanded all to march. I was by him and can tell you his very words, *Allons, au nom de Dieu*, only he said it to the soldiers in German. I must tell you in the meantime that Piccolomini, who was upon the very left of the left wing (whether by a mistake or how I cannot tell) advancing too fast with some squadrons, lost a hundred and fifty men out of Prince Commercy's regiment, two standards and several officers, and missed narrowly of being taken prisoner himself, so dangerous are little errors before an [*sic*]. The enemy soon began to give way and we forced their retrenchment with little loss. In an instant a panic fear seized them and it is impossible to relate to you what confusion immediately ensued. They helped to confound one another, every one shifting for himself excepting some brave men (here and there one) who call for justice from their enemies, and I should violate the right of nations if I should not witness for 'em that they used all means to stop the [*blank*] of their country's misfortune, and fought surrounded with enemies, when they had no hopes of life, refusing either to give or

take quarter. In a word, we killed seven or eight thousand, and took their whole camp with all their artillery, ammunition, provision, &c. A great many whom despair had driven into the woods and morasses perished there, and in all (according to the computation agreed on by most of our officers) their lost men amounted to the number of twelve or thirteen thousand. It is remarkable that all this while our right wing did not come to action, for the wood before them being very thick and full of defiles through which they did not know the ways, their endeavours to fall in with the enemy were in vain, and they came not up in time. This is the substance of what I was witness of. I could write you a great many more particulars if I had time. You will have patience to stay till I come for England, for then I design to publish a relation of all that I have seen, learnt and observed in this country; my post giving me an advantage which everybody has not." 2½ pp.

LORD CUTTS to LORD MIDDLETON.

[1688], April 12. Loo.—I am sensible that my coming here and taking an employment in this service will make a great deal of noise in England, and that my enemies will not lose so favourable an occasion to plunge me as deep as they can in the King's displeasure, and therefore I desire your lordship to represent to his Majesty the reasons that have driven me to this resolution.

It is with a great deal of regret that I find myself incapacitated to serve his Majesty in his present designs, and to improve the favourable regards he has been pleased to throw upon me, for my own advantage, as well as his Majesty's service. No man has a greater veneration for his person nor would go further in his service than myself, were not the present measures of state visibly opposite to the principles and interest of that religion which is dearer to me than all things in this world, or than life itself. The laws of conscience are sacred and inviolable, and since my principles are such as make me unfit to serve at home, and my private affairs in a posture which does not admit of an idle life, I desire your lordship to do me such offices to his Majesty that he may not be angry at my taking service abroad. I hope much from his Majesty's goodness and your Lordship's kindness to me, and I desire your lordship to assure his Majesty (that whatever happens) I shall always pray for his Majesty's person, and do justice to his merit, and on all occasions observe that duty and respect which becomes me. I desire your lordship to assure his Majesty of the truth of all this. *Copy.* 1 p.

SIR EDMUND JENNINGS.

[1688, August?].—Memorandum that Sir Edmund Jennings having the three questions proposed to him by the Commissioners, Sir Walter Vavasour and Mr. Middleton, desired them to satisfy him in a few queries: "1. Whether for any man to deliver an opinion or resolution out of Parliament to endeavour the repeal

of laws made for the security of the King and government be not an endeavouring an alteration of the government? 2. Whether an endeavouring an alteration of government be not criminal? 3. Whether there lies any obligation upon any man to give any answer to such questions in manner and form proposed?"

The Commissioners not satisfying him with their answers, it is said he refused to answer their queries in writing but in discourse told them: 1, That he could not positively say how he should vote in the House, if elected, until he had informed his judgment by the debates, but at present thought that some penal laws might be repealed, but that the Tests should not be repealed, being made for the safety of the government and preservation of the reformed religion according to the doctrine of the Church of England, and no man thinking this a time to repeal such laws save such as desire the settlement of popery in the nation: 2, That he would endeavour the election of such as would be faithful to the King, government and reformed religion: 3, That if his Majesty's declaration of indulgence were according to law, it would support itself; if not, it would not be in his (Sir Edmund's) power to support it; and, lastly, that he would live peaceably with all men who would live peaceably with him.

*Scrap of paper.*

[The three questions, to be put to all deputy-lieutenants and justices of the peace, were apparently put in Yorkshire in August, 1688, (see "Memoirs of Sir John Reresby," ed. Cartwright, p. 400) by these Commissioners.]

LORD CLIFFORDE to SIR JOHN KAYE.

[1688?] August 20. Lonsbrough.—"My father undertaking to give you an account of what was done at York, I thought it unnecessary to trouble you with a repetition of it. You seem in your letter to suspect as if there was something transacted at that meeting to your prejudice, because you have not notice given you to be there . . . but my business being only to know my Lord Fairfax's resolution and to discourse with him about it, I had no thought of giving you so unnecessary a trouble. If you knew me, you would never suspect me for any indirect dealing, for nothing shall ever be able to tempt me to anything of that kind; besides, if I had a mind to disturb your election, I should not do it in such a manner (having so considerable a party) but appear at the head of it. I think I give you an ample proof of my respects and kindness to you, in quitting so great an interest upon your account, and if you have a right sense of it, I do not question but I shall have your friendship, which shall always be much valued. *Copy.*  $\frac{3}{4}$  p.

SIR WILLIAM FRANKLAND to GEORGE SKAIFE.

1688, September 27.—As I find you do not think it advisable to propose my son instead of me, I wish I had not mentioned it

in my letter to the borough (which I hope you received, together with his Majesty's proclamation), however, if they pitch on me, I shall not decline standing, and I hope the naming of my son will have no ill-consequence either to our interest or Mr. W.'s, which is now principally to be considered. "We are so alarmed here with a Dutch invasion (their landing being every day expected, if not already so) that people hardly think of elections, and Sir Richard Mauleverer and Sir Henry Slingsby, who were coming down in order to that business, were recalled to attend their troops, for, as it is feared, there will be occasion. New forces are raising and seamen pressing, the King making all possible preparation for our defence. . . . You will hear first if there be anything to do in the North, some people fancying (amongst other places talked of) that the Dutch will land there. God almighty send us peace. Farewell. Peggy should have come out last Wednesday, but there being none but men, and most of them soldiers, in the coach, we thought it better to defer to another day."

*Postscript.* I enclose a letter to my old friend Mr. Pybus, which pray deliver either to himself or his mother. 2 pp.

SIR WILLIAM FRANKLAND to GEORGE SKAIFE, at Thirkleby.

1688, October 2.—The writs for a Parliament have now been actually recalled, as you will see by the enclosed proclamation in the Gazette, which contains all the news we have for certain, "for though we have a world of stories and alarms, yet the most knowing say that the Dutch are so far from being landed on our coast that all their land men are not yet embarked, and that they can't be ready to sail till the latter end of this week. In the mean time his Majesty is making great additions to his forces both by land and sea, and doubts not of being in very good preparation for them. There has been a great press for seamen."

Though perhaps there may be some hazard in bringing up large horses (in case of an actual invasion) yet I think Will Morrell might safely do it by way of Nottingham, there being no danger of soldiers on that road. Having sold both *Womersley* and *Turner* for twenty-three guineas, we are absolute prisoners for want of our coach, and it is an ill time to buy horses here, their price being so much advanced.

A place is taken for Peggy in next Monday's coach, in which there are two York women. 1 p.

SIR WILLIAM FRANKLAND to GEORGE SKAIFE.

1688, October 20.—I have received your bill for 50*l.*, which my son and I shall make use of between us. My son Harry's debts amount to more than 40*l.*, but I cannot learn that "he is anyways ill-given" and believe his expenses proceed from a careless humour rather than anything else. He makes me mighty promises of better husbandry and that he will study the law very hard when he is out of his time, which will be next month,

therefore pray send up the articles, by which he may be bound to Mr. Dearmer, by any neighbour who comes up for the term. We have decided to get a pair of horses here as soon as there is any appearance of quietness, but I am afraid you are mistaken in believing there is an end of the Dutch invasion, the news of their landing being expected every day.

I hope Mrs. Betty or Grace Tysen look often amongst the goods in the best lodging, where fires should be sometimes made, moths and worms destroyed, &c. My cousin, widow Belasyse, knows of something good for that purpose, which you may ask her for. Pray remember me to her, my cousin Wright, and parson Frankland. Tell Peggy Bows to let her father know that I have the letter about speaking to Lord Carlisle, and will do so on the first opportunity. Give my blessing to poor Jacky when you see him.

"Our reports here about the Dutch are very various. Sometimes we are alarmed with their being landed, sometimes that their design is not against us, but as the first is not yet true, so the last finds little credit. They had a general fast and prayers the beginning of this week for God's blessing upon this great undertaking for the defence of the protestant religion, and 'tis said, being all embarked, they were to set sail as yesterday, if the wind served. God send us peace and a good meeting."

*Postscript.* "Put postage upon my account, or else you will think you pay for news more than it is worth, though I suppose the seeing all undone (of which the Gazettes give the best account) in three weeks that has been doing these three years will not be unacceptable, no more than these enclosed proposals of the bishops, which tend the same way." 3½ pp.

FRANCES, LADY RUSSELL to the EARL OF DEVONSHIRE.

[1689?]"—"I have received the honour of your Lordship's letter, and in it such a mark of your generosity as puts me into all imaginable confusion to find my thoughts were so ill-expressed in the letter I presumed to give you the trouble of, which I assure your Lordship was only intended to recommend my unhappy circumstances to your charitable endeavours of procuring something if possible in this revolution that might have given me a small support; my necessities obliging me to accept of any employment that might become a gentlewoman, many of which, I was informed, will either be absolutely in your power as Lord Steward, or mediately so by your great and deserved interest with King and Queen. This, my Lord, was what I only intended, however unhappily I may have expressed myself, therefore humbly beg your Lordship's excuses if I cannot prevail with myself to make other use of your favour than to keep it with me as a testimony of your generous disposition to the unfortunate." *Draft.* 1 p.

*Endorsed*—"Mine to Lord Devonshire."

FRANCES, LADY RUSSELL to the EARL OF DEVONSHIRE.

[1689?]-Thanks him for his generosity in owning her to the King as a relative, and prays him "to join with the Archbishop of Canterbury on Thursday in Council to procure a further direction" to Lord Godolphin, without which she fears what is yet done will have but little effect. Both her sons are in the King's service, and the eldest has spent the small remainder of his estate "in order to this happy revolution," by which and other misfortunes they have nothing left. 1 p.

EARL OF DEVONSHIRE to LADY RUSSELL.

[1689?] Saturday.—Apologises for not answering her letter earlier, he having been obliged to go out of town. 1 p.

LORD FAU[CONBERG] to LORD BEL[ASYSE].

[Before 1689.]—"Whilst your hours are spent with variety of entertainments and novelties, ever delighting (that pleasing appetite of knowledge) curiosity, I enjoy a reposedness, not unlike (my conversation) that of the dead, which if you will admit this definition of happiness (that is, the resting and quieting of our minds in the fruition of good, convenient and agreeable to our nature) and not as sensualists state it to consist (in the full and constant satisfaction of their senses) may vie for a true felicity with city, court or camp. Your diversions are like the hay and stubble the Apostle speaks of, easily lighted by every spark of pleasure, make only a short blaze and go out again, whereas my books afford me entertainments like the Psalmist's oil of gladness, and though they raise not so glaring and so sharp a flame of joy yet they entertain it in a more equal and durable temper. Tell me if to find wit in poetry, in philosophy profoundness, in mathematics acuteness, in history wonder of events, in divinity supernatural light and holy devotion, would not ravish any with delight; add to all these, that *summum bonum*, a quiet mind. Whether it be the Spanish interest to make a peace with France and assist the House of Austria, whether the Muscovites and Cossacks be joined with the Swede, or whether the French ought much to rejoice at their great success, are cases dare not approach this sanctuary of peace: who gets the treasure of Chelsey, who the pleasure of Newport house, who dances well, or who lays secret mines to blow up another though himself may succeed, troubles not me. Hence I can discover how all that live in public are tossed in these waves and pity them. That contentment I enjoy, Dioclesian and Charles the 5th bought with the price of their empires, 'tis that Papinian petitioned for under Antoni[n]us and which under Nero was desired by that sententious Seneca, who was enviously accustomed to cry out, *præbet somnos casa securos*, and in this sense every sequestered place (though built by



the hands of Tasso or Ariosto) may be termed a cottage, generally working this pleasing effect upon the inhabitants by freeing them from tumults, vices and discontents. To live retired was ever safe and to studious minds never unpleasant, but now by so much the better as the world is worse. It is a happiness not to be witness of the mischief of the times nor liable to the allurements of common evils which of necessity must either vex or infect us. Thus you see with Æsop's country mouse I undervalue all change of condition can be offered me in this age, wanting only for the completing my happiness a success to these endeavours of drawing your inclinations hither, for which my passionate concerns would make me still persist, but, they tell me, I shall lose the post if I make my letter any longer; this is equally my misery and your good fortune, for as it deprives me of the contentment to entertain time with you, so it doth free you from divers impertinent speeches, wherewith happily you would otherways have been importuned by your humble servant." *Copy. 1 p.*

THOMAS FRANKLAND to his father, SIR WILLIAM FRANKLAND.

1689, May 14. [London.]—My brother Harry set out yesterday for Yorkshire. "He has the commission of peace and Custos Rotulorum, and also his own deputation for clerk. . . . This day our House had under their consideration the Act of Indemnity, but came to no particular exceptions, but resolved upon Thursday night to agree upon some general heads upon which some persons should be excepted. I believe they will not be many, for I find the House is much more inclined to mercy than sacrifice. The account you will find in the Gazette concerning Londonderry is confirmed by several letters and persons come from Ireland. Both Sir Richard Maleverer and John Reresby are dead."

*Postscript.* Our salary is 800*l.* per annum each. *1½ pp.*

—— to [SIR WILLIAM RUSSELL].

1689, May.—Though I have not subscribed my name, be assured that I am one who honours and esteems you, as a man of honour, sincerity and integrity, and of an obliging and generous temper (even to a fault), which has endeared you to many, and has perhaps been the rock on which you have already split and may again. I have never been such a stranger to your circumstances as not to see (with pity) that they were very narrow, but by whose miscarriage soever they became so, you yourself have made them narrower, it being the fate, not only of you, but of most young men who come to encumbered estates, to augment and not lessen the encumbrances, puffing themselves up with a vain conceit of being men of estates because their ancestors were so, and thinking themselves as good men and as rich (especially if they have a title) as if their estates were clear.

As to the extraordinary charges you have had in the late expedition, "in my whole life I never knew or heard of any man

at home or abroad, that was preferred because he had a fine feather in his cap, nor any one rejected because he had none, and I am easily persuaded to believe that it was neither your embroidered coat nor fine scarf or hose that favoured your commission, nor by the neighing of your led horses that you were chosen a captain. . . . 'Tis true if the success of the protestant religion and the liberties of the nation had depended solely upon your life and fortune, it had not only been prudent but most honourable and your duty to have sacrificed the last drop of your blood as well as the last farthing of your estate in the service; but to spend all a man has upon fine clothes and a costly equipage, and to fare deliciously every day, is not to serve a man's country and the protestant interest but his own lust and vanity, and ends in contempt as well as ruin. . . . I understand that all the money that you allotted to your own use out of what you received for Chipnham is confounded and spent, and that, after all, your necessities are so dangerously growing upon you that you cannot resist them without a present considerable supply, which, for all that I can find, must be done too by plucking a feather where there grows none, I mean from your mother, who is now upon sending you all that which was allotted for paying off her debts. Give me leave to tell you, Sir, this is a very hard game she hath to play, and it requires your serious consideration. It seems her choice must be this,—to wrong her creditors (and consequently be a prisoner in her own house into the bargain,) or to see her son ruined. Justice forbids the one and natural affection forbids the other, but I am informed she is most inclinable to the latter [*sic*]. If this last stake then be trifled away to as little purpose as all the rest have been, she'll reap the misery and you the shame. . . . To conclude, because I find my paper at an end, if you are resolved to be extravagant . . . let me advise you as a friend to do it so that the King may neither see it nor hear of it, for I'll assure you that there can be no worse way in the world of making one's court to the King than by extravagancy, and no better way than by diligence and good husbandry . . . for I know his Majesty so well that he'll never have any great confidence in a man that is an ill-husband; for he believes, and that with great reason, that a man who cannot manage his own private concerns as he ought, will never be capable of managing that of the public." [*Four very closely written folio pages, with religious exhortations and advice concerning the future.*]

T[HOMAS] F[RANKLAND] to his father SIR WILLIAM [FRANKLAND].

1689, June 22.—“Yesterday, Duke Shomberg had a letter from Col. Kirk, which gave an account that he was arrived at the mouth of the river of Londonderry, but was afraid he should meet with difficulty to get into the town by reason of Kilmore fort, which stands upon the bank of the river within three miles of the town, but that he would use his utmost endeavours to relieve those poor people in it. Our House has this day resolved that the

King be moved to permit some of our members to inspect the Council books and the books of the Committee for Irish affairs, in order to find out where the miscarriage has been that that town has not been relieved all this while, and that the army is in no greater readiness to go into Ireland.

"The Bill for regulating the Militia was read this morning and ordered to be read again upon Tuesday. The Bill for summoning certain persons now in arms against the King, or adhering to his enemies, was read a second time and committed, and these persons following ordered to be inserted: the Duke of Berwick, Lord Powis, Lord Dover, Lord Hunsden, Lord Thomas and Lord George Howard, Lord Melford, Sir Edward Herbert, Sir William Jennings, Sir Roger Strickland, Sir Patrick Trant, Sir John Sparrow, Sir James Philipps, Mr. John Trinder, Mr. Collins, Mr. Hales, Mr. Buchanan, Mr. Brent, Col. Sootherland, Col. Dominick Sheldon, Sir Henry Bond, Col. Trevanion, Col. Powell, Major Beech his two brothers.

"The King this morning passed four Bills, one for the exportation of leather, a second for exporting beer, ale and mum, a third about the Commissioners of the Great Seal, wherein there are several clauses concerning the Custos Ro[tulorum] and C[ommission] of the Peace that have occasioned its being so delayed, and the fourth the Bill of Subsidy. My cousin Talbot is going to be married to Lord Gray of Ruthen. I had not heard anything of Sir William Russ[ell] being married before I received yours, and can scarce tell how to believe it. My Lord desires that when the deputy-lieutenants meet they would appoint a certain place where he may direct his letters to them. My wife presents her duty to you, and her service to my brother and sister." 1½ pp.

THOMAS FRANKLAND to his father, SIR WILLIAM FRANKLAND.

1689, September 21.—Yesterday Parliament met, but upon a statement by Mr. Wharton, the Comptroller, that such was his Majesty's pleasure, immediately adjourned again until October 19.

The King, wishing to raise money upon the credit of the fund for the Dutche, will grant the commission of Excise to those who will advance the required sum. I have better hopes of getting the annuities left us by Lord Bell[asyse] than I had when I wrote last, although he was never able to sign the declaration which he had drawn up.

*Postscript.* "Duke Shomberg has passed the Nury [Newry], and Villars' and Hewitt's regiments are arrived safe in Ireland, and Will Harboard with the money." 1½ pp.

A[NNE] L[UCKYN?] to MRS. [JOANNA] CUTTS.

1690, April 5. Little Waltham.—Although sick and uneasy, it shall not be my fault, my Cutts, if letter begets not letter, "but if you are absolutely relapsed into your old lethargic laziness,

farewell for ever, for I've much business, little health and perhaps less time." However busy you are, I pray you send to Thibaut for a pot of hips, &c., and let me have it, and my book of military discipline, the first you can.  $\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Seal of arms.* [Signed only A. L. Apparently written by Anne, daughter and heiress of Sir William Luckyn, of Little Waltham. The seal bears the Luckyn arms.]

Addressed: "For Mrs. Cutts, at the honourable Col. Cutts' house in Soho Square, London."

E[LIZABETH, LADY] CUTTS to her husband, LORD CUTTS.

[1692\*], May 10.—Captain P. will tell you why your horses have not been sent before now. Mr. Lagden has made up the account with my brother Acton, for himself and some of the other tenants, and has paid 60*l.*, of which Mr. Temple has had forty. "My cousins Luckins did me the favour to dine with me to-day, and I have been this afternoon to wait on them to Hyde Park, where we have met all the rabble in the town, the trainbands being to be received by the Queen, and have made my cousins the greatest compliment I could make them, to go into such a crowd, there being nothing I dread so much." The children send their duty.  $3\frac{1}{2}$  pp.

MARCQ DE FONSECA to LORD [CUTTS?]

1692, [November 28-] December 8. Brussels.—Has sent M. la Riviere's demand and the bill of the physician, apothecary and surgeon some time ago, and hopes his Lordship received it. Less than 240 florins will not content these gentlemen. Prays him to mention to Monsieur Don Phelippe de la Guerra, agent of his Catholic Majesty, their little account, he having sent his lordship's note of hand for one thousand eight hundred florins to the said Don Philippe. If there were not great need of the money, he would not be so importunate, but necessity knows no law. His father and mother send their compliments. *French.*  $2\frac{1}{2}$  pp.

Endorsed "Mr. Fonseca."

P. DAUDE to [LORD CUTTS].

1698, April 1. Louis.—Expresses his distress at having incurred his Lordship's displeasure, and assures him that his conduct since "Madame's" death has been such as to give no ground for it.† His whole life has been given to his duties, as Mr. Trevor's

\* For the date, see Luttrell's *Relation of State Affairs*, Vol. II., p 447.

† Lord Cutts' 1st wife died in February, 1698. She had been married twice before, her second husband being Sir John Trevor, Secretary of State to Charles II. The children here named are presumably his.

own letters may show, and yet he is suspected of being "*le plus grand coquin du monde*." Acknowledges that he had his Lordship's orders to write twice a week concerning the health of the children, but thought these were given only to show his affection, and never dreamt that he wished to be so often troubled by letters, that being a liberty which other equally tender parents would never have permitted. Congratulates him upon the report that the King has committed one of the most important fortresses to his *caré*, and upon his having been made Brigadier-General.

Mr. Trevor, his brother and his sisters all send their duty.  
*French.* 5½ pp.

WILLIAM BLATHWAYT to LORD CUTTS, at Scotland Yard.

[1698], April 4-14. Hague.—Congratulating him upon his appointment as Governor of the Isle of Wight. ½ p.

JOANNA CUTTS to LORD CUTTS, in the Isle of Wight.

[1698?] September 1.—Deploring the death of a sister, whose funeral is to be next day. Her niece and cousin Luckyn are going down, but she will not be able to accompany them, being obliged "for fear of an ill-natured impatient creditor to keep at home," for a few days. 2½ pp.

LORD CUTTS to ———.

1698, December 7. Whitehall.—Announcing his intention again to stand as knight of the shire, and hoping to have the support of his correspondent and his friends. *Copy.* ½ p.

#### ISLE OF WIGHT.

[1698?]"—"An abstract of Queen Elizabeth's letters patents to Sir George Carey for the Captainship of the Isle of Wight."

Granting him : 1—4. As Captain and Constable of the Island with its castles and forts, and steward and receiver of the Crown lands, &c., the sum of 6s. 8d. *per diem*, and all other customary profits and emoluments, with power to appoint a deputy and thirteen other men to serve under him.

5, 6. As Keeper of Carisbrooke Park (with the herbage and pannage), and master of the wild beasts in the Island, 2d. *per diem*, with the usual fees, &c., incident to the office.

7. Power to let the lands, either for twenty-one years or three lives.

8. Authority to have and hold all writs and other mandates, to the end that the inhabitants may not be molested by the sheriff or any other minister outside the Island, who are to execute no writs, &c., save in default of Sir George or his officers.

9. Authority to hold "the assize and assay" of bread, beer, and all other victuals and weights and measures, without interruption from any other clerk of the market.

10. The exercise of the office of coroner within the Isle. 1½ pp. [Probably made for Lord Cutts' use.]

Remarks by LORD CUTTS upon the Isle of Wight, considered as a frontier.

[1693?—One of the principal foundations which Cardinal Richelieu laid down for securing a Prince's honour and greatness was to keep his frontiers in a good condition, and Queen Elizabeth's Council thought this maxim of so much weight, and the Isle of Wight so important, that she laid out a considerable sum in adding a new *enciente* of eight bastions and a hornwork to Carisbrooke Castle, "which was before only an ancient Roman work."

The island is of the highest importance to England for the following reasons:—

1. Its situation, opposite to France, and with anchorage for the biggest ships of war at Cowes, St. Helen's Road, Spithead, &c.

2. Its considerable size.

3. Its richness, and capacity to maintain troops, furnishing, as it does, the markets of Southampton, Portsmouth, &c., besides sending many things to London.

4. Its entrance to the main land at Hurst Castle, where troops may pass in open boats, with any wind or in any weather; so that a *corps d'armée* having "taken post" there might be maintained until sufficiently re-inforced to pass to the mainland. The fleet has hitherto hindered anything of this sort, but fleets are subject to many uncertainties from wind, weather, accidents and the conduct of those who command them.

5. Its importance to Portsmouth, which might be starved without its help, if attacked by land.

6. The strength of Carisbrooke Castle, "the only inland fortification of any considerable strength now in England," from which in case of need small garrisons could be sent into the gentlemen's seats in the Island and which gives its Governor command over the whole Island, so that though all England should revolt the Isle of Wight would not, and therefore—

7. It may be considered a *corps de reserve*, by which, in case of disorders in England, the King may bring any numbers of troops, ammunition, &c. from beyond seas. "Queen Elizabeth's Council did not advise her to throw away her money *mal-a-propos*, and yet they advised her to lay out a considerable sum in adding to the strength of this island, and those who write anything of the secrets of her Cabinet assure us that, had she lived, she had

a design of improving it yet further. I mention Queen Elizabeth, because that Princess supported the royal authority as much as the circumstances of her reign would admit of, and was formidable to her enemies abroad." *Draft in Lord Cutts' hand.* 12 pp.

#### ISLE OF WIGHT.

[1693 ?]—"Reflections upon the Government of the Isle of Wight, with regard to the civil power," by Lord Cutts.

The three corporations, Newport, Newtown, and Yarmouth, send each two members. The Corporation of NEWPORT consists of a Mayor and twenty-four Aldermen, and these only have voices in choosing a parliament man. Many of them are substantial men, not depending on the Governor, but by good management (if supported by the State) he may always secure the majority. "This corporation is at present upon a good foot with regard to his Majesty's Governor, and 'tis the only Corporation of the three that has (in effect) a free election."

The Corporation of NEWTOWN consists of a Mayor and twelve Aldermen, and the present Governor is Master of this corporation. "The gentlemen (encouraged by the M[arquis] of W[inchester] and Major Morgan), are endeavouring to get the constitution of this corporation altered, but (if his Majesty's servants dont sacrifice his interests to their own) it may be prevented."

The Corporation of YARMOUTH consists of a Mayor and twelve Aldermen, who have a power to add as many freemen to the corporation as they please (who have all of them voices in the election of members of Parliament), "insomuch that the Mayor and any five of the Aldermen can turn the elections as they think fit. This corporation would be entirely at the Governor's disposition if Major Morgan did not oppose it; a thing as unheard of in any former reign as it is indecent and contradictory to reason, for an officer in the King's pay to put his own private affairs or inclinations in the balance with his master's service, at least to do it publicly, or for an inferior officer to oppose his superior in matters where the King's interest is in question. Upon the whole matter, the King may (if he please) be master always of six voices in Parliament, which any wise man will allow to be a thing of the greatest importance, if he remembers that the greatest point of the Revolution was turned but by one voice. . . . And since two of the corporations will always be managed by somebody, it will be as just for the King's officer to dispose of them as for any country gentleman (or faction) to do it. The Vice-Admiralty being vested in the Governor will have a great effect in putting things upon the right foot." *Draft.* 4 pp.

LORD CUTTS' CASE in respect to his election for co. Cambridge.

[1694, February 2?]-States that neither by himself or his agent did he use any unfair proceedings, but that on the contrary, the night before, he desired the High Sheriff and Sir Rushout

Cullen to meet him, when they agreed on and signed articles to prevent any disputes or disorder, and provided that a gentleman should watch the clerks on behalf of each candidate, and to determine matters arising in the poll. The election was finished without any dispute whatsoever, "insomuch that 'twas the general discourse that a fairer election was never seen, the High Sheriff and Under Sheriff both declaring the same thing on their own accord, although they both used their interest against Lord Cutts, and voted for Sir Rushout Cullen, which plainly shows that the High Sheriff proclaimed and returned Lord Cutts for no other reason than because he thought himself obliged in justice so to do, as also that the Under Sheriff did not in the poll show any partiality to Lord Cutts." Sir Rushout urged the closing of the poll himself, and afterwards, when the books were cast up, they were at his desire gone over twice more, the names of every freeholder were read and the books compared. By the Lord Cutts' books, his majority was 13, by the Sheriff's books 11, and by Sir Rushout's books 14. The Sheriff then declared Lord Cutts elected, with no objections from Sir R. Cullen, or anyone on his behalf. *2½ pp.* °

[LORD CUTTS?] to ——— .

1694, April 24. Pellmell.—His Majesty has been pleased to pardon Mr. John King, now Lord Kingston, brother to the late Lord Kingston in Ireland. He was never in arms, "but being a menial servant to the late King James, and wanting bread, went over with my Lord Shrewsbury's pass, and now, having some pretensions, has thrown himself at the King's feet," giving good security. *½ p.* Copy in Lord Cutts' hand.

GENERAL T. TALMACH to [LORD CUTTS.]

[1694, May ?] Upt[on] Park.—"Your servant delivered me yours this afternoon at Upt[on] Park, where I came this day for some fresh air, having had some fits of an ague. The ships I have so long waited for appear in sight of Portsmouth, as I am informed by an express, so that I shall lose no time in embarking the men. As near as I can guess, if you come on Thursday noon, you'll find us still at Portsmouth." *1½ p.*

SIR JOHN LOWTHER, SIR ROBERT RICH and SIR GEORGE ROOKE,  
Admiralty Commissioners, to CAPTAIN POUND, commander of  
the *Sally Rose*.

1694, July 10. Admiralty Office.—Desiring him, in pursuance of her Majesty's command, signified by Sir John Trenchard,

\* "The committee of elections sat late last night upon the election of a knight of the shire for Cambridge between the Lord Cutts, sitting member, and Sir Rushout Cullen, petitioner, and it was carried for the petitioner." Luttrell, Vol. III., p. 264, under date February 3rd, 1694.



principal secretary of State, to take Lord Cutts on board, and carry him to the fleet. *Signed*, "J. Southern, by command of the Commissioners."  $\frac{1}{2}$  p.

[LORD CUTTS] to MR. SECRETARY TRENCHARD.

1694, July 27. Camp near Portsmouth.—"My Lord Macklesfield parting from hence the night before last, and leaving his opinion with me, my Lord Berceley thought it unnecessary to call a council of war, but his lordship, Sir Clovesly Shovell and I agreed to put on shore the regiments of Cutts, Collyer, Coote, Venner, Row, de Rada, in all six, his lordship desiring four to be left on board for the present at least. The companies are not all come on shore, so that I cannot by this send her Majesty an exact account of the state of them, only in general that they have suffered much more at sea than I expected, which I impute to their being crowded so much in the ships, and many of them wanting hammocks. By my next I shall send lists of the sick and dead, with the present strength of each battalion. In the meantime I think it my duty humbly to offer my opinion (which I do with the deepest submission to her Majesty's pleasure, and your better judgment) and that is, that the sooner I am sent with these regiments to the King, the better it will be; for if the King has not yet given battle we may happen to come *a porpos* [*sic*]; if he has given battle with success, the arrival of such a body (upon it) will have a great effect, and if the issue of the action should be otherwise (which God forbid) the reinforcements would in such a case be necessary. It's true, I have all along been of an opinion to make a diversion, but besides that the latter season is very far advanced and the troops we have diverted from Flanders cannot arrive there in time, though (upon her Majesty sending us) the enemy would change their measures; besides that, sir, the likelihood that his Majesty has fought, or is very near it, is a consideration of weight, and if her Majesty is of that opinion, not a day is to be lost that can be saved; and it is my humble opinion (with the advice of the commanding officers of battalions) that the regiments are certainly in danger of losing great numbers by desertion if we march anywhere else to embark; the fatigue of the sea, with the thoughts of Flanders, having some influence upon our men.

"I humbly desire her Majesty would be pleased to signify her pleasure to me (by yourself or the Secretary of War) not to let any officer stir from his post without her leave particularly signified to me, which her Majesty will please not to grant but for extraordinary reasons. I am encamped with them (to shew them good example) and shall not stir from them so long as they are under my care. I hope her Majesty will not think of sending any general officer with them but myself, since that was his Majesty's first intention. It would be for her service to recruit these regiments according to proposals I have given to my Lord Macklesfield." *Copy.* 2 $\frac{1}{2}$  pp.

QUEEN MARIE to JOHN, LORD CUTTS, Brigadier-General of the Forces.

1694, July 31. Court at Whitehall.—Ordering him to cause the detachment of foot Guards now on board the fleet to disembark and march to their former quarters in London. *Sign manual. Countersigned by Dr. George Clarke, secretary at war.*  $\frac{1}{2}$  p.

DUKE OF SHREWSBURY to LORD CUTTS.

1694, August 1. Whitehall.—Has not failed to represent his Lordship's opinion concerning the regiments; but it is resolved that only those three which he has now orders to put on board shall go to Flanders, together with that of Belasyse, which, being near town, will be embarked in the river. 1 p.

QUEEN MARIE to LORD CUTTS.

1694, August 3. Court at Whitehall.—Desiring him to cause the foot regiment commanded by Col. Samuel Venner to re-embark on board the fleet, and, with the other regiments now there, to obey the commands of John, Lord Berkley, Admiral of the Blue Squadron, or, in his absence, of the commander in chief of the said squadron. *Sign manual. Countersigned by Dr. George Clarke.*  $\frac{1}{2}$  p.

LORD CUTTS to the DUKE OF SHREWSBURY.

1694, August 5. Camp near Portsmouth.—Announces the embarkation of the three regiments, Cutts', Collier's and Rada's, and prays his favour in the following particulars:—

That he may have an order for the transport of horses for the regiments and for his own use;

That the officers of the three regiments may have something upon account;

That the regiments may have money enough to carry them to the camp or to their quarters in Flanders (as otherwise there will be great confusion and extreme prejudice to the forces);

And that her Majesty may be pleased to order each regiment a draft of a hundred men from the regiments remaining in England (as the King has formerly done in many cases), the drafts made at London to be embarked with Belasyse's regiment.

Supposes that he is appointed to take care of the regiments, and hopes to receive her Majesty's commands. *Copy.* 2 pp.

THE DUKE OF SHREWSBURY to LORD CUTTS.

1694, August 7.—“If all the regiments had gone for Flanders as your lordship proposed, it had no doubt been most proper that a general officer had been sent to take care of them, but her Majesty having resolved upon these three only, and they not in a very good condition, I doubt, for service, and at the latter end of

a campaign, I did not know whether your lordship would much covet the employment, and hearing nothing of it from yourself, I deferred mentioning of it to her Majesty till now I received your lordship's last letter ; and her Majesty leaves it wholly to your own inclinations, without interposing her commands.

"There has all the solicitations imaginable been used with the Lords of the Treasury in favour of the officers now to be sent for Flanders.

"There is no resolution taken yet whether any drafts of men shall be made out of the regiments here for the completing those three that are sent." 1 p.

DR. GEORGE CLARKE to LORD CUTTS.

1694, August 7. Whitehall.—Regrets that any mistake should have occurred in his office to his Lordship's prejudice, but never heard of any commission that he had to command nine regiments in chief, and believed those at sea to be no more under his direction than any other general officer's ; nor those encamped, further than as his Lordship happened to be the eldest officer upon the place. Must confess that he took both those and all the other land forces in England to be under the only commander-in-chief that he knows of, who is the Duke of Schonberg ; but if better informed will willingly rectify his mistake. 1 p.

WILLIAM BLATHWAYT to LORD CUTTS.

1694-5, January 22. Whitehall.—It will be a great misfortune if the convoy have overshot their port, as it will mean delay. Col. Dudley has "advised the receiving of the 300l." designed for his Lordship, "which is therefore in doing." His Majesty orders Col. Lillingston's disbanded officers to be placed in the first vacancies of the three other regiments now in the west. 1 p.

KING WILLIAM III. to LORD CUTTS.

1694-5, March 12. Court at Kensington.—Ordering him to repair to Portsmouth, the Isle of Wight, and elsewhere, to take a review of the regiments of Brigadier Stuart, and Cols. Venner, Coote and Rowe (about to embark to join the fleet at Cadiz), and, upon the arrival of the transport ships at Spithead or St. Helens, to take care for the embarkation of the troops, with all possible expedition ; also, to order Brigadier Hastings' regiment to march to Portsmouth, and from it to make such drafts as will fill up the other four regiments to the strength of the establishment, and, in case of any vacancies of commissioned officers, to supply the same with such of Col. Lillingston's officers as shall accompany him to Portsmouth. *Sign manual. Countersigned by Blathwayt.* 2 pp.

## KING WILLIAM III. to LORD CUTTS.

1694-5, March 18.—Further orders, desiring him to take care that, at the embarkation, the respective officers satisfy the subalterns and privates what is due to them for their Irish arrears, sea subsistence, and otherwise, “for so long time as the same shall have been paid” by his Majesty. *Sign manual.* 1 p.

## [DR. GEORGE CLARKE to LORD CUTTS?]

[1695.] March 16.—“About twelve yesterday the Black Rod came with a message to the House of Commons that the King expected their attendance in the House of Lords, where the Speaker elect<sup>a</sup> coming up to the Bar, acquainted his Majesty in a short speech that the Commons having fixed their choice upon him, notwithstanding the just excuse he had made to them of his many imperfections, he would not urge his own private opinion any further, nor interpose it against their election, but humbly implored his Majesty’s gracious approbation, being resolved to supply the deficiency of his understanding by his application and industry. My Lord Keeper in the usual form signified the King’s consent, and then the Speaker, expressing in a few words his sense of the great honour conferred upon him, desired that his crimes of ignorance or inadvertency might not be imputed to the Commons, and that he humbly threw himself upon his Majesty’s gracious pardon for any personal errors and omissions, after which the royal assent was given to two private bills. The Speaker at his return reported what had passed in the House of Lords, and proceeded in a short speech (after having repeated his thanks) to take notice of the disorders which were crept into the House, both by the excursions in their debates and the frequent reflections one upon another, and concluded to this effect, that whatever his failings might be, he would still preserve clean hands. The rest of the day’s proceedings being in print need not here be repeated, as not affording any particular remark.

“This morning the Speaker was in the chair by nine o’clock. Two private bills, the bill for raising the militia, that for encouraging seamen and a money bill, were read; and then a motion being made that the Lords had in the case now depending between the Earls of Bathe and Mountacute taken cognizance of it in such a manner as if they designed to extend their judicature even to original causes, it occasioned a debate, which after an hour fell through without a question; the argument on one side being formed from the necessity of vindicating the rights of the people, which were daily intrenched upon by the Lords, that on the other insisting how improper a time t’was at the end of a session to controvert a point which might cause a breach, to be avoided above all things in the present posture of affairs. By this time it was two o’clock, and it was either moved or seconded

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<sup>a</sup> Paul Foley, Esq.

by Sir Edward Hussey to expel the late Speaker\* out of the House. Jack How spoke in his favour, so did some others, but in vain, for the vote was carried against him without a division. (He was elected somewhere in the Isle of Wight.)

It was afterwards motioned that Sir Robert Clayton should say what he could for himself as to his part in being the proposer of giving the present to the late Speaker, but he was withdrawn just before very ill, as several gentlemen affirmed, and the consideration of his doom is adjourned to Monday, and the House rose about three o'clock. *2½ pp.* [*The letter is unsigned, but appears to be in Dr. Clarke's handwriting.*]

WILLIAM BLATHWAYT to LORD CUTTS.

1694-5, March 19.—I am directed by his Majesty, through Lord Portland, to inform you that he designs Sir H. Belasyse to stand for Yarmouth, if you can be assured of a majority there; but otherwise, you are to give your interest to Major Holmes, "as he is the King's servant and a neighbour of that corporation." Col. Dudley, who sets out to-morrow, will further inform you in the matter. *1 p.*

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1694-5, March 20. Whitehall.—Lord Portland has brought me another message from the King, who now says that you are to exert your own interest and his Majesty's recommendation to the utmost for Sir H. Belasyse if you see "a fair probability of success . . . but that if there be more reason for despair, the person to be set up be Mr. Wolseley, the King's envoy at Brussels, now here." His Majesty thinks it absolutely necessary that you stay in those parts until the election be over.

*Postscript.*—Your express arrived in the night. "I am glad things are like to go so well, and particularly for Brigadier Stewart's sake." *2 pp.*

LORD CUTTS to BRIGADIER GENERAL STEWART.

1694[-5], March 23. Portsmouth—"Having received instructions in writing from his Majesty (a copy whereof is hereunto annexed) whereby I am commanded to review, recruit, and embark the four regiments under your command designed for the Straits (viz., Stuart, Coote, Brudenell, and Pizar†), and to order and dispose of all things relating to the embarkation of the said regiments, I have thought fit to give you in writing what I have done therein, in obeying his Majesty's commands to the best of my judgment and power, as also what orders I have (from time to time) received relating thereunto.

\* Sir John Trevor.

† Lieut. Col. Thos. Brudenell and the Marquis de Pizar had just been appointed to the regiments of Cols. Rowe and Venner, "suspended by a court martial upon complaints of some officers." See Luttrell, vol. III., p. 450.

"His Majesty's first orders were (as appears by the foresaid instructions) that I should make the foresaid four regiments complete, according to the establishment of a regiment of foot. But finding (at my arrival here, upon enquiry) that there was not transportation and victuals provided for above three thousand men, I represented the same to his Majesty by Mr. Blathwayt, and humbly proposed (as absolutely necessary for the service) that orders might be given to appoint more transports and provisions, to answer which I received a letter from his Majesty by Mr. Blathwayt to this effect, that though transportation was provided but for three thousand men, and though the establishment of a regiment of foot complete amounted to more, yet that it would be thus supplied :—The embarkation is calculated at the rate of a ton each man, but ('tis alleged that) a ton will quarter a man and a quarter, and the odd quarter in each ton will more than supply the supernumeraries. Notwithstanding which I had orders to appoint a supplement of transportation and victuals, as I should see occasion.

"Soon after this, upon the disorder which happened in the four companies at Salisbury, his Majesty (apprehending that there would happen a great desertion thereupon, and that men would come short) signified to me his commands by Mr. Blathwayt that (notwithstanding my former directions) I should regulate the embarkation upon the number of three thousand men only, for which 'twas thought there would be no occasion of an increase of transportation or victuals. But the commissioner of transportation, and the agent to the victuallers, having made some steps therein (to the number of about four hundred and four), and the time for sailing drawing very near, and understanding by all Mr. Blathwayt's significations of his Majesty's pleasure (by letter) that by no means the sailing of the fleet was to be delayed a moment, I thought it not practicable to countermand what was done.

"When I came to make a regulation for the recruiting of the four regiments, I proposed to myself to pitch upon such a medium as that on the one side the transports might not be too much crowded, nor Sir John Jacob's regiment quite broke; nor (on the other side) the four regiments so weak (in entering into the campaign) as to disappoint his Majesty's intentions. Besides that, it was not specified in the article of the three thousand men to be embarked, whether the officers and officers' servants were understood to be exclusive or inclusive.

"Upon this I had the honour to advise with yourself and the colonels thereupon, and 'twas agreed to regulate the regiments at fifty private sentinels (servants exclusive) per company, and 'twas unanimously agreed that a lesser proportion would be inconsistent with the service. What has happened since, you have been yourself a witness of. I'll only make this remark upon the whole: at a man per ton the transport falls short; at a man and a quarter per ton it comes over, though I fear the calculation is too narrow.

"Having laid this before you, sir, I have only to acquaint you with his Majesty's pleasure for the rest, so far as it has been signified to me by Mr. Blathwayt (*per* letter and instructions) and by his Majesty by verbal order : —

"That after having embarked the forces pursuant to my foresaid instructions, I was to deliver the care of all thing[s] (relating to the land-service) into your hands, which, in obedience to his Majesty's orders, I do by these presents, that especial care be taken not to delay the sailing of the fleet a minute upon any account whatsoever, but rather (as his Majesty expresses himself) to want of the numbers. I heartily wish you a good voyage." *Copy. 4 pp.*

WILLIAM BLATHWAYT TO LORD CUTTS.

1695, March 26. Whitehall.—I have received your letters, and laid abstracts of them before his Majesty.

It is reported here "that your Lordship has ordered the two companies from Portsmouth to come and quarter at Yarmouth during the election, where none or no such proportion of men used to be at another time. I hope, my Lord, it is quite otherwise, for that it is a constant rule and his Majesty's express pleasure that all soldiers do ever remove from a place where there is to be an election, as it is absolutely necessary in this case, where the least intimation of such quartering would set the House of Commons in a flame, and make void any election your Lordship should countenance." Lieut.-Colonel Hussey is here, but his case in reference to Brigadier Stewart will not be heard until you are present, who I suppose did nothing unwarranted by your instructions. "The House of Commons is very warm about the East India Company's business, having sent Sir T. Cook to the Tower for refusing to discover his knowledge." *2 pp.*

NOTES OF INTELLIGENCE.

[1695, March ?]—Seven Spanish battalions are destined for Germany. A man who left Antwerp on the 8th says that all is quiet there, that the bridge on the Scheldt is restored, and that he saw at Merxem the pioneers destined to repair the l[ines ?] on that side.

The enemy have resolved to let their troops stay quietly in their cantonments unless we make a movement.

Paris, the 4th.—The K[ing] has reviewed his g[uards ?] but their departure is deferred, and also that of Marshal Villeroy, who is still with the King. All the troops have arrived in the Low Countries.

Louvain, March 6.—The regiment of Alsace was still at Brussels, and the following had arrived:—Beringham's, Bossart's, Fustemberg's, the Bavarian horse guards. The Rheingrave had also arrived. Five companies of carabiniers, the fusiliers, and the artillery are at Malines, and the *Royal Etrangers* near Louvain. *French. 2 pp. In Lord Cutts' hand.*

## SIR WILLIAM TRUMBULL to LORD CUTTS.

1695, June 3. Whitehall —Has received his Lordship's from Quinbourg [Queenborough] and regrets his being hindered by contrary winds, but believes he will be with the King and army time enough to have his share in the honour of any action. Prays God to send good success to all. Two mails have arrived from Holland and he sends an abstract of the news they bring (*wanting*). 1 p.

## MAR[GARET] ACTON to her brother [LORD CUTTS].

1695, July 25.—Is heartily glad to hear that Sir Harry is chosen for Cambridge, and hopes it is a good forerunner of her brother's own election. Sends her services to Sir Harry and his lady. If the latter will favour her with a visit on her way to the "Oyll of Whett," she shall have a hearty welcome. Mr. Acton is in town. Peggy sends her duty. 2 pp.

## MARY MASON to LORD CUTTS at Newmarket.

1695, October 18.—"I doubt not your Lordship's pardon if I am very impertinent, because 'tis a woman after all, and your Lordship can expect no better." I pray for your assistance for my nephew, Natt. Salmon, who desires to be a fellow of Bennet College; but unhappily he has been admitted a lawyer, and has his degree in that form. I am informed however, that, by the King's mandate, he may have a Master of Arts degree, and I believe that if it is in your Lordship's power to get this favour from his Majesty, my nephew will not want it. A word also to Dr. Stanley may further his choice in the College.

I heartily congratulate your safe return from this summer's expedition, and pray that you may be further serviceable in your generation, and that you may be as great a conqueror in your spiritual warfare, thus at last to attain immortal glory. I hope to hear of your triumph again at Cambridge, for all the country speaks well of you. 1½ pp.

## MONSIEUR ST. PAUL to LORD CUTTS.

1695, October 18-28. Bush.—Regrets that he was not in the camp at St. Quintin when Mons. de Boislin (now with the Count of Nassau) came to see him on his Lordship's behalf, he having been obliged to escort the King to the neighbourhood of Breda. On his return, learnt that his Lordship was at Brussels, and would have gone over there, but his troop was ordered to march on the morrow, and he could not leave it, owing to the paucity of officers with the corps. Made enquiries at Antwerp, but heard nothing, until, on arriving at this place, Col. Sylliar [? Sulyard] informs him that his Lordship has gone to England.

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\*Lord Cutts was elected for co. Cambridge in October, 1695, but Sir Henry did not sit for the borough until 1698.



Will find means to rid himself of his lieutenancy in the Grenadiers if his Lordship should accept "*les propositions pour aide de camp*" which he made a year ago at Loo, and repeated at Namur, on the evening of its capitulation. *French.* 2 pp.

E. LAURENCE to [LORD CUTTS?]

[1695?] December 1. Litchfield Street.—I have done my utmost to get the letter to send you, "but there being nothing in it more than professions of friendship, very handsomely expressed, she thought it could be of no great use. They keep a constant correspondence together, and my s[ister] takes all opportunities to suggest everything which she thinks may be of service, but she dares not be very particular, because they open all her letters.

"There has been of late several proposals made to the Princess, Lord Sherrard one, he has been proposed by Mr. Hodges, a Leicestershire gentleman and a relation to the family of Katesby; Sir Thomas Alston, a Bedfordshire gentleman, and Mr. Peto, a Warwickshire man, who has a very considerable estate and one of the finest seats in England; this last was named before I left Northamptonshire, and I heard the Princess except against him because of his age not being more than eighteen; but I find by Mr. Parkhurst there is none of these motions so well approved of by him as the first, but there's no progress as I know of made yet, and I have heard the lord say no fortune that was not in money could be convenient to him; the princess in her last to my sister is very earnest with her to go down and keep her Christmas with her; she tells her she has no pleasure without her, and if she won't go down she'll come up. Young Mr. Parkhurst is come to town and has been with me, and says that for a week after my sister left them the spotless fair cried every day for the loss of her.

"Upon the whole, my lord, I am satisfied. Was your Lordship here, it might easily be effected, neither is it in the power of anything but a long absence to prevent it, and therefore my daily wishes is for your lordship's presence here to take possession of the greatest prize England can afford." 4½ pp.

J[OHN] TUCKER to LORD CUTTS.

1695-6, March 5. Whitehall.—Requesting him (with his secretary) to meet Secretary Trumbull at his office in the afternoon, the Lords of the Committee of Council having given some directions concerning the papers seized in the hands of several persons and sent to the office by his Lordship.\* ½ p.

LORD CUTTS to ———.

1696, August [18-]28. Elector of Bavaria's Camp at Gramont.—The Duke of Wyrtenberge and all of us are much surprised by your order to us, communicated by Major-General

\* Probably in relation to the Berkeley plot, which Lord Cutts helped to defeat.

Earle, to send for our money to Dermonde, Brussels being nearer, and our quartermasters already there. I doubt not of your zeal to the service, but "wish your hurries would give you leave to take a little more care of the troops." I have commanded a party to Dermonde, and (being major-general of the day) have sent an express to Brussels to send the quarter masters thither. Mr. Woollett has told me that you would not be troubled with my accounts any longer. "Since 'tis so great a trouble (as it seems it is) I do not desire it, but when the campaign is over I must desire that I may have some account of my forage money and some other matters, for which I think myself very ill used." *Copy. 1½ pp.*

LORD CUTTS to [ELIZABETH PICKERING\*?]

1696, October 27. Kensington—"You find by the dates of my letters that Kensington has all those hours that I can call my own, and I assure you, all my thoughts, when I am alone in my retreat there, are solely devoted to you, excepting such as have no share in the things of this world. . . . I have no visitors. no company upon business, no officers, nobody comes near me . . . but the minute I set my foot at my house in London, my rooms are full of company and my head crammed with business. I mention this because I was speaking of it once at Mrs. Hagar's, and I think you were by, Madam, when somebody said it would be impossible ever to be master of any such retirement in so public a station as I am in. I wish Sir Harry would give leave to somebody about you to give me an account of your health, and to let me know if you receive my letters, as Mrs. Mally Hagar used to do." *3 pp.*

JOHN PHILLIPS to LORD CUTTS.

[1697, April?]-Informing him that the gentlemen at Newtown strive only who can get most votes, and accuse him (the writer) of being the only man to keep them out, and so are resolved to ruin him. Supposes that his Lordship has had particulars from the Mayor, but thinks fit to send the enclosed, of which he has five or six more. Wonders that Sir William Stephens and parson Williams should desire to serve, "when neither of them but refused to what the King set out." Prays his Lordship to stand by them, and assures him that if he stands it out they will all serve him to the last. Begs for reimbursement of what he has paid to Captain Marshall, of Sandom [Sandown] Fort. *¾ p.*

*Enclosing,*

*King William III. to the Mayor and capital burgesses of Newtowne, alias Franckville, Isle of Wight. It having been the custom, time out of mind, that anyone holding any*

\*Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Henry Pickering, of Whaddon, co. Cambridge, became Lord Cutts' second wife in 1697.

*messuage or lands adjacent to the town, by what is commonly called burgage tenure, or holding any free tenement in the town, and paying what is commonly called town rent, should be counted a capital burgher of the said town; and it appearing that Sir Robert Worsley, Bart., holds the land called "Pentons" adjacent to the said town, yet that you, the Mayor and capital burghers, refuse to admit him to his due rights and privileges, we hereby require you to admit the said Sir Robert as a capital burgher, with all the rights and privileges thereto appertaining. Signed Harcourt and Astri [Astry] in Court hand at the foot. "Westmonasterium, xxj<sup>o</sup> die Aprilis, anno regni nostri ix<sup>o</sup>." Latin. 1 p.*

MRS. REVETT to her husband, LIEUT.-COLONEL REVETT.

1697, July 9, August 2 and 27. Kensington.—Letters to her husband in Flanders, expressing her affection for him. 4, 8, and 4 pps. respectively, but the end of each letter missing.

EARL FAUCONBERG to SIR WILLIAM FRANKLAND.

[July, 1697? \*]—"It is not conceivable what trouble I was in to find by your last all hopes destroyed of ever more conversing with my best friend, for though it be not impossible that either or both of us should survive this year, yet I judge it altogether so either for me to find myself less oppressed with age or you with infirmities in the next. We must acknowledge it a great providence that as our bodies die and decay by degrees before they tumble into the grave, so do our pleasures and sensual appetites proportionably decline, and for my own particular, that have seen all the vanities and acted an unhappy part upon all the scenes and stages of human life, it is more than time I should endeavour to get the taste and relish of this world out of my mouth by withdrawing from the noise and bustle of it to a more heavenly conversation, such a conversation, brother, as will discover to us objects worthy of all the love and admiration of our souls, will rectify our opinions and dispel our errors, will expiate our guilt and extinguish our fears, will discover to us the happy tendencies of temporal evils and the glorious reward of them. These are subjects worthy of our remaining time, that ought to be intermixed only with praises for the grace and opportunity given us. I could dwell for ever upon this subject, if my weak eyes and feeble hand were able to follow my thoughts, but those failing, must conclude with my prayers for our happy meeting in a better world." *Draft, endorsed by Lord Fauconberg, "My last farewell letter to Sir W. Frankland."*

\* Luttrell, writing on August 7, 1697, speaks of Sir William Frankland as "lately dead." The date of his death is not given in the *Baronetages* or in *The House of Cromwell*.

LORD FAUCONBERG to [SIR WILLIAM FRANKLAND].

[No year,] May 4.—. . . "My brother B[elasye?] went down yesterday on horseback in company with Sir Thomas Slingsby, leaving me confined to my bed by a strange mischance of the horses running away with the chariot as we came the other day from church; broke the chariot all to pieces, hurt the coachman, broke the little page's arm, and almost killed poor Lady Russell and myself. My hat happening to be upon my head did me great service, but my Lady R., I fear, will be forced to keep her bed some weeks, and 'tis a great mercy we were not all killed. My postilion has now lain thirteen weeks in bed with his leg broke, so that the mettle and good keeping of my horses has worse effects than Mun's neglect of them."

I have long promised my cousin C. B. the muster master's place when it falls, otherwise poor Anthony should have it. Pray send me up a particular of Oldwark, how it is let, &c. Sir William Turner was here yesterday, and though he says it is the dearest purchase in England, he is desirous to know about it. "Perhaps I may go a snip" with him myself. I hear that your son Tom is well. I hope to attend you and my sister at Thirkleby about two months hence. 2½ pp.

THE SAME to THE SAME.

[No year,] February 23.—"It is not difficult to imagine how great my surprise and concern must be at the reading of yours, which came to my hands last night, but dated (I suppose by mistake) the 15. We are not by these accidents so much instructed as minded to have our lamps ready trimmed, for we know not the hour. I pray, let me hear how my poor sister bears her affliction, and how she designs to dispose her concerns here below, till she take her flight after him, for which I pray God fit us all." 1 p.

THE SAME to THE SAME.

[No year,] April 22.—I have been some days confined to my bed by an indisposition which I hope will have a good effect upon my eyes. My brother says nothing of his return, "which makes me suppose he expects the widow there" . . . I wish your resolutions of being a little thrifty may continue, for I judge it high time to be so, and that Lady Monmouth's house upon the water would not be inconvenient. 1 p.

THE SAME to THE SAME.

[No year,] June 8. Sutton Court.—Is about selling his house and buying another, which he hopes to find less damp and

cold, though otherwise not so convenient. Has sent his sister a present of fruit by Mr. Preston, which he would like his sister Dalton to see. 1 p.

A[NNA, LADY] FRECHEVILLE to LADY RUSSELL.

[1697 or later,] July 30.—It is not from want of a real respect for my dear Lady Russell that I only answered your ladyship's letter by Sir Thomas Frankland, "but the Duke of Somerset being the only proper person for me to speak to upon the occasion, and having no interest any where else, I durst not presume to speak, but I think it would be more proper for my good Lady Falkenburgh to put her Majesty in mind of her gracious promise." 1½ pp.

*Endorsed by Lady Russell, "La: Fretchvill."*

LIEUT.-COLONEL E[DMUND] REVETT to his WIFE.

1697, [August 29–] September 9.—From the English camp at Cockleberg, commanded by Prince Vaudemont.—Letter of affection to his wife, whom he addresses as his "lovely child" and "glorious heroine," assuring her that her expressions of love and goodness have put his mind in "a most heavenly state of tranquility." 4 pp. *End of the letter wanting.*

LIEUT.-COLONEL E[DMUND] REVETT to LORD CUTTS.

1697, October 2. Basingstoke.—Assures his Lordship that as he owes to him all his good fortune, reputation and knowledge, in his trade and otherwise, he can do no less than devote his life to his service, and that if given a post in the Isle of Wight, he will make it his study to approve himself his Lordship's very faithful servant. 2½ pp.

J[OANNA] RIVETT [*sic*] to her Uncle, LORD CUTTS.

[1697?] October 10.—Congratulating him upon his safe return, and offering a thousand thanks "for bringing Mr. Rivett over so soon." Rejoices at the peace,\* and hopes his Lordship will not again have to venture himself abroad. Sends her services to "my lady." 2½ pp.

THE ARMY.

[1697?]—Memorandum by Lord Cutts, concerning his Majesty's English forces.—Suggesting that as there is evidently a faction of malcontents in the army (particularly this last campaign), including some of the general officers, and there being many cunning, intriguing and deceitful men amongst them, with others "allied to very busy men in both Houses of Parliament"—it would be very advantageous to his Majesty's

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\* Probably the Treaty of Ryswick, Sept. 10, 1697

interest (if any English forces remain in Holland or Flanders) to leave beyond sea such general officers or colonels as he knows or believes to be of the faction, or inclining to it. If, however, it is resolved to bring them to England, their regiments should be quartered as far from London and from each other as possible, and it would be well not to leave this matter to the clerks. *Draft. 2 pp.*

SIR HENRY PICKERING to his son-in law, LORD CUTTS.

1697-8, January 9.—I was very impatient to hear from you after the news of the fire in Whitehall, for, knowing your Lordship's fearless temper and constant inclination for doing good, I was concerned lest you should venture so far as to come to harm, or at any rate take cold, which you tell you have done. I hope you will soon get rid of it.

"I am very sorry to hear the Parliament are of opinion still 'tis best to be without an army in England. I pray God they do not repent it when 'tis too late." If the business of our election is heard in the House, be so kind as to tell me how it goes, and also let me know when I shall have the happiness of seeing you here, your company being the greatest satisfaction I have left. *2½ pp.*

LIEUT.-COL. E. REVETT to LORD CUTTS.

1698, July 20. Kensington.—Has no news to send. Everybody is mightily concerned for Mr. Mountague, and unhappy if they have not the opportunity of serving him. "Notwithstanding all the bustle is made, Sir Henry Dutton Colt, with his justice of the peace, will push it a great length."\* Hopes Sir Henry Pickering has his inclination by this time, and sends services to him and his lady. Will be at Whaddon early on Saturday. *1½ pp.*

JOANNA CUTTS to her brother, LORD CUTTS.

[1698, July, about the 20th.]—I was sorry I was out when you called on Saturday, "but believe you are very much in the right to make haste to secure Sir Harry's and your own election, in both which I wish you good success with all my heart. Here is very few alterations, at least yet declared. You know my Lord Marlborough and Mr. Mountague are added to the King's [justices] instead of lord Sunderland and my lord Shrewsbury. There's no dukes made. For peers, Mr. Martin as he is generally called, I mean Count Marton, is made an Irish lord; Mr. Overkirk's eldest son an English earl; my cousin [Christopher] Vane, to the surprise of everybody, is a peer of England.† 'Tis not known yet who has got his money, but most think it went into the bargain with his father-in-law the duke of Newcastle's

\* Sir Henry Dutton Colt opposed Montagu (unsuccessfully) in the election at Westminster. Sir Henry Pickering was returned for the borough of Cambridge.

† The peerages give the date of Vane's being made Lord Barnard as 1699, but the date of this letter is fixed by the mention of the new Lord Justices.

Garter, which he gave six thousand guineas for to a friend of yours, which, with Vane's money, they say paid for Twitnam [Twickenham] park. There's no lord chamberlain as yet nor 'tis thought will be none till next winter session is ended."

*Postscript.* Lord Albemarle is ill, and is removed to Whitehall. A yacht stays for him. 3 pp.

LORD RANELAGH to LORD CUTTS.

1698, July 22. Chelsea.—I tried vainly to see you on Monday, and now find that you have gone into Cambridgeshire. I am anxiously expecting to hear from you, "since, upon the repeated assurance you were so kind to give me of being chosen in the Isle of Wight, I have declined standing for Chichester, where I formerly served. What methods your lordship hath been pleased to take for my being one of the representatives of your island I would therefore be very glad to know, and what part I am to act therein." His Majesty has left me such a crowd of business that I cannot possibly go there myself, but Mr. Wallis will be my envoy extraordinary. 1 p.

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1698, July 22. Six at night. Chelsea.—"You may wonder to receive two letters from me, writ in one day, but since I wrote my first, which was early this morning, I have received the favour of your lordship's, dated from Cambridge, the 21st instant, in which you are pleased to tell me, that in order to make my election more sure at Newporte, you are resolved to be chosen there yourself first, and that you can then the easier transfer it to me; so that I find I am not to be chosen till the parliament hath met, and that you have there declared you will serve as knight of the shire for Cambridgeshire, and thereupon a new writ must go for Newporte, when, it may be, I may come in.

"This being the case, as it appears plainly by your lordship's letter, I must confess I am not only surprised but troubled, for though vanity is none of my faults, yet I cannot but think that a man who hath served so long in parliament, and in the post I am in, must be thought a bankrupt, both in his reputation and favour, to come in at the second bound; and therefore, if I am not to be chosen but under a mask, I must think myself very little obliged to your lordship's favour, and I shall never desire to be a Sir Harry Colt, or to be put under hatches when Sir Robert Cotton, who hath as little interest in the Island as myself, shall, by your favour, appear openly chosen. This pray, my dear lord, consider, and if you will oblige me, let it not be in a way which will be very disagreeable." 1 p.

JOANNA CUTTS to her brother, LORD CUTTS.

[1698,] July 26.—I rejoice at Sir Harry's good success, and am sure "the carrying such a point will be a vast advantage to

you, and show your interest to be more considerable than some persons would wish it. There's no news here. The Westminster election is not yet over. Sir Colt (*sic*) whose standing was thought so great a jest, is much nearer carrying it than could be imagined, but has met with great mortifications. Your Mr. Steel coming to vote, he knew him, and reflecting, asked him if he kept a house. He told him, not a gaming house. There has been ev'ry day cards and dice thrown up by the other party. The Princess, it's said, is dissatisfied at the King's striking out several places in the Duke of Gloucester's establishment, and bringing it down to 15,000*l*. This, and a commendation the King gave to the Prince of Wales in public, makes a world of odd stories about the town. There's no Flanders news to-night, and besides, my living gazette, Sir James, is out town. . . . My Lord Sunderland goes soon out of town, it's thought to retire in good earnest, and he expected to have been more missed by his master than he finds himself." I hope next post to hear that you have carried your own election, of which I believe there is not much doubt. 2½ pp.

J[OHN] ACTON to his brother-[in-law], LORD CUTTS.

1698, August 14. Newport [Isle of Wight].—"Since my last, the election for the county hath been finished here (as to be sure your lordship hath heard before this) and my lord marquis<sup>e</sup> hath lost it by upwards of seven hundred votes. The day before that of the county election the commissioner of the duke was here and treated again, but I do not see that he gets any ground, for the same that were with him have been with me and I find there are a number of them that love treating. After the election Mr. Norton was made a Burgess of the town, and Mr. Mayor and the corporation were pleased to compliment me with the same favour, but my lord William [Paulet] and Mr. Jervoyce went away that very night, which shews that Mr. Norton hath acted a more prudent and politic part than the other two in endeavouring to secure the freeholders of this town for another time.

"While I was writing this, Mr. Hayles shewed me a letter in which his son informs him that Mr. Priestman intends to stand for this place. Now though I am not at all doubtful of carrying my point upon your lordship's interest, yet I cannot omit still pressing your lordship to hasten down.

"On Thursday last I went to Cowes, and from thence Colonel Dudley and his son and I went to Major Morgan's, where were most of the gentlemen except Sir R. Worstly and Sir John Dillington. They drank all to your lordship's health with a great many assurances of their being hearty in your lordship's interest, and I hope they are so."

*Postscript.* "Since I wrote this I received a letter from my clerk in which he tells me the Guards' seven months' subs[istence] will be soon paid, which makes me long to be in town, fearing

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\* Charles Paulet, Marquis of Winchester, son of the Duke of Bolton.



lest he should make some great mistakes to my detriment\* ; and yet I dare not venture to stir till I see your lordship here, which I hope will be soon." 2 pp.

LORD CUTTS to [A GENTLEMAN OF THE ISLE OF WIGHT?]

1698, August 16. Kensington.—I pray you to use your best endeavours with the corporation of Newport to secure the return of my brother, Mr. Acton, as it would look very strange to the eyes of the world "if the corporation of Newport, which showed me so much kindness when almost all the gentlemen opposed me, should now be unkind to me when all the gentlemen of the Island are on my side." Copy. 2½ pp. [*Perhaps a circular letter.*]

FRIEDRICH, [HEREDITARY] PRINCE OF HESSE, to LORD CUTTS.

1698, December [2-]12. Cassel.—Assuring him of his regard and hoping to see him shortly in England, if he can carry out his wish to make a tour there. Holograph. French. 1½ pp.

LORD CUTTS [to ONE OF THE SECRETARIES OF STATE?]

[1698?].—I beg you to assure the K[ing] "That my int[erest] and cr[edit] in the I[sle] of W[ight] is (as it o[ught] to be) totally at his Majesty's disposal, and if (as you know) I excused myself once upon a re[quest] of my Lord O[rford's?] I had such particular reasons for 't that the King was pleased to hearken to th[em]. I believe Col. St[anley] so well qu[alified] and inclined to serve the King that I onl[y] w[ish] he had m[any] such, and if his M[ajesty] is pl[ea]sed to rem[ember] wh[at] I have said to him upon Col. Stan[ley's] subj[ect] in form[er] occasions he'll know my op[inion] of him, he being one of the o[fficer's] I made ch[oice] of, when his M[ajesty] was pl[ea]sed to leave it to me (and me only) to fix the c[ommissioner's] upon the Int[endant's] assassination, and to take my own m[ea]sure's with[out] subj[ecting] me to any orders.

"When I have said this, 'tis my d[uty] to acquaint his Majesty that h[aving] not received any d[irections] from C[ourt] I did ab[out] a m[onth] since give my c[redi]t to Sir Robert C[otton] to stand for Newport in the I. of W., desiring Sir R. C. to apply hims[elf] to m[y] L[ord] M[arlborough] in my n[ame] that his M[ajesty] might be acquainted with it for his appr[obation], and having heard n[othing] more of it, I concluded it was app[roved] on.

"Now all th[at] I h[ere] beg of his Majesty is that he w[ill] be pl[ea]sed to m[ove?] Sir R. C[otton] in th[is] matter so far th[at] I m[ay] not ap[pear] to do a dish[onest] th[ing] by him, in which if his Majesty auth[orises] you, you may be very instrumental, be[sides] th[at] the ad[ditio]n of Sir R. C[otton's] int[erest] there will be of s[ervice] to Col. St[anley].

\* John Acton was Solicitor to the Coldstream Guards from 1695 to 1711.

"And if m[y] L[ord] M[arlborough] has sp[oken] to the King it w[ill] be nec[essary] to sp[eak] to his E[xc]cellency likewise, lest it sh[ould] breed a dif[ference] betw[een] him and me, which, as I dont des[erve] it, might be a pr[e]judice to the serv[ice] as well as inj[ury] to me.

"I will concl[ude] as I began, that his Majesty's sent[iments] in th[is] aff[air] sh[all] be my guide, but for Mr. St[anley]'s int[erest] and the s[tate] as well as in j[ustice] to me, it ought to be prudently m[anage]d."\* *Copy. 2 pp.*

JAMES KENDALL† to [LORD CUTTS?]

1698-9, March 13. [London.]—Though the Admiralty Board had no directions to attend the King last night, I should have waited upon your Lordship if it had not been too late when your commands came to my hands. This morning I must be at the office to prepare for this day's debate in the House, where if I do not see you, you shall certainly find me at your levee to-morrow. 1 p.

J[OHN] FRANKLAND‡ to his brother [SIR THOMAS FRANKLAND?]

[1699,] August 22, O.S. Utrecht.—States that the French Protestants in Holland are "a pack of as arrant villains as ever lived," who have, under the specious pretence of conscience, quitted their country, where, had their circumstances pleased them no worse than their religion, they would have remained to this day. Trusts that those in England are better, or surely the gentlemen there would be wiser than to make them governors to their eldest sons at home and abroad. If the language is the object, a tutor at home or six months in Paris would be quite as effectual. As it is, he knows of young Englishmen travelling to Italy who could not go through France lest their tutors should be seized as refugees. Complains of the inordinate time given to Latin in England, eight years being spent in what he is assured might be learnt in two, leaving the other six "to bestow upon sense which is usually spent in getting words, so that generally speaking, a girl which is educated at home with her mother is wiser at twelve than a boy at sixteen." 2 pp.

*Endorsed:* "Answered, Sept. 8, 1699."

RALPH, EARL OF MONTAGU to LORD CUTTS.

1699, September 15. London.—When my son§ was in Holland and Flanders, I obtained leave from Lord Rummey for Captain Pujolas||, who had been my page, to travel with him, thinking it

\* The filling in of the words can be only hypothetical.

† Admiralty Commissioner, 1697-1699.

‡ Afterwards Dean of Gloucester, Master of Sydney Sussex College and Dean of Ely.

§ Winwood Montagu, who died in Hanover not long after this.

|| Of the 1st regiment of Guards.

better than for him always to be in the conversation of his governor. My son being now in Rome, and to return home through France, Captain Pujolas, being a French protestant, must leave him, and I have prayed Captain Cecill\* to do me the kindness to go to my son and come home with him. This he is quite willing to do provided he has your leave and approbation, which I should consider a particular obligation to me as well as to him. 2 pp.

DOR[OTHY, LADY] PICKERING to LORD CUTTS.

1699, December 9.—Requesting him to do her the favour to carry Lady Bowyer and her daughter to Kensington on the following Monday night.  $\frac{1}{2}$  p.

EARL OF GALLWAY to LORD CUTTS.

1700, November 18. Dublin Castle.—Recommending Mr. Pocack, a young man of courage and good sense, and filled with ambition to serve his king and country, who wishes to enter his Lordship's regiment. *French.*  $1\frac{1}{2}$  pp.

LORD CUTTS to his brother[-in-law, SERGEANT THURBARNE].

1700[–1701], January 29. Downing Street.—As you engaged in future to pay my niece Rivet the interest of her fortune, I have been several times to your chamber about it, and now beg to know when I may wait upon you for it, as she is in great need.  $1\frac{1}{2}$  pp.

[COLONEL?] CHARLES HARA to LORD CUTTS.

[Not later than 1701,] May 21. London.—I return your book with many thanks to you for lending it me. The first part of it I saw in print last Christmas with hardly any difference, but the Scotch part is wholly new, and I see no reason to mention Scotland at all, but that the author had a mind to compare the victories and military skill of the Marquis of Montrose, assisted only (as he says) by the vassals of the family of Gordon, with those of Cæsar at the head of the Roman power, and also to show “that he thinks the English nobility and gentry have nothing commendable in them, for . . . he says the Scotch gentry are born to excel in arts and arms, and for the English, they are good rich folks and industrious, and the commonalty a stout sensible people. Our author's project of a militia is for the most part new, and will not only reform the militia but destroy the Church too, which is a pretty fetch by the by.” As he excludes all but soldiers from his camp, no parson can enter, therefore some qualified person (that is, someone who thinks himself so) is to preach Christian and moral duties. There is a sacrament “where good Christians are used to communicate. Must these qualified

\* Captain Arthur Cecil of the Coldstream.

young men administer that too? . . . Their way of living likewise in the camp upon bread and water is admirable, but I know no discipline can bring 'em to it unless all the people of England will consent to live so too. I presume he intends there shall be no taxes, but I am concerned in the annuities and cannot consent to see the excise thus destroyed." His main point he says is "that the officers should be named and preferred, as well as they and the soldiers paid, by those that set them out. Why that's fairly said, now tis out; we are then once again, by our author's advice, to receive our commissions from the hands of——! But when that was so, the army marched by him and saluted him, in token of their submission to him as general; now in my poor opinion that would be something hard upon the King." He desires that his militia should answer the same end as that of the Barons did, "the loss of which he so much laments, and lays the death on't to learning, printing, the compass, and, in the height of his grief, to almost everything." He tells how amongst the Goths and Vandals, the General made himself King and gave lands to his chief officers, whom he called Barons, and they to those below them, on condition to serve the King in his wars. Surely this was as much the King's army as if he had paid them, and the practice still obtains in countries not very famous for liberty. The greatest part of the Turks' army is on such tenure, "and the Grand Seigneur exacts their service with such rigour that if one so liable to serve be yet in the cradle, he must serve the whole campaign in that equipage." As our author takes care that the King shall have nothing to do with his new army, his business is not "to model a new militia but to set up a new form of government, ecclesiastic, military and civil, enthusiastic, wild and inconsistent; to which purpose he hath misunderstood or misapplied all history ancient and modern. Who could imagine that to make the government of kings odious, a man should have the face to say they have newly invented garrisons, forts and citadels, for a pretence to have standing armies to man them, and that sieges are new things and the consequences of gunpowder. . . He may well be offended at the invention of printing, for by that everybody knows the Israelites had their fenced cities, the Greeks their Acro-Corinthus, Pylus, &c., and battering-rams are not the invention of Monsieur Vauban. Thucydides, Polybius and all histories, both sacred and profane, are full of this matter, from the taking of Jericho to Namur." Such a pamphlet as this does much mischief and it ought to be well answered. I know no one so capable of doing it as L'Estrange, if he is yet alive. 5 pp.

[LORD CUTTS?] to BRIGADIER INGOLDSBY.

1701, [August 25–] September 5. Hague.—"My Lord Marlborough commanded me to let you know that the King designs to see all his English forces soon, whether by making them encamp a day or two or by marching them to two garrisons he cannot yet tell, nor does he know the time, but of this you

must give notice to the four battalions at Boileduc, the two at Huesden, and that at Warcum (Guercom). It will be absolutely necessary now to put on the clothes on the recruits, and that the regiments be put in the best order that may be. My Lord Marlborough and I are both of opinion that if you made a step to Boileduc and Warcum to see a little how they are since we were there, and to put them upon appearing as well as may be, it would do well. My Lord has received your letter and will answer it from Loo (where he goes on Wednesday) or upon his return. Pray let me know (with the first conveyance) if you receive this; direct my letter to be left at Mr. Stanhope's, the King's envoy here." *Copy.*

RICHARD STEELE to COL. RIVET.

1701, September 2. Wandsworth.—“I am very glad to hear you are so well pleased in the country. As to the civil or military affairs, I can answer nothing, for I have not since I saw you regarded anything but two or three excellent authors in a very agreeable solitude on the river Thames. At the other end of the house my landlady teaches girls to read, make bone-lace, and a curtsy; but I this minute hear my man Will repeating to her out of Alexander the Great.

’Tis Beauty calls and Glory leads the way. W[hen] the miller, our neighbour hard by, drank a pot w[ith] me last night, my landlady told his wife that she had seen gentry, perhaps as well as another, but never the like of her lodger, for his very man was as pretty a well-spoken gentleman as ever she saw. Some of her scholars are a little too tall to be looked at with the indifference that I would be master of were I able, though she sends ’em in to me now and then upon a very hard word, I suppose that I may at once see their breeding and their learning. You enquire about Black Moll. There’s no guessing at women, for nature, who knew it in us to be inclined to delude ’em, has armed ’em with a natural cunning; but my method is this. I have the intimatest acquaintance she has in the world wholly in my interests, and whom she does not understand to be at all known to me. This person carries her down to Greenwich, where *en passant* in the park, on a bench, or some such accident, they are to fall into acquaintance with my sister, who is now there. When they are very well together, which you’ll own to be probable, things will come so oddly about that I all this while am this gentlewoman’s o[wn] brother. But however this succeeds I shall I [hope] pay my debts with my play, and then in spite of [D]elia, be very easy, for whatever I may tell her, nothing can really make my heart ache but a dun, from which Lord deliver you and your most obedient servant.” *Torn. 2 pp.*

*Addressed:* “To the honourable Col. Rivet at Sir John Robinson’s, at Deanson [Denston] Hall, in Suffolk. By Clare bag.”

*Endorsed:* “Sir R<sup>d</sup>. Steele.”

## EARL OF MARLBOROUGH to LORD CUTTS, at Breda.

1701, September 13-24. Loo.—“The King will not be at Breda till Thursday, and [will] see the English the next day, so that you will be pleased to take care that they do not encamp till Wednesday or Thursday morning early. I desire the favour of your letting Groffey, my steward, know that the King will dine with me upon the Friday. I hope you will remember to have your house as near mine as possible, for here is so much company that it will be all that you and I can do to take them between us. If this messenger should return hither, I desire you will keep him till Sunday night, that I may know how you have ordered everything.” *Holograph.* 1 p.

## LORD CUTTS to [one of the ENGLISH COMMANDERS].

1701, [November 26-] December 7. Hague.—“My Lord Marlborough commanded me before he left Holland (and repeated it again to me on board the yacht in the presence of Brigadier Ingoldsby) to give orders to all the regiments to be complete by the first of January, English style, the present posture of affairs making it reasonable to imagine that there will be movements early in the spring, if not sooner, and the recruits which are not with their regiments some time before they move will not be of so much credit and service to his Majesty and their respective corps as they ought to be. I think it not improper at the same time to let you know that either myself or some other general officer, if I should be at that time in England, will have directions to make an exact review of all the regiments, about the fifteenth or twentieth of January, English style, at farthest, and at the same time, to take a particular account if the clothes, accoutrements, arms, and tents are complete and in good order, the report of all which will be forthwith transmitted to his Majesty and the General, and therefore it will be necessary for you to send immediately a particular account of these orders to Colonel Withers or Colonel Shrimpton in England or elsewhere, that such measures may be taken as the service requires.

“I would have you send me by the first post after you receive this, an account of such alterations as have happened in the regiment under your command, from the day that I reviewed it to Saturday last, being the 23rd, new style, and to do it according to the form here enclosed, continuing afterwards to do the same weekly by every Monday's post, dating the alterations from Saturday to Saturday. If any orders come to you for the battalion under your command to march or to give any detachment, otherwise than for the service of the garrison where you are, you will do well to say you are ready to obey the order, but that you must first acquaint me with it (being the General commanding his Majesty's forces in chief in my Lord Malbrough's absence) and in that case you will immediately send me an express to acquaint me with your orders and expect an answer, unless it should be upon any extraordinary occasion where the

service would not admit of a delay, in which your own discretion with the directions of the commander in chief of the English in the garrison where you are must be your guide; but I would not have you execute any such orders without my approbation, except in a case of absolute necessity.

"I dare not neglect giving you these instructions, because if anything should happen to the prejudice of his Majesty's English forces in any case where there were not an absolute necessity for it, I may be called to an account for it afterwards, as commanding in chief and being responsible for the whole. I desire you will give me an account by the first post of the receipt of this letter, and I think it not amiss to hint to you that I transmit an account of it to my Lord Malbrough in England.

"As anything happens extraordinary in your regiment from time to time, besides what is herein mentioned, you will not fail forthwith to write me an account of it by the post, unless it should be of so extraordinary a nature as to require an express. I have no orders yet to go for England, and if I do, you shall not fail to have notice of it and to what general officer you are to apply yourselves in my absence. In the meantime (as always) I shall be ready to serve in anything wherein I am able. I need not tell you that no officer is to go out of the country without my leave upon any pretence whatsoever."

*Postscript.* "If Count Noyell desires to review you, you are to draw out and salute all but colours. You may go for England when you please, and I shall be glad to see you here." *Copy.* 4 pp.

#### EARL OF MARLBOROUGH TO LORD CUTTS.

1701, December 9.—Sending a paper, which he has signed, and finds so just that he desires the necessary orders may be given concerning it. *Holograph.*  $\frac{1}{2}$  p.

#### LORD CUTTS TO ———.

1701, December [11–]22. Hague.—"I am obliged to repeat my orders to you to deliver the man that was taken from Count Noyell's sergeant whenever he shall cause him to be demanded. And you'll give me leave to be the proper judge what I am to do in these matters. The matter will be examined afterwards and justice done to everybody; but the way of doing things is the only question. I am sure you understand the discipline too well to make any more words upon my orders."  $\frac{1}{2}$  p.

#### LORD CUTTS TO COL. HASTINGS.

1701, December [16–]27. Hague.—"Thanks him for his letters and his friendship, and hopes to see him at the Hague on his way to England. Has now taken a house, and has always a piece of mutton and a glass of good wine for a commanding officer or a friend. Sends his service to Col. Elliot and asks for his last weekly account, it being the only one not yet come in. *Copy.*  $1\frac{1}{2}$  pp.

## LORD CUTTS to COL. TATTON.

1701, December [16-]27. Hague.—Praising his prudent conduct in the affair proposed by his Governor, thanking him for sending such speedy intelligence thereof, and asking him for the last weekly account of his garrison, all the other regiments except one having sent theirs already. *Copy, on the same sheet as the preceding. 1 p.*

## LORD CUTTS to ———

1701, December [19-]30. Hague.—I send you herewith a copy of Lord Malborough's order. His Excellency wrote me a letter with his own hand signifying his sense of the justice of the demand, and I therefore desire you to go to Bois-le-duc and Worchum [Guercom] and to cause my orders to be executed, by drawing the respective battalions under arms or otherwise (as you think fit on examining Major-General Stewart's sergeants and talking with the officers). I will not trouble you to go to Breda or Gertrudenberg, and have therefore sent my orders to the commanders of the English in those garrisons. If any deserters are delivered to Major-General Stewart's sergeants, give them any assistance they desire towards getting the men safe on board for England, acquainting the governor with the whole proceeding, "as I have done the Prince of Nassau here."

*Postscript.* "Mons. Rolas, my aide-de-camp, will tell you the rest." *Copy. 1½ pp.*

## GENERAL JU. GOOR to LORD RUMNEY.

[1701, December 22-]1702, January 2. Mastrigt.—Recommending "le sieur Coenen," who has served the King with great care and fidelity, as commissary of horses for the artillery in Ireland and the Low Countries, and who desires, if artillery should be sent over in the ensuing year, to be allowed to provide horses for the train. *French. Copy. 1½ pp.*

## LORD CUTTS to [the EARL OF MARLBOROUGH].

1701-[2], December 30-] January 10. Hague.—I am entirely of your Excellency's opinion that the King's orders in all cases are not to be interpreted rigorously to a day, and thought it better to be five days late than one day too soon, especially as wind and weather made it impossible for me to be in England in time for the Speaker's election. I expect Brigadier Ingoldsby this week, with whom I shall leave instructions pursuant to your commands, and some time next week I hope to embark.

"As to what your Excellency says of telling Brigadier Ingoldsby that whatever Prince Nassau Sarbrouck commands the English forces, it must be obeyed, I shall be sure to do it particularly; but I'm sure your Excellency means it that the orders shall



always be given to In[goldsbys] and not sent to particular regiments under his command with[out] his knowledge, because that would be yielding a point that a general officer could not justify to the King, the nation, or his own honour, and an accident might unfortunately happen at some time or other, which might ruin a man's fortune and reputation, if he suffered himself to be a cipher at the head of an English army in a foreign country. But I'm sure your Excellency may depend upon it, that both I and Ingoldsby will manage all things with so much caution in general and so much respect to everybody concerned in particular, that everything will go according to your Excellency's mind, and nobody will complain of us.

"And whilst I am upon this subject, give me leave to inform your Excellency of what has happened already relating to the matter I am speaking of. Orders were sent to some of the Danish regiments to march, and the Prince of Wyrtenberg was not acquainted with it, of which he complained to the States, and the Prince of Nassau Sarbrouck telling (*sir*) them that if the same should happen again, he would not be responsible if the service should suffer any delay by it; and at the same time he wrote to the Court of England to complain of it, and to desire that orders might be given in it. His answer from the English Court was, that he was in the right, and that directions should be given that all orders for the future should be sent to him, and that he should give them out himself to the Danish regiments under his command, and his answer from the States and Prince Nassau Sarbrouck was the same. The Prince of Wyrtenberg told me this himself. Upon which in my visits and conversation I carelessly insinuated to the States and the Prince that I was sure the same regard (at least) would be had to the English, and they have assured me that no orders shall be given to the English but through my hands or the next commanders in chief in my absence. And indeed, my lord, it would be a disregard to the crown of England, a hardship upon the nation, and a slight which no man of honour (that commanded in chief) if it were otherwise [could] bear. I beg your Excellency's pardon for troubling you with this long detail, but it being a matter of moment, and a nice point, I thought it deserved to be fully represented to your Excellency."

Pray continue to direct your orders as before, until I see you, for fear of contrary winds or the like. *Copy. 5 pp.*

LORD CUTTS to [the ENGLISH COMMANDERS of Garrisons].

[Before 1702.]—His Majesty continuing his resolution that his English forces shall encamp, Lord Marlborough believes it will be necessary for the regiments to have bread delivered to them in the camp, but will not do it, unless the commanding officers have a mind to it. He therefore desires to know whether those in your garrison wish to have it, and if so, for how many men, that it may be provided. *Draft. 1½ pp.*

LORD CUTTS to the L[ORDS] C[OMMISSIONERS] of his Majesty's Treasury.

[Before 1702.]—The stoppages to certain officers designed for Flanders (without which they cannot go over) being, by neglect either of the agent or of the clerks in Lord Ranelagh's office,\* forgotten to be given in, he prays their Lordships' order to remedy the omission. *Copy.* 1½ pp.

LORD CUTTS to [the ENGLISH COMMANDERS in the Low Countries].

1702, February [17-] 28. Hague.—My voyage into England is put off by a letter from Lord Marlborough desiring me to continue with his forces here, and signifying his Majesty's pleasure that I cause the respective commanders in chief with his English regiments under my command to put their regiments into a condition to march upon the first order.

"I must tell you upon this occasion that these orders are not designed only to put you in a good condition for the opening of the campaign, but that you will have a movement very suddenly, and I have it in my orders (among other things) to take a particular account of the strength and condition of every regiment, and when we meet to return the same exactly to England.

"I am doing my utmost endeavour in soliciting the business of waggon-money and forage-money, but I am yet in no certainty. You must in the meantime be sure to provide a good able horse to carry the soldiers' tents of every company for which you have made stoppages. And, though possibly you have not stopped all the money yet, the service is of that consequence that you must provide for it, and I shall endeavour to find out some expedient to help the officers afterwards.

"Some gentlemen may think these orders hard; I can only say, 'tis the King's orders, and (at the same time) the importance of the service and the consequences of this war make it necessary. You'll please (without fail) to give copies of these orders to the commanding officers of the respective English regiments in garrison with you, and tell them from me to execute them as recommended by his Majesty and the General in a more particular manner than ordinarily. I believe we shall have orders to march in seven or eight days at farthest; but keep this among yourselves.

"Colonel Seymour is removed to late Brigadier Trelauny's regiment, and my Lord Malberough has Colonel Seymour's." *Draft.* 4 pp.

EARL OF MARLBOROUGH to LORD CUTTS.

1701[-2], February 28.—"I should have writ by the last post to have desired what I now do, which is that you would let

\*Lord Ranelagh was Paymaster General of the Forces from 1689 until 1702, when he was charged with mis-application of the public moneys, and resigned.

Wiville, who is ensign and adjutant to your regiment, be now made lieutenant in the place of Mr. Markham. I hope you will not have failed of improving the opportunity you have had of my Lord Albemarle's company, so that he may show his friendship to you when the King shall think fit to make a promotion of general officers. I know not as yet when I shall have the happiness of seeing you, but be assured that where e'er I am you have a friend and servant of Marlborough." *Holograph.* 1 p. *Seal of arms and coronet.*

LORD CUTTS to [THE ENGLISH COMMANDERS in the Low Countries].

1702, [February 24-] March 7. Hague.—Hopes to get waggons for the officers' baggage, but desires that horses may be provided to carry the tents of every company, as they may have to march so near their neighbours as not to admit of any "wheel baggage." The commanding officer of each regiment is, if necessary, to draw upon his agent in London for 130*l.* which will buy twelve horses; sending the paymaster of his regiment to Rotterdam, where Sweet will try to provide the money at once. Lord Marlborough shall be asked to see these bills paid, and the regiments must be ready in ten days at the farthest, without fail. 2½ pp.

MEMORIAL of LORD CUTTS to the [DUTCH] COUNCIL OF STATE.

1702, March [8-]14. Hague.—Having received orders from Field Marshal the Prince of Nassau to march with the twelve battalions under his command, and being destitute of the necessary baggage waggons, he prays that a sufficient number may be provided, and also that the English troops may be supplied with straw and firing. *French. Draft.* 1½ pp.

LORD CUTTS to the GOVERNOR OF WILLIAMSTADT.

1702, March [4-]15. Hague.—Having the honour to command the troops of the King my master in the absence of Lord Marlborough, I take the liberty of sending you the orders for the regiments which we are expecting, according to advices received from the Court of England, Field Marshal the Prince of Nassau having left instructions to that effect. You will have the goodness to retain the orders for the regiments not yet arrived. *French. Copy.* ¾ p.

LORD CUTTS to BRIGADIER INGOLDSBY.

1702, March [10-]21. Hague.—Has agreed with Mercado, the undertaker of the forage, for fifty rations of hay and oats to be delivered to each battalion, for which the commission officers must give acquittances.

All the officers must be told that he has had to engage, in getting the carts, that every officer or company having a cart, shall allow the carter two shilling a day, with a ration of hay and oats for his horses, and shall not suffer him to be ill-treated by

any soldier or servant. Otherwise, the States have signified that the men will desert. Prays him to tell Lord Athlone and Count de Noyelle that he is only waiting for the coming of the English mails (of which there are two due) and will then come to the camp; also to put them in mind that the sufficient supply of straw and firing to the men was part of the memorial presented by the Prince of Nassau to the Council of State, after the meeting at Lord Athlone's house. *Copy.* 3 pp.

LORD CUTTS to BRIGADIER INGOLDSBY.

1702, March [16-]27. Hague.—I have ordered Sweet to send you word whether he means to pay the money at Rotterdam or Breda. You must send the quarter-masters for it, and had better consult Lord Athlone and Count Noyelle about a party to meet them on their return. "Give effectual orders that the regiments be all regularly and equally paid, and inform yourself without noise if the officers use their men kindly at this critical moment. I am sorry I am not with you, but I'm glad you have so good an occasion of showing your zeal, diligence, and capacity, which I shall improve to the utmost. We expect my Lord Marlborough or directions from him every hour, and the minute either of these happen, I'll come to you." If it is necessary to send any horse or dragoons with the money party, I am sure Lord Athlone will not refuse you. *Copy.* 1½ pp.

SOPHIE, ELECTRESS OF HANOVER, to LORD CUTTS.

1702, April [10-]21. Hanover.—"Je suis tout a fait sensible que vous avez bien voulu me confirmer vous mesme ce que feu my Lord Macquelsfeld m'avoit assure de vostre part, car on ne scauroit estre plus sensible que je la suis de voir une personne de vostre merite dans mes interres, et en celle de ma maison. Je vous en demande la continuation, et sur tout que vous me donniez lieu de vous tesmoigner par des services ma parfaite reconnoissance. Je desavouerois tous ceux qui m'appartiennent s'il n'auvoient les mesme sentiments pour vous, dont ils m'ont charge de vous assurer. Cependant je vous souhaite une heureuse campagne, et en suite que je puisse estre connue plus particulierement de vous comme une personne qui estime les personnes de vostre valeur et de vostre conduite, dont j'ay ouy desja parler beaucoup. My lord Malbourghe m'a fait la plesir de me faire assurer de son amitie par Mr. Cresset. Je vous prie de l'en remercier de ma part et luy tesmoigner combien cela ma este agreable, et le plesir que cela ma fait. Cependant je serais tousjour, my Lord, vostre tres affectionnee a vous servir, Sophie, Electrice." *Holograph.* 3½ pp.

COL. HUGH WYNDHAM to LORD CUTTS.

1702, May [12-]23. Boisleduc.—Is extremely sorry to hear that there have been any complaints of the horse or dragoons at the Hague or in London, as he can answer for it that no wrong has

been done by any of the troops in this town, nor has he heard of the least disorder in any of the other quarters. If the people had had reason to complain, he would certainly have heard of it.

Lord Raby's regiment has been so harassed by marching and shipping and unshipping in England, that it would be of great service to them if they might turn their horses out to grass, the forage out of the stores being so very bad that the horses will not eat it. Desires that Lord Athlone may be told that the country people hereabouts will let no grass under forty-four stivers a week for each horse, which is an extravagant price. Hopes his Lordship will regulate the matter. The dragoons mustered yesterday, and were, he believes, complete. *2½ pp.*

EARL OF MARLBOROUGH to LORD CUTTS.

1702, May 24. Hague.—Announcing that he has this day arrived at the Hague, and that the first fair wind will bring the rest of the troops from England. Sends his service to the Earl of Athlone, Col. Ingoldsby, and the other officers, and desires that Sir Beville Grandville may be sent to him at once. *Holograph. 1 p.*

RICHARD WARRE to LORD CUTTS.

[1702, May 24—] June 4. Sunday evening. Hague.—“My Lord [Marlborough] is just now arrived. I have only time to acknowledge your lordship's of the first, and to tell you the news I have received from the servants that are come with him, having not been able to speak two words to his Excellency.

“My Lord Godolphin is made Lord Treasurer; my Lord Rochester, Master of the Horse, with a pension of 3,000*l. per annum*; my Lord Pembroke, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. He quits his place of Lord Admiral to the Prince. I cannot say this is true: a servant told me so. My Lord Nottingham and Sir Charles Hedges are the two Secretaries; the last has chosen under him Mr. Ellis and Mr. Tucker, and my Lord Nottingham has not forgot your humble servant, and for the other has chosen Dr. Aglionby. Mr. Cardonnell is come over with my Lord and is to supply Mr. Whitfield's place and mine. Mr. Whitfield is Paymaster of the Marines, independent of my Lord Ranelagh.

“Pray excuse my haste and communicate this to the Brigadier with my humble service. Brigadier Wyndham is here and your humble servant. We want six posts from England.” *1½ pp.*

EARL OF MARLBOROUGH to LORD CUTTS.

1702, May 30–June 10. Hague.—“I am using my utmost endeavours for the obtaining from Hanover the ten thousand men we want of our quota, which will keep me here for seven or eight days longer. If the wind continues as it now is but a very few days, I hope we shall have all we expect from England. . . . As to what you write concerning our having an hospital of our

own, if you will consider what the Parliament has done concerning that, you will see that it is impossible for this year. As for the surgeon's chests, Dr. Lawrance and the apothecary-general are gone to Rotterdam to provide them. I gave orders before I left England for the provost-general to come over, so that I expect him by the first convoy. Since I shall be with you in ten days, I hope the service will [not suf]fer for w[ant of?] majors of brigades . . . [I th]ank you for making [my com]-pliments [to] all the general officers. [As] occasion offers, you will continue the doing of it. About four or five days hence, I shall be sending my equipage away, so that it may be at the camp before me, but I shall be sure to give you timely notice that the quarter-master general may have a place for me." *Holograph. Very much damaged.* 2½ pp.

LORD GODOLPHIN to LORD CUTTS.

1702, July 21.—I have laid your memorial before the Queen, who expressed much consideration for your Lordship, and great reliance upon your duty and service. "She thought it might be very inconvenient to allow anything as a pension or arrears of a pension, but would be willing to show a distinction in your Lordship's favour," especially as being recommended by Lord Marlborough. Please let me know the exact time that you commanded in chief in Holland, and be assured of my readiness to serve you to the best of my power. 2 pp.

EARL OF NOTTINGHAM to LORD CUTTS.

1702, July 31.—"I ought to say something to your lordship's of the 25th, though perhaps it may not be to your lordship's satisfaction. As to the lieutenant-governor of the Isle of Wight, I believe there will be nothing done in it till your return, and I think 'twill be for your service to make no further attempt in it till then, that your lordship may better support your pretensions than at this distance, and I shall then very gladly assist you in it as far as I am able.

"The clause in your patent is indeed altered by the present warrant, which your lordship apprehends to be a diminution to you. I must own it is a circumstance that in appearance lessens your power, but when you consider that, notwithstanding the authority vested in you by your former patent, the late King interposed and by his own commission constituted a lieutenant-governor; that whatever your right in that case is, it cannot be insisted on with prudence because your own patent is only during pleasure, or, if 'twere during life, yet you would never have claimed this power in opposition to the King's inclination, and that you now declare the same with great duty to the Queen; that, though the present clause differs from the former, yet it differs too from the patents of other governors who have no such clause in their patents empowering them to name a lieutenant, particularly there is none such in Major General Earl's nor in

the patents to the governors of the Plantations; when your lordship reflects on these things I hope you will perceive that there is a considerable distinction made between your lordship and others, which should be some satisfaction to you; and that should your lordship have an absolute power to name your lieutenant, other governors would thereby pretend to some power like it, whereas they have not now any power to nominate, not even with the Queen's approbation; and though your lordship is entirely to be relied on in the exercise of your power if 'twere not restrained otherwise than by your word, and though I have no reason to doubt but that they are all men of honour and would use their power well and with just respect to the Queen, yet 'tis not advisable for her Majesty to put the like trust in all; methinks your lordship should not press a thing which may be attended with such inconvenience. Your lordship will do me wrong if you conclude from my arguing against your inclination and desires that I am less your servant than I have professed to be, but when I doubt of prevailing for you in the manner you propose, I think the next best service I can do you is to state the case so to you as to show what grounds there are for your acquiescence, and if I can't obtain your gratification in the thing, I wish I could make you easy under the disappointment.

"I have yet had no orders for your commission of lieutenant general. I suppose it may be deferred to the end of the campaign. Nor have I spoke to my Lord Treasurer about your pension, partly because I am not fully apprised of it, but chiefly because your Lordship says that my Lord Marlborough has writ to him about it, and he is a much better advocate than myself; and if there be a disposition to oblige you in this, it is fit that the obligation of it should be owed to them. But in this and all the other things I have mentioned let me know what you would wish me to do, and I will endeavour to do my part." 2 pp.

EARL OF ROCHESTER TO LORD CUTTS.

1702, September 18. Newparke.—"I cannot hear of so glorious an action performed by your conduct and personal hazard in the undertaking of it, without making my very hearty congratulations to your lordship upon it, and assuring you that nobody can take a greater share in the great honour and universal reputation you acquire than I do, nor can wish you better success nor more recompense for it.

"I beg your pardon for not answering your letters writ some time ago concerning your affairs in the Isle of Wight. It was because I found that matter was not like to be dispatched so soon and so well as I wished it, and that I could not contribute anything to your satisfaction in it. I assure your lordship, whenever I can, you shall see that I am with great truth" your most faithful humble servant. 1½ pp.

## EARL OF MARLBOROUGH to LORD CUTTS, at the Camp.

1702, September 21. Sutendal.—“I have received yours of yesterday, and I hope in a few days to hear you are in Venlo, so that if the weather prove favourable, that we may yet clear the Meuse this campaign; for I am very confident Ruremond will make a less defence than Venlo. I am obliged to you for what you have done to the Prince of Hannover; I must desire your further favour in making my compliments to him.”

*Postscript.* Pray give the enclosed (*wanting*) to Mons. Gilder-Malzen. *Holograph.* 1 p.

GEORGE, PRINCE OF DENMARK, Lord High Admiral, and Generalissimo of all her Majesty's Forces, to CAPT. WYALT, of H.M.S. *Winchester*, at the Maez.

1702, November 17.—Ordering him to sail with his own ship and the *Fowey* into the Goree, and to send notice to the Earl of Marlborough at the Hague (or in his absence to Lord Cutts) that he has orders to carry home the recruiting officers, and discharged and invalided men. Having taken them on board accordingly, he is to repair to the Maez for the trading vessels, and convoy them safe to Newcastle and Hull (the *Fowey* escorting those bound for Yarmouth), after which he and the ships under his command are to make their way to the Hope, land the officers and soldiers there, and finally repair to the Nore to await further orders. *Copy.* 1½ pp.

## EARL OF MARLBOROUGH to LORD CUTTS.

1702, December 3. *Peregrin* galley.—“I have had the favour of yours, and have writ the Pensioner word that I desire there should be no change, but that if he continues to desire it, that you have directions to allow it. I should have been glad you had sent me the name of the quarters they propose Hamilton's regiment should go to; for if at any time they propose your sending men to Berg[en] opp Zoome or any town in Flanders, you must not give way to it. If the wind should not come fair between this and Wednesday I am resolved to return to the Hague. My service to Mr. Stanhope and all our friends at the Congress.” *Holograph.* 1 p. *Seal of arms and coronet.*

## MARQUIS OF NORMANBY, C.P.S.,\* to LORD CUTTS.

1702, December 8. St. James' Park.—“I was agreeably surprised with the honour I received from your lordship, being so far from having said anything of that kind with design of your being told it, that I cannot the least guess at the person to whom I am so much obliged. All I know of the matter is, that if I had the misfortune of being your enemy, I should have said as much

\* John Sheffield, Marquis of Normanby, and afterwards Duke of Buckingham, was Lord Privy Seal from April, 1702, to March, 1705.



of that action, and from that minute wish'd to be your friend. The serving a man of your quality and merit is in my opinion so great a satisfaction as well as obligation on persons in any power, that I think ambition excusable on no other account; and therefore your lordship I hope will not doubt of my employing the little I have in shewing myself on all occasions, my Lord, your most humble and faithful servant." *1½ pp.*

LORD CUTTS to the DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

[1702, December 22–]1703, January 2. Hague.—Watkins and Martial have not yet returned from their circuits. I doubt not your Grace has given orders for hastening the recruits, all letters from France giving accounts of the enemy's resolution of being early in the field. *Copy. 1 p.*

JEAN DE REY to LORD CUTTS.

[1702 ?]—Having served the States General and the late King William III. of England for fifteen years, and being willing to continue in the service and to act with the same courage, zeal and fidelity as heretofore, he prays for some consideration. He suffered two years' imprisonment in France for his religion, abandoned all his property, and followed King William to England in 1688, after which he served in Ireland and Flanders as cornet in Lord Galway's regiment of horse, the King granting him a pension, which he gave up in Ireland in order not to remain there inactive, but to continue to serve his Majesty in the company of the Guards commanded by General Auverkerth. Mons. D'Auverkerth and the States have given him hopes of employment, which he prays his Lordship to obtain for him by his influence and recommendation. *French. 1½ pp.*

MARQUIS OF NORMANBY, C.P.S., to LORD CUTTS.

1702[–3], January 1.—Has lost no time in discussing his desires with the Duke of Marlborough, whose only objection is that there are many others "whose pretensions in seniority are as valid, according to the formal rules in those cases," as his Lordship's are in merit. The utmost that he can do, and indeed that the friends of the others will suffer him to do, is to hasten their advance, and so bring about as quickly as possible his Lordship's promotion, which will be as honourably distinguishing as if he were alone in it; "and everybody will know the reason." *2 pp.*

LORD CUTTS to MR. CARDONEL.\*

1703, January [1–]12. Hague.—Praying him to send him "the Gazettes, one of the best of the other printed papers, the

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\* Secretary to the Duke of Marlborough.

votes, and what is commonly called the Whitehall letter," for which he will gladly pay, and be thankful besides. Also he would be grateful for an account of what passes in the army, with what other news he can spare, and begs him to persuade the Duke of Marlborough to let him have particulars of what is being done concerning the recruits, of which he would make good use for her Majesty's service and his Grace's honour. *Copy.* 1 p.

T. FAIRFAX to —————.

1702[-3], January 5. Limerick.—Thanks her for telling him of the tricks put upon his regiment by charging moneys already accounted for, and assures her that the informant shall be liberally rewarded and his name kept secret. Has written to his agent, Mr. Pain, of Prince's Court, Westminster, to advise with her and her friend in the matter. *Copy.* 1 p.

LORD CUTTS to the DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

1702[-3], January [8-]19. Hague.—Will without fail obey his Excellency's commands, sent by Mr. Cardonnel, and make good use of what he says about the recruits. Prays that he may still feel the effects of his Grace's generosity and favour. *Copy.* 1 p.

DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH to LORD CUTTS.

1702 [-3], January 12.—"I am obliged to you for your constant letters, and if it were for your service I should write to you oftener.

"The Queen, being resolved to join with the States in the treating for a cartel by land with France, has pitched upon your lordship to do it, so that you will have powers for it. I shall always be ready to forward everything that may be for your honour and service. I am using all diligence for the recruits, being resolved to be with you myself at the Hague very early this spring." *Holograph.* 1 p. *Seal of arms and coronet.*

LORD CUTTS to MR. CARDONEL.

1702-3, January 15-26. Hague.—Has reason to hope "that good resolutions will be taken here with regard to the augmentations proposed by England," but is sorry to hear of such violent jars in the two Houses. *Copy.* 1 p.

LORD CUTTS to COL. FERGUSSON.

1702-3, January 18-29. Hague.—Thanking him for his letter, desiring him to give all necessary orders for preserving the garrisons under his care, and praying him to send the list of every regiment of foot in the garrisons, when he sends his own and Rowe's, which hitherto have been the only two received. *Copy.* *The initial letters only of most of the words given.* 1 p.

## LORD CUTTS to the DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

1703, January [19-]30. Hague.—“My Lord Athlone (one day last week) acquainted me that there was to be a conference at Wesel, where was to be a general of the Emperor's, one of the king of Prussia's, himself on the part of the States-General, &c., and he offered me to go on behalf of the Queen of England, where they are to confer about the siege of Bon, Ryhnberg, Gueldres, &c. But your Grace having left me no instructions, either in writing or by word of mouth, relating to any councils or conferences to be held out of the States' dominions, I excused myself in the most decent manner, thanking the States-General for their intentions communicated to me by my Lord Athlone, but representing at the same time that I could not, according to the rules of good discipline, go out of the States' dominions and leave the troops, having only one brigadier with me at the head of them; that if any accident should happen during my absence, it might endanger my reputation if not my head; besides that, as their consultations there might possibly affect the succeeding operations of the campaign, I had no power to give my opinion in [such m]atters, not knowing your Grace's sentiments [or] the plan of the next year, and that if I should undertake to make such a step, I might innocently make some mistake. I told them I was ready, pursuant to my instructions, to march with any detachment of her Majesty's troops, joining with a proportionable number of the Allies, upon any expedition within the reach of our garrisons, and that no man can be more zealous for their service, but that I dare not meddle with matters for which I have no instructions.

“This was the sum of what I gave them in answer, but I'll presume to tell your Grace more important reasons (if possible) that I had for declining my being at this general consultation.

“First, I had discovered privately, being every day with some or other of the ministers, that there was a design to draw me in to let some of the Queen's troops, either English or Lunembourg, be employed in the expeditions before mentioned, which would ruin them for the next campaign, and in the next place, my going thither and being present in such a council of war, if I should be out-voted by much a greater number, may run me upon a dilemma, either that I must be forced [to differ from ?] most of the rest, which might occasion ill rep[orts, or be] involved in some resolution which may by its conseq[uiences] be contrary to the plan which your Grace may possibly have projected for the ensuing campaign; which, though I don't know it, I may possibly guess at, by something Comte Synsendorf let fall to me in private at Liege. And one thing confirms me that my Lord Athlone has some reason for my going to this congress, more than he tells me, which is that he, who never used to consult me or communicate anything to me, was mighty pressing for my undertaking this journey, having employed since Monsieur Smettau and Geldermalsen to persuade me how much it would be for my honour, but I excused it (as before mentioned) with all the modesty and respect imaginable. I shall be extremely overjoyed to hear your

Grace approves of my conduct in this nice affair, though before I can have an answer to this the consultation will be over, my Lord Athlone being gone away on Sunday morning and Monsieur Geldermalsen being to go to-morrow. I am sure at least I walk according to rule, for 'tis not the business of one in my post to be meddling in things beyond his instructions, unless it were in a case of extremity to save the State. We [have] the news that troops are to be treated for [and that] Mr. Stanhope will be employed in that treaty [until] your Grace comes over. I humbly presume to offer to your Grace (with great submission) if it is not usual and in some measure necessary to have a military person joined in such treaties, because a great many things occur which a civil minister must of necessity be a stranger to, and in the treaty made in Charles the Second's time for the ten thousand men to be sent hither (from which our following treaties did in some measure take their rise) many things were left out, for which our troops have suffered since. If I may be of use to her Majesty and your Grace in that affair, I shall be very industrious, faithful and exact in following orders, but I only mention it, and I do it with great submission.

"I shall, as soon as I receive my powers and instructions for treating about the cartel, follow them exactly, and in anything wherein the Queen or your Grace shall instruct me, acquit myself to her Majesty's and your satisfaction. I beg of your Grace to speak to the Queen or my Lord Godolphin, that there may be an allowance to me out of the Treasury for that service relating to the cartel, since the going to [the place] which will be appointed for the treaty and my [living] there, will put me to extraordinary expenses.

"And now give me leave, my lord, once more to beg of your Grace that my commission of L[ieutenant] G[eneral] may be dispatched. Whoever your Grace designs for that post may as well be made now as at the opening of the campaign, though your Grace does not allow them L[ieutenant] G[eneral]'s pay till then; and your Grace will give me leave to represent to you upon this occasion, that it is a discredit to such an army as your English army is here at present to be without a L[ieutenant] G[eneral], and what happens to no nation but ours in all the Allies' service, nor in any country in Europe; and in some occasion or other it may be fatal to our troops, and occasion unhappy reflections. First, whilst there is only a M[ajor] G[eneral] here, whilst I have only that character, whenever we draw out, they will be sure to put a L[ieutenant] G[eneral] with their own troops, with whom I cannot take upon me so much (where the interest of the English requires it) as if I had that character; besides that, if I had that character, they would not put more than a M[ajor] G[eneral] of their own with me, and in all things I should carry more weight for the good of her Majesty's subjects and her interests, [and] I dare venture to say, it will be more for your Grace's honour in the world to distinguish me by obtaining my commission for me with a good grace, than

by delaying it to the last moment, since I have had the honour to follow you and to be so zealous in supporting her Majesty's and your Grace's interests on all occasions.

"Martial went to Rotterdam and promised to send me his abstract, but has forgot it. I will send it by next." *Copy. Torn. 5½ pp.*

LORD CUTTS to MR. CARDONEL.

1703, [January 22-] February 2. Hague.—"We want two posts from England, which makes us barren of news here.

"Some letters (of good intelligence) from Spain of the 30th January give us an account of that King's having resolved, upon the news of our preparations, to raise seventeen thousand foot, four thousand horse, and two thousand dragoons there, with orders to the officers of the Finances, to separate from the several branches so much as may be necessary for this service, Notwithstanding all pretensions, excepting what relates to the ecclesiastics. Besides this, he has ordered a regiment of foot Guards and three of horse to be raised and paid in the same manner, which 'tis thought will cause great clamours, and they doubt whether it will succeed. The same letters give us an account that they affirm at Madrid that the King of Portuga has named a minister to go to Vienna.

"Monsieur D'Odyck told me to-day that the province of Zelande agreed to the prohibition as England desires it. I mention this because it was thought one of the provinces the likeliest to dissent.

"My service to as many of my friends as you meet at Court or in Parliament." *Copy. 1 p.*

"MACKALSFELT, DOUAGERE COMTESSE D'ATHLONE" to  
LORD CUTTS.

1703, February [2-]13. Utrecq.—Announcing the death of her dear and honoured husband "Monsieur Godarde, Baron de Reede, Comte d'Athlone, Mareschal de camp, General des Provinces Unies," on Sunday, the 11th of February, from paralysis of the left side followed by an "*apoplexie lethargique.*" *Black border. Seal with two coats of arms surmounted by coronet. 1 p.*

LORD CUTTS to the STATES GENERAL.

1703, February [3-]14. Hague—Being commander in chief of the troops of her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain (in conjunction with others), in the absence of the Duke of Marlborough, and having received a commission from her Majesty to treat with the enemy for the concluding of a cartel for the prisoners, both of land and sea (jointly with ministers chosen for that purpose by the States) he hastens to notify to them the receipt of the said

commission, that they may appoint suitable persons, he, for his part being ready to begin the treaty. *Draft. French.\* 1 p.*

SIR CHARLES HEDGES to LORD CUTTS.

1702-3, February 5. Whitehall.—I have received yours of the 2-13 instant†, and have laid before her Majesty the question of the charges you will be at for your commission relating to the cartel, and will do the best service I can for you in the matter. "Though mention be made in your Lordship's commission of a cartel by sea and land, yet I am directed to explain to you that you are to have nothing to do, in your negotiation, with the sea-cartel, but only with that of the land, and in that a condition is to be inserted for the exchange of the Baron de Mean, great Dean of Liege, and the Queen will insist upon it, in conjunction with the States, if they think fit."

The cartel made during the last war is in Holland, where it was framed. The Duke of Marlborough has received your letter and will concert with the Dutch ambassador about it. *1½ pp.*

LORD CUTTS to MR. CARDONEL.

1702-3, February 5-16. Hague.—I have received yours of the 29th January, but have had nothing from you since. Do me the favour to excuse me to my sister (?) for not writing to her this post, being engaged in much business, and tell her I have had not a word from her this two posts. *Copy. Only the initial letters of most of the words given. ¾ p.*

MARQUIS DE BEDMAR‡ to LORD CUTTS.

1703, February [6-]17. Brussels.—Acknowledges the receipt of his letter concerning the hundred and fifty prisoners of the British troops now at Dunkirk, and although he himself has no power in the matter, will, in consideration of their old friendship, willingly write to the court of France. Since his Lordship is authorised to arrange a cartel, the matter will soon be ended, if the States General will name some one on their part, and appoint a place of meeting. In this case, he will pray his most Christian Majesty to fix upon a commission and will himself name one for Spain. *French. 1½ pp.*

[LIEUT.-COL.] R. SUTTON to LORD CUTTS.

1702-3, February [8-]19. Breda.—Congratulates him on his promotion to be lieutenant-general, and sends him the proceedings of the court-martial upon three offenders of Colonel Row's regiment and one of "ours" for stealing and mutiny against the guard, wherein some of the regiment of Guards were concerned. Prays for a speedy return, as the prisoners have lain long in confinement. Mr. Watkins has gone towards Gorcum and the

\* In the handwriting of Lamberty.

† See *State Papers, Holland*, under this date.

‡ President of the Council of the Low Countries for the King of Spain.

Bosch, and the writer had thoughts of meeting him at the Hague, but was stopped by orders to be ready to march. The men are badly off for clothes, but in spite of this and the rudeness of the season will think themselves happy when led by his Lordship. 8 pp.

LORD CUTTS to the MARESHALL DE BOUFFLEURS.\*

1703, February [11-]22.—Stating that the Queen has given him full power to conclude a cartel (in concert with the ministers of the States General) with such persons as are authorised by his most Christian Majesty, and requesting that the Marshal will write to the Court of France, in order that a place and time may be appointed, it appearing to him that Antwerp or Mechlin would be the most convenient for both parties. *Copy. French. 1 p.*

*Has been endorsed in the first instance "Copie d'une lettre a Monsieur le Marquis de Bedmar," but his name is crossed out and that of Boufflers substituted.*

LORD CUTTS to SECRETARY HEDGES.

1703, February [12-]23. Hague.—"Yesterday the States General notified to me by Monsieur Hulft, that they had pitched upon him to treat and conclude the cartel in conjunction with me, and we had our first conference.

"It was resolved (the States General agreeing to it) that I should send a trumpet to Mareschal Bouffleurs, that Monsieur Hulft should write in conjunction with me, to notify our powers and to agree upon a place to meet, for which we proposed Antwerp or Maclin, the States having reasons why they would not have it in their frontiers, though we kept that private.

"I must now, sir, earnestly beg of you to press her Majesty or my Lord High Treasurer in the most decent manner, and with all possible duty to her Majesty, to let me have an allowance of a sum advanced to enable me to undertake this journey, and I beg that it may be done with despatch. I suffered much from some men in power during the last reign, who as often as the King had taken a resolution to make me easy in my circumstances, interposed between me and his intended favour (though he made me repeated assurances from year to year, commanding me to rely upon it), and when he died I was left in very difficult and uneasy circumstances. . . . Looking over my instructions I reflect upon that article where you direct me to see that the powers given to the French General or Minister be sufficient, and consistent with her Majesty's honour. I understand by it, that in the treaty France is to own her Majesty as Queen of England. I understand it so, and shall insist upon it, unless I receive instructions to the contrary."

*Postscript.* "I humbly presume I ought not to imagine France will make any difficulty in owning her Majesty as Queen of

\*Duc de Boufflers, Marshal of France, in command of the French army of Flanders.

England; and consequently I say not a word of it, not believing that I ought to start the question, unless the powers granted to the French General or Minister give me occasion; in which case, if it should so happen, I suppose I am to proceed no farther, till they give satisfaction upon that head. I write the Duke of Marlborough word that I have given you an account, sir, of matters relating to the cartel. The Grand Pensionary as well as many others join with me in opinion that Spain as well as France must be treated with, or at least that the King of France must engage for Spain in the treaty of the cartel; the state of affairs being altered in that point since the last cartel. But of that I shall be able to write more particularly in my next." *Copy.* 2½ pp.

LORD CUTTS to the DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

1708, February [12–]23. [Hague.]—"Yesterday the trumpet I sent to the Marquis de Bedmar came back, and brought me a letter from him,\* wherein he tells me nothing can be done as to the prisoners till the King of France is wrote to. He compliments me upon our ancient acquaintance, and concludes with a hint that if the treaty of the cartel were concluded, which may be very soon if we have a mind to it, it would make all this matter easy.

"The States have pitched upon Monsieur Hulft to treat and conclude the cartel in conjunction with me, and yesterday we had our first conference. We have with the States' consent wrote jointly to Brussels, I to the Marechal de Boufflers, and he to Monsieur Bagnol, to signify our commission and agree upon a place to meet, which the States have consented to be Antwerp or Maclin, not being willing for good reasons to have the French come into our frontiers. All other matters relating to the cartel (too long to trouble your Grace with) I have wrote to Mr. Secretary Hedges.

"I beg earnestly your Grace's favourable intercession to her Majesty or my Lord Treasurer that I may have a sum of money advanced to enable me for this journey and treaty. Your Grace had the goodness to say to Monsieur van Hulft, upon the King's death, that my circumstances should be considered and taken care of. This is a favorable opportunity for your Grace to express your goodness to me on that subject.

"I presume to repeat my opinion to your Grace, not to let the States break in upon the disposition of the Queen's troops in their winter quarters; I mean the whole forty thousand in her Majesty's pay. Whatever arguments may be urged for it I'll undertake to answer, and the consequences would be fatal." *Copy.* 1½ pp. *Perhaps only the latter part of a letter, as it begins abruptly, without date or address.*

RICHARD WARRE to LORD CUTTS.

1702–3, February 12. Whitehall.—Congratulates him upon his appointment as lieutenant-general, for which the commission

\*See above, p. 116.



has been signed by the Queen. The others are Lord Teviott, Colonels Ramsey, Stewart, Earle and Lumley, and Lord Portmore, and the commissions are all to be dated the same day. "It is believed the Parliament will rise the next week, or the beginning of the week after. The House of Commons will read the last money bill to-morrow the third time, and then there remains little to be done, so that notwithstanding some heats" it is hoped that the session will end very well. The Commons have presented an address to the Queen, upon some mismanagements of the revenues in the late reign, so long that it is said it will take half an hour to read.  $1\frac{1}{2}$  pp.

LORD CUTTS to [SIR CHARLES HEDGES].

1702-3, February 19-March 2. Hague.—I am extremely overjoyed that I understood my instructions relating to the cartel in every article as the Queen and you designed them, and am infinitely obliged to you and the Duke of Marlborough for having so kindly recommended my affairs to the Lord Treasurer. I beg you to add one favour more, which is to take the first favourable moment to drop a word that he will please do what he does with despatch, as there is great necessity for it, the hardships I underwent from the ministers in the late reign having laid me under excessive weights in my domestic affairs.  $1\frac{1}{2}$  pp. [*Two copies, slightly different.*]

[LORD CUTTS to the DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.]

1702-3, March 2-13. Hague.—"I most humbly desire your Grace to believe that nobody (except your relations) bears so great a share as myself in the affliction your Grace lies under for the loss of my Lord Marquis of Blanford, the news of which struck me with a sincere and sensible grief.

"On the 6th instant, my lord, it was resolved in a council of war of the lieutenant-generals then present at the Hague, that we should all give our opinions in writing, signed each with our respective hands, the next morning at ten of the clock to Monsieur Opdam (who summoned this council) concerning the project given in some time before by Monsieur Opdam and Slanenberg, of which I sent your Grace a copy. The next day, being the 7th, we met and complied with the resolution. We met in a chamber adjoining to the chamber of Treves, and being sat, Monsieur Opdam's secretary read everyone's opinion; the sum of which is as follows.

Monsieur Salyche :—

That the Upper Rhyne and Moselle ought to be sustained, and Monsieur Overkirke reinforced if occasion should require it.

That the infantry should be lodged in the places along the Mase, and the horse drawn out and cantoned to make room for them.

That it was not practicable to make any diversion of consequence in Brabant or Flanders.

Count de Noyelles :—

To sustain the Rhyne, secure the new conquests, and make a diversion in Brabant and Flanders.

Lord Albemarle.

That the siege of Bon was necessary but not practicable as yet.

That we ought to form an army upon the Meuse, and make a diversion in Brabant and Flanders.

Lieutenant General Fagell—

That the generals ought to be named for two armies, one to be formed upon the Meuse and one at Bergen-op-Zoom; and that there should remain troops enough to reinforce Monsieur D'Averkirke.

That an artillery ought to be formed for those two armies and got ready forthwith; that boats should be got together at Bergen-op-Zoom to alarm the enemy, and our troops assembled upon our frontiers.

That the siege of Bon was necessary but not practicable yet.

That we ought to have a great artillery at Wesel.

That the *Ballieux* of the *Plat Pays* of Brabant and Flanders should be summoned to have carts in a readiness, the more to alarm the enemy in those parts.

My own opinion (as I gave it in writing) was :—

That all necessary preparations should immediately be made to form an army upon the Meuse, as soon as it might be practicable.

That the necessary preparations for a siege be made, without determining to siege till we see the effect of the present operations of Germany.

That a diversion may be made in Brabant or Flanders, whilst the necessary preparations for opening the campaign are making; but that it be made by detachment only, not by entire regiments, which detachments must return to their garrisons before the opening of the campaign. But this upon supposition that the intelligence which the States have of the enemy's weakness in Brabant and Flanders be certain.

I concluded with a representation that her Majesty's forces could not possibly march out of their garrisons in entire corps till our recruits, clothes, and officers are arrived.

The next day in the evening I was seized with a violent fit of a fever, which took me suddenly, and held me above thirty hours. On the 9th I was desired to assist at a conference with the deputies of the States General, but was so sick and weak that I could not stir out of my bed; but the same evening Monsieur Hope, the treasurer, came to me from the deputies of the States General to let me know that they had resolved to write to Monsieur Cohorne to undertake something in Flanders, if he thought it proper, and that they desired of me some detachments of the Queen's troops. They left it to my choice either to send my detachments into Flanders or to re-implace at

Bergen-op-Zoom such detachments of theirs as should march into Flanders, only during the time they should be out. I chose the latter, as the less fatigue of the two, considering that some of our regiments are so bare till their clothes arrive that they would not have been able to give detachments capable of enduring the fatigue of so long a march in this season. I remember the hint your grace gave me about Bergen-op-Zoom; but Flanders is as sickly, and the fatigue added to that, with the few officers we have here, would make it intolerable, besides that it will be (as they assure me) but for eight or ten days at most. Besides that, I'm told that Bergen-op-Zoom is much much healthful than it was. Thus your Grace sees that though we were pressed hard to resolve on the siege of Bon by Monsieur Opdam and Slanenberg, all things will be at liberty at your arrival, excepting that the army is to be formed on the Meuse, which is necessary to sustain the Rhyne and secure our new conquests till your Grace resolves how to operate.

"I hope I have done everything to your Grace's satisfaction. The detachment I shall send to Bergen-op-Zoom will be but of six or seven hundred foot, which I shall take from Baldack and Breda. I venture this letter, though I hope the wind will be fair for you to come away on Thursday, for your presence is of the last moment."

*Postscript.*—"My fever, I thank God, is not returned, and I hope to be abroad to-morrow." *Copy in Revett's hand-writing.*  
5 pp.

LIEUT.-COL. E[DMUND] REVETT to [MR. CARDONNEL?]

1702-3, March 2-18. Hague.—"Being commanded by my Lord Cutts to come to this place upon affairs of great moment to his lordship, and this being the fountain of news, I thought it my duty with great submission to give you an account of what passes whilst I am on this side.

"The letters from Germany by the last post give better news from those parts than was expected. Count Sleicke has defeated a considerable body of Bavarians and forced their lines and Count Stirum has defeated another body of them, having killed and taken a considerable number; and both these generals are marching into the heart of Bavaria with their respective armies, Sleicke having about four and twenty thousand men, and Stirum twelve thousand, upon which the Electress of Bavaria is removed to Ingolstat. Some letters would give us hopes of the relief of the fort of Keil, but I find the most penetrating men here fear its being taken, and they give this reason for it, that being a post of great importance, the French will not stick at sacrificing any number of men to carry so great a point, which the map of the country will explain to you. The King of Prussia's process with the Princess of Nassau Fresland continues yet undecided, and the supreme court of judicature in this place have cited that prince to give his answer to the princess in form of law, the States not intermeddling as sovereigns. The foundation of the dispute is, the late King of England having declared the young prince of

Nassau Fresland (who is a minor) his universal heir, his Prussian Majesty claims by a former settlement some parts of his late Majesty's estate, which his council tell him it was not in his Majesty's power to alienate. The worst which thinking men apprehend from this is lest it should in time produce a misunderstanding between the States General—of whom the young prince of Nassau is a considerable member (being already Statholder of Groninghen and Fresland) and in expectation of some military dignity,—and the King of Prussia, a very powerful ally. The generals who are at present in town are frequently in private conference with the deputies of the States General, but their consultations are kept so secret that it is impossible to discover any of their resolutions, only this, that they relate to the operations of the ensuing campaign, which appears by the effects, the troops having all orders to be ready to march upon the first notice, and the great artillery at Delph and other places beginning to move. My Lord Cutts assists at these conferences, but is under a strict engagement of secrecy, as all the other generals are. His lordship desires his humble and hearty service to you and designs to write himself very soon." 2½ pp.

LORD GODOLPHIN to LORD CUTTS.

1702-3, March 5—Has received his letter and will be very glad to concur with Mr. Secretary Hedges in obtaining any reasonable favour from the Queen in his behalf. ½ p.

LORD CUTTS to [SECRETARY HEDGES].

1703, March [9-]20. Hague.—Thanks him for his last and quotes the "kind and hearty" letter which he has had from the Lord Treasurer. [See above.] Prays him "to give the ball one more stroke and 'tis done." Repeats what he has written to the Treasurer concerning his pressing needs, his ill-treatment in the last reign, and the consideration which he conceives to be due to him as commander in chief during the last winter, as well as the charges which he will be at in "treating the cartel," and implores that what is done may be done quickly.

Has had frequent conferences with Monsieur Hulft, and they are pretty sufficiently prepared to enter upon their business as soon as Marshal Bouffleur's answer arrives, which he supposes "to be delayed only from his being gone to Versailles, though some people here imagine that there is some difficulty started at the French Court." Copy. 3 pp.

LORD CUTTS to LORD GODOLPHIN.

1703, March [9-]20. Hague.—Expresses his deep respect and gratitude for his Lordship's favourable answer, and prays that what the Queen is pleased to grant may be sent him as soon as possible. Copy. 1 p.

THROCKMORTON [*sic*] to LORD [CUTTS?]

1708, March 16-27. Liege.—Praying for an answer, if only two lines, concerning the matters of which he has written to him, and mentioning a report that the Duke of Marlborough may be expected in a few days, in which case he hopes his Lordship will make the journey also. *French.* 2 pp.

## J. HOWE to [LORD CUTTS].

1708, March 29. London.—A gentleman of my country and acquaintance has applied to me to procure leave for him to "take a resignation from Col. Edgeworth" of a company in your Lordship's regiment. I have obtained it of the Prince, but without your approbation will proceed no further. He is a man of estate, credit and quality, and will be very proud of your Lordship's favour.

*Postscript.* I pray you to hasten your answer, as Col. Edgeworth has the promise of a regiment in Ireland which depends on it. 1 p.

## ADAM CARDONNEL to LORD CUTTS.

1708, April [5-?] 16. Maestricht.—The Duke sets out from hence on Wednesday morning, in order to be before Bonn on Friday or Saturday. He will leave letters here for you and Lieut.-General Lumley, to be forwarded by Mons. D'Auverquerque, which will inform you when the troops must arrive in camp, that you may direct them to march out of their respective garrisons accordingly, by which means they may be kept out of the field a few days longer. I have acquainted Lieut.-General Lumley\* with this, and desired him, in your Lordship's absence, to give the same orders for the foot as for the horse and dragoons, not doubting but that your Lordship has instructed him concerning the route of each regiment. 2 pp.

## LORD CUTTS to MONS. LE DUC DE BOUFFLEURS.

1708, April [12-] 23. Hague.—Acknowledging the receipt of his letter† with the passports for himself and Mons. Hulft,—who has gone into the country for two or three days—and explaining that as he is Lieutenant-General of the armies of the Queen of Great Britain, and endued by her with full powers to treat and conclude the cartel, it is necessary that these titles should be inserted in his passport, without which he cannot use it, or show it to anyone whatsoever. When such a passport is sent, he will be ready to set out, and very desirous of using all means to help towards the conclusion of the cartel. *French. Copy.* 1½ pp.

\* Colonel of the Queen's regiment of horse.

† There is a copy of the Duke's letter, and also of Lord Cutts' reply, in *State Papers, Holland.*

## SIR CHARLES HEDGES to LORD CUTTS.

1708, April 13. Whitehall.—That part of his letter which relates to the cartel, and the copy of a letter to Marshal Boufflers, has been laid before her Majesty in a committee of Council, who approves of what he has done. The rest, concerning himself, has been communicated to the Lord Treasurer, who says that something will be done, though he has not named the sum. 1 p.

[CAPT.] A[LEXANDER] SPOTSWOOD to LORD CUTTS, Lieut.-General of the English forces, &c., at the Hague.

1708, April 17–28. Breda.—Lieut.-General Lumly having just received orders from General Overkerk, and being wholly taken up with dispatching orders for the march of the English troops, desires him to state that the troops are to assemble at Heeze and Leende on May 5th, N.S. The three regiments of dragoons remain in garrison until further order. The rest of the garrison marches on Wednesday next. 1 p.

## LORD CUTTS to MR. SECRETARY HEDGES.

1708, April [27–] May 8. Hague.—Stating that H.M. sloop *Swallow*, Henry Cremer master, has been taken in sight of the Maese by a privateer with eight guns and fourscore men, after having used the utmost endeavours to escape. At the last extremity, the mails were thrown overboard. There were twenty-five in the crew and thirty-seven passengers, of whom none are named “but Mrs. Wych, wife to her Majesty’s Resident at Hamburgh, and an officer of my Lord North and Grey’s regiment.” The master has prayed him that care may be taken for himself and the other prisoners, but having no orders to concern himself with the sea cartel, he can only send notice thereof.\* Copy. 2 pp.

## SIR CHARLES HEDGES to LORD CUTTS.

1708, May 4. Whitehall.—Repeating his assurances that something will be done, of which he hopes ere long his Lordship will feel the real effects. 1 p.

## LORD CUTTS to —

1708, May [4–] 15. Hague.—By an express from General Cohorn, dated in the trenches before Bonn the previous day, the States General learn that at three o’clock that same afternoon, the Marquis d’Allegre, Governor of Bonn, beat the *Chamade* and hung out the white flag to capitulate. The terms of surrender are not yet known. Copy. 1 p.

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\* The letter sent is in *State Papers, Holland*.

## COMMISSARY IVOY to LORD CUTTS.

1708, May [7-] 18. Boisleduc.—Upon Brigadier Rass' [? Ross's] demand, I with much trouble got together a thousand rations of hay and oats for Haare, and six thousand two hundred for Breugel, [Breukelin?] sending them in carts and with an escort to ensure their safety. At the same time I wrote, asking that the carts and the sacks lent for the oats might be at once returned. To this I have received the enclosed answer (*wanting*), by which you will see that he has given no acquittance for the forage which he has kept, that he is sending back part of the hay, and that he has obliged the carts to take the oats on to the other camp and perhaps further, whereas I had engaged that they should be immediately returned. Moreover the poor villagers complain that the troops have encamped amongst the corn, although there are heath-lands above which would accommodate fifty thousand men, and that they are collecting the green forage round their camp, so that I am not surprised that they will not take the hay which they had asked for. They have not even sent back the sacks. Having done everything I could for the good of the troops, I did not expect such thanks as these. No doubt you have heard the news from Bonn, and also of the retreat of the enemy before Maestricht. *French.* 3½ pp.

## COMTE DE ——— to LORD CUTTS.

1708, May [16-] 27. London.—As you are acquainted with my cousin's affairs I need only say that I have persuaded her not to push matters too hard, but to take "*les voies de douceur et d'honnêteté*." I hope that your Excellency, taking this into account, will send her some subsistence, until her main business is accomplished. For myself, I long to be with you and to make the campaign under your orders, for here I have much expense and little profit. We hear of nothing but of your own brilliant actions, which to repeat would be but sending back what you yourself have given us. *French.* Seal with arms and coronet. 1½ pp. [*The signature has been torn off.*]

## DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH to LORD CUTTS.

1708, May 21.\* Camp of Thys.—"I have had the favour of yours, and am sorry for the disappointments you meet with. Monsieur le Marechal Boufflaire sent two days ago a letter and pass much to the same purpose as your last was, without taking any notice of her Majesty, so that [as] I thought there was no great haste in your receiving it, so that I have sent it back and assured the Maréchal that he shall have notice as soon as you shall come to the army. I desire you will order all the officers that are of the army in Holland to lose no time in joining the army." *Holograph.* 1 p.

## RICHARD WARRE to LORD CUTTS, at the Hague.

1708, May 21. Whitehall.—We have no home news. Lord Ormond began his journey for Ireland yesterday, with as noble

\* This is dated old style. On the 21st, new style, the Duke had not reached Thys.

a cavalcade as has been seen. There has been a report that Admiral Almonde, with the ships that are to join Sir Cloudesley Shovell, had arrived in the Downs, but we begin to doubt it. Sir Cloudesley Shovell has been on board at Spithead a whole week with his orders, ready to sail. 1 p. *Seal with crest.*

MONS. CHAILLY to LORD CUTTS.

1708, [May 22–] June 2. Grave.—Being very ill, he implores permission to return to France, in order to obtain proper treatment and for change of air. He was major of the troops in Liege citadel, and was the first of the prisoners presented to his Lordship, whose kindness then inspires him with hope now that his prayer may be granted. He will be ready at any time to present himself if desired by the States General, and if the cartel should be concluded, his ransom shall be paid. Prays that the permission may include his valet, as it is impossible for him to dispense with his services. *French.* 4 pp.

Payments by LORD CUTTS.

1708, June [8–] 14. Hague.—Acknowledgments for money received from Lord Cutts in payment for wine, looking glasses and other things, signed by F. V. Maurick, Pieter Van Millinges and others. *Dutch.* 2 pp.

BRIGADIER D. O'FARRELL to LORD CUTTS.

1708, June 5–16. Le Haye.—Praying him to find out from Mr. Cardonnel the state of his business, and to do what he can to further it. *French.* 1½ pp.

G. LAMB[ERTY] to LORD CUTTS.

1708, June [19–] 30. Saturday. The Hague.—I have received your Excellency's of the 26th from Ruremonde; I send you a letter from Brigadier O'Farel, who says that he also gave one to Mr. D'Ayrole to put into Mr. Cardonnel's packet. It is needless to give you any Flanders news, as it will be known at the army as soon as here. Mr. Downing sends his compliments, as does Mons. Stöcken, who wishes me to tell you that he has seen a letter from England stating that Lieut.-General Churchill is to command in Portugal; which, however, he finds it difficult to believe. *French.* 1½ pp.

"LE CONNU"\* [G. Lamberty] to LORD CUTTS.

1708 [July 28–] August 8. Hague.—I have shown the article you spoke of to Mons. Pacheco, but not yet to the Comte de Goetz. The person whose name you ask is Mr. Stanhope. Mons. Obdam is still hoping for a command and those officers who cannot get on with Mons. de Slangenbourg intend to pray the States General to send him, in order to deliver them from the yoke of the other.

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\* Most of his letters are signed thus.



The Portuguese envoy is urging on the preparations for that expedition. Happily the twelve men of war destined to transport the Archduke, and which were sent into the North Sea to meet the East India fleet, have returned, escorting fifteen of these vessels richly laden. With them came an English ship from China, which had been given up for lost.

We have had a Spanish gentleman here, who has been for twenty years commissary-general in his own country. He is sent from the *Almirante* to the Emperor, and after a long interview with the Pensionary, left two days ago for the Imperial Court. He tells wonderful tales of how well disposed they are in Spain to the House of Austria.

In consequence of Mons. Stöcken's memorial, the States General have suspended the sale of the Danish vessels taken by the *armateurs* of Zeland.

Mons. Lilienroot has again deferred his departure, greatly desiring to sign the treaty before leaving, but every day seems to bring fresh difficulties. The more he advances, the more the people here draw back, especially since the spreading of the report that the Courts of Prussia and Sweden are in treaty together.

A Mons. Meinters, secretary to Count Straatman, the Emperor's minister in Poland, has arrived here, and at first it was believed that he was charged with some mission to this country, but it seems he has only come on private business.

The mutinies at Amsford [Amersford] continue and troops have been sent from here, including the *Gardes du corps*. The States of Utrecht have decided to put down the tumult by force, after which the citizens must apply to them, as their sovereigns, if they have any complaints to make against their magistrate or touching their privileges; it not being fit that each town should take upon itself to do justice by violence. We hear that the town yesterday surrendered at discretion, and that there are to be some executions, which will be an example to other places.

Affairs seem hopeful in Germany. Prince Louis of Baden only asked Mons. Goor for eight battalions, which should by this time be at his camp, having left the lines of Stolhoven on the 1st inst. The Duke of Burgundy has been obliged to repass the Rhine, and we hear that the Bavarians have received fresh checks in the Tirol. It is even reported that the Elector is shut up with only two hundred men in a forest, and although letters from Ratisbon say that he has got away, no one trusts news from Ratisbon; it has so often proved false.

Here the great business of Hildesheim is drawing to a close, and the troops of the Duke of Zell are beginning to disappear.  
*French.* 5½ pp.

[G. LAMBERTY] to LORD CUTTS.

1703, August [4-]15. Wednesday. Hague.—It is not believed that the treaty with Portugal will be ratified this week, owing to

the delay of some of the Provinces in giving their consent, which however the Pensionary has urged the deputies to obtain by the 17th instant.

As the departure of the Archduke depends upon the preparations for his transport, orders have been given here to equip ten ships to join the twelve which were sent to meet the East India fleet.

M. de Lilienroot is making his farewell visits, but he has so often changed his mind, that until his departure is an actual fact no one believes in it. He is said to have reduced his demands for money, which certainly no one here is in a hurry to give him.

The Muscovy ambassador, who is annoyed by this delay and by not receiving any answer to his memorial, has written to the Pensionary, saying that the Czar's express is waiting for a reply.

What renders M. de Lilienroot's departure uncertain is Baron de Botmar's movement in his favour. The ministers seem to think that the Baron is at the same time acting for his masters, wishing to renew their treaty with this State, especially as great umbrage is taken at the Court of Lunebourg in regard to a treaty between the Kings of Sweden and Prussia, which is believed to have been signed by young Wartensleben, but which the Swedes here firmly deny.

Their annoyance is increased by some supposed pretensions started at the Prussian Court in regard to the kingdom of Scotland, and it is even said that the Duke of Hamilton's *brouilleries* in the Scotch parliament have other sources than his own ambition, and that Prussia has it in view, in case of an interregnum, to seize upon that throne. However this may be, the Prussian Minister makes no sign, and continues to offer memorials on all sorts of subjects. He has sent in one upon the succession of Neuchatel, asking for the papers on the subject, &c.

Some days ago an express arrived from the Elector Palatine, to represent the need of sending a detachment of the army to the Upper Rhine to save Landau, but only a general answer has been returned, which means nothing.

The Danish envoy is still urging the release of the Danish ships stayed by the *armateurs* of Zeland, which creates a belief that Denmark intends reprisals.

We have it on good authority that a great change is being made at the Danish Court; the King's favourite, son-in-law to the Chancellor, Count Revenelau, being disgraced and banished to his estates.

Three of the principal mutineers of Amersford have been taken to Utrecht, where it is believed they will be executed. Seven others have been arrested.

The *Gardes du corps* are said to have gone from Amersford to Arnheim in Gueldres, where there is some disturbance. Those of Tiel have been rendered submissive by seeing what has happened at Amersford. It is said that the papists are at the bottom of these troubles, hoping to introduce some of themselves into the magistracy, against the fundamental laws of the States.

M. d'Obdam hopes to go shortly to the army. They say here that M. de Slangenbourg has made a march on his own account, against the Duke of Marlborough's orders !

A rising in Catalonia is reported. The Bavarians have left the Tirol, but the French are entering it from Italy. It is hoped they will have the same fate as the others.

On the 20th of July the Swedes had an encounter with the Muscovites in Livonia, near Systersleck, fighting from ten o'clock until two, at which time the courier left them still engaged. *French.* 4 pp.

[G. LAMBERTY] to LORD CUTTS.

1708, August [14-]25, Saturday. Hague.—M. de Lilienroot was to have left on the Friday of last week, but Baron de Botmar begged him to wait until Saturday, and the delay was successful, as he has signed the treaty by which he wished to crown his embassy. But it is after all of no great importance, for no one else has signed it. A space has been left for Lord Marlborough, and the States will not sign until the King of Sweden has ratified the article promising that he will not attack any Imperial or Hanseatic town, nor any power allied with England or with this State. It is not known whether it contains any guarantee of the convention between the Duke of Zell and the Duke Rodolph August of Brunswick, although Baron Botmar certainly wished for it.

The ministers of the Czar and of the Kings of Poland and Denmark have been anxiously trying to discover whether there was anything in the treaty disadvantageous to their respective masters, but the first has had a notification (which he has sent by express to the Czar) that there is nothing of the sort, and the same assurances have been given to the others by word of mouth. The Muscovite ambassador complains greatly of the treaty made by the King of Prussia with Sweden, after all the promises he had given the Czar in order to persuade him to recognise his royalty when it was still in embryo. The Prussian minister declares that it is only a treaty of neutrality, but it is believed to be "*un traité offensif*" as well. M. de Velland was expected back yesterday from Utrecht with the consent of that town to the ratification of the treaty with Portugal.

M. d'Obdam is awaiting orders to return to the head of his army, the States General having unanimously given their consent, since the letter from the Generals shows that they are ready to obey him, to which Mons. Fagel and Mons. Coehorne have also agreed. There is nothing new from foreign parts. We are expecting to hear from Prince Louis, who promised a great stroke on the 20th inst. The rebels in Hungary were beaten on the 30th and 31st of this month (*sic*). The news from the Tirol is

uncertain, but there seems no doubt that the Bavarians were at Mitterwald and Seefeld, outside the Tirol, on the 14th, and that there was no danger of any junction with the French on the Italian side. *French.* 4 pp.

[G. LAMBERTY] to LORD CUTTS.

1703, August [18-]29. Wednesday. Hague.—The King of Prussia has sent orders to his minister to notify to the States General that he will make no peace to the exclusion of the Czar. The ambassador of Muscovy demands restoration of the wines and sweetmeats designed for the Czar's table, and taken in the Danish ships by the Zelanders. The Danish minister has presented another memorial touching these ships, and Denmark only waits for an answer, good or bad, before granting reprisals to those interested. The Swedes insinuate that the King of Poland is not to be trusted, as he actually has a man in Paris *incognito*, in order to treat with the King of France. The States of Holland have been assembled to determine a difference in the magistracy of Harlem on the election of a *Vroetschap*. The matter has been settled quickly, for fear the people should say that a Stadtholder was needed to remedy these disorders.

The Portugal treaty was ratified last Sunday, to the great contentment of Mons. Pacheco.

There is some surprise expressed that the Emperor has not proclaimed the Archduke as King of Spain, after the Count de Goetz' notification, but he is believed to have deferred the ceremony in order to force this State to pay half of the quota for Portugal.

The Duke of Savoy's treaty has been sent back to the commissioners, but the difficulty as regards payment may delay Mr. Hill's departure.

The minister from Treves has received at Rotterdam part of the money which England intends to pay the *Cercle de Suabe*. Prince Louis' inaction dismays everybody, but it is hoped he will at last make up his mind to do something. The rumour of the death of the Elector of Bavaria appears to be without foundation, letters from Prince Louis' camp stating that the said Elector had arrived with eight thousand men at Bovenhausen, between Ulm and Memingen, by which we see that he has left the Tirol. We hear that the French will not succeed in gaining an entry there.

M. d'Obdam is still awaiting his orders, which may be long in coming, as what he has written to the Provinces ties the hands of the deputies, or at any rate serves them as a pretext, they being displeased by this proceeding on his part. •

After the news received on Monday of the taking of the castle of Huy, the States General assembled, with the Council of State, and it is believed that the courier dispatched by them carries full powers to the Duke of Marlborough.

The Comte de Lecheraine is here on behalf of the Elector Palatine, to urge the siege of Trarbac, in order to cover the Duchy of Juliers.

Mons. de Schmettau has presented fresh memorials for a *raccommodement* with the Princess de Frise [land].

The articles of the treaty between the Kings of Sweden and Prussia are believed to be :—1. The recognition of the latter as king; 2. The conservation of the Protestant religion and the joint action of their ministers in the Diet of the Empire; 3. The determination of the boundaries of Pomerania; 4. That Prussia shall give no aid to the King of Poland, and shall help Sweden if the Republic declares against her; 5. That neither shall make a separate peace, nor without having due satisfaction from the King of Poland or the Republic. 6. That the King of Sweden shall interest himself for the King of Prussia regarding the heirship of the late King of England.

We hear from Sweden that their loss under Cronhjort against the Muscovites amounted to a hundred and ninety-seven, infantry and cavalry, and fourteen officers dead, and a hundred and fifty-six privates and twenty-eight officers wounded.

Mr. Downing starts for Denmark next Monday. *French.* 5 pp.

[G. LAMBERTY] to LORD CUTTS.

1703, [August 28-] September 8. Hague.—We have been looking for good news from the army and were even rejoicing beforehand over our supposed success, but now all our hopes are dashed. There are great complaints that the Duke has been crossed in his plans.

Affairs in Germany however appear to be going on well and it is hoped that Prince Louis of Baden will now make up for the inaction which has dissatisfied people so much. It is said that he crossed the Danube on the 31st, having been delayed in getting up his bridge, owing to the badness of the roads.

There is also good news from the Comte de Reventhau and the other Imperial Generals, although the Count, after bombarding Scharding, which is half burnt down, retired to Passau upon the intelligence given him by General Heister that the Elector of Bavaria had entirely left the Tirol and was marching to the Inn. Prince Louis of Baden has received a deputation from the Tirol, consisting of an ecclesiastic, a gentleman and two peasants, who prayed him to send them three thousand men if they should be attacked anew, and declared that they had re-taken all the posts occupied by the Bavarians, not excepting Kaupstein, that the Bavarians had lost about five thousand men, and are now only about three thousand three hundred, and that the Tirolese had intended to attack them at Seefeldt, but the Bavarians fled, abandoning everything; after which they made an incursion into Bavaria, ravaging as they went.

It is to be hoped that the affair of Ratisbon will open the eyes of those Princes of the Empire, who, to their eternal shame, have

suffered the Elector of Bavaria to affront them by surprising Ratisbon, and who yet obstinately put faith in Bavaria's promises. They may now see that nothing is to be expected from that quarter but the putting in practice the detestable maxims of France "*d'avoir ni loi ni foi.*"

It was on the 28th of June that Colonel Saulini put dragoons and infantry to guard the gates of Ratisbon and other posts hitherto kept by the burghers. He took possession of the arsenal, and next day disarmed the burghers and made them bring in all their fire-arms. But in order to show some respect for the Diet and to throw dust into the eyes of his dupes, the troops are not in the town, but are lodged in tents on the ramparts, until barracks are built for them.

At last the Duke of Anjou's decree in Council for the declaration of war against the King of Portugal has arrived here. Although the terms are Spanish the spirit is French—proud, haughty and insolent. The King of Portugal is not *traité de roi*, but distinguished only as *Portugais*, with threats that he shall be chastised by the ancient valour of the Spanish nation.\* This is fit to be put into *Don Quixote*.

The same letters bring news of the iniquitous death sentence passed at Madrid on the brave *Almirante de Castile*. Luckily he is not in the power of the rabid and cruel Council of the Duke of Anjou.

The Swabian deputies make no progress as regards their offer of troops, for there seems no inclination here to take advantage of it. *French. 4 pp.*

[G. LAMBERTY] to LORD CUTTS.

1708, September [1-]12. Wednesday. Hague.— Mr. Fagel is to go to Portugal, and it is believed that M. de Belcastle will go also as major general.

England has offered, besides the four thousand men which are her own share, to send four thousand more for the Emperor, on condition that this State agrees to pay half the stipulated sum.

Prince Louis of Baden has besieged Memingen, and the States General have letters stating that it is already taken. Three letters from Mareshal de Villars have been intercepted, in one of which he complains bitterly of the Duc de Vendome and of Tallard.

Letters from Stockholm relate that a Saxon officer named Mulheim, having come out of Thorn, offered to show the King of Sweden the weak points of that town. The King twice went out alone with him but on the third occasion the pretended fugitive threw himself at the King's feet and confessed that he was sent by General Röbel to assassinate him. The officer has been arrested in hopes that he will discover others implicated, but some people think that it is a got up affair, to discredit the King of Poland.

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\* There are copies of the Declaration in *S. P. Holland*.

Those who know Mulheim say that he is a ruined man, who may have hoped to make money by it.

Notwithstanding the news of the arrangement made by the King of Prussia with Sweden, the Poles have resolved to send Monsieur Szwzeka, vice-chancellor of Lithuania and an able and experienced man, to Berlin, to try to lead the King back into the right way in regard to the Republic, especially as their recognition of his new royalty is more necessary to him than that of Sweden.

The ambassador of Muscovy is annoyed that the Swedes of Staden have seized upon the Elbe the military supplies going to Moscow, including tents, clothes, arms, &c. The Swedes on the other hand are angry with the Danes, all these things having been got ready at Altona.

The Council of State demands two millions from the States General for the affairs of Portugal. The request has been sent to the Provinces.

Mons. de la Martinerie must be at the Court of Poland, as Mr. Stanhope has received a letter for his wife with Mr. Robinson's packet. I have not heard from him since he was at Dresden. *French.* 4 pp.

[G. LAMBERTY] to LORD CUTTS.

1703, September [4-]15. Saturday. Hague.—Mr. Hill has renewed the Queen's generous offer to furnish three quarters of the men for Portugal for the Emperor. He has left, saying that he would return shortly, but it is believed that he has gone to the Duke of Savoy, and that the affair is off for the present. It is even reported that the Duke was recalling the troops which he had in the army of Vendome. The French commander, after the taking of Arco, was repulsed with loss in a mountain pass which he was attempting to cross.

We have good news from Prince Louis of Baden. The Elector of Bavaria arrived on the 1st of this month at Villars' camp, but left next day with about twenty thousand men for Gunzburg, whence he sent Comte d'Arco with four thousand men to summon the magistracy of Ausbourg to deliver him the red gate and a bastion, allowing them only one hour for deliberation. They refused, and next day Prince Louis arrived by forced marches and the Bavarians hastily beat a retreat. This grand stroke will revive people's esteem for Prince Louis, and give the Elector of Bavaria food for reflection. His envoy at Ratisbon, seeing the English resident after receiving an express from the Elector, gave him to understand that he was willing to negotiate by means of the Queen.

Letters from Treves—saying that a French governor had arrived at Luxembourg and that it was publicly announced there that orders were to be taken only from the Court of France—have given rise to a belief that the Spaniards have ceded the Low Countries to France.

The Archduke was to be proclaimed on the 8th and to set out on the 10th or 11th, according to our letters, and Count de Goez has notified the same. The Prince will travel by Prague, Saxony, Hanover, &c.

From Turkey we hear that the insurgents were fifty thousand strong and had sworn to demolish the Sultan's palace at Andrinople, in order to force him to reside at Constantinople. The Sultan is not deposed nor the Vizier Effendi strangled, as the public news reported. He has made the janissaries and other loyal troops swear fidelity to him, giving to each a morsel of bread upon the *Alcoran*, in token thereof, and is marching at their head against the rebels. The Muscovy Ambassador declares that the cause of the revolt is a Jesuit sent from France.

I received yesterday a letter from Mons. de la Martinerie dated at Warsaw. He has seen the King of Poland, who does not wish to be mixed up in his business with the Czar. The letter will amuse you, for he declares he will go no further unless the Czar gives him what will provide carriage, horses, baggage waggons, and four more servants, besides the three he has taken with him. 3 pp.

LORD CUTTS to —

[1708, September 6-17.\*]—Owing to the inaction of our army at present, I have little news to offer you. Our spies tell us that the enemy have detached several regiments in the direction of Namur, and that on the [8-]14 inst., they passed the Meuse at that place and encamped on the heights of St. Barbe with a strength of sixteen battalions and as many squadrons, commanded by Mons. de Precontal. We have since learnt that they wished to draw a line thence in front of Namur, to stop us from going and firing the magazines which they have there, and which are very considerable. For some days the weather has prevented any work at our entrenchments, but it has now been resumed. Mons. de Villeroy came yesterday to reconnoitre our camp, and the same day one of our parties took eight horsemen of the enemy, sent to reconnoitre on the other side. The quarter-master general of the English army arrived here yesterday from Liege. He left Lord Marlborough there, who only to-day begins his march towards Limbourg. The country not being able to furnish him sufficient horses to transport the artillery, Mons. D'Auverquerque has this morning sent him nearly twelve hundred from here, taken equally from the English and Dutch artillery, with two hundred commanded horse to escort them as far as Liege.

As the enemy have a body of troops encamped near Namur, and may perhaps make some attempt upon Huy while we are occupied at the siege of Limbourg, Mons. D'Auverquerque has this morning detached three hundred grenadiers to reinforce the garrison at Huy. *French.* 2 pp.

\* For date, see Marlborough's *Letters and Despatches*, Vol. I., p. 183.



[G. LAMBERTY] to LORD CUTTS.

1703, September [8-]19. Wednesday. Hague.—The latest news is that the officers and troops for Portugal are to be ready to embark on the 15th of next month.

The Comte de Goez says that the Archduke was to be proclaimed on the 9th of this month, and will go, in the first place, on a pilgrimage to some Virgin.\* The number of troops named does not exceed the four thousand which is the share of this State, and touching the payment of those of the Emperor, according to the Queen's offer, nothing is settled, but it is hoped it will be decided by the States of Holland, which have met this morning.

Our English letters state that the fleet under Admiral Shovel passed the Straits of Gibraltar on the 10th of last month into the Mediterranean, but it was not known what was intended to be done, since the Duke of Savoy is mistrusted. The decree of the Duke of Anjou for declaring war against Portugal is so far without any effect, as no such declaration has been as yet made, although M. Pacheco insinuated it in order to hasten the preparations here.

The French ambassador, Chateauneuf, is said to be going from Madrid to Lisbon, with the consent of the King of Portugal, but Mons. Pacheco declares that his journey will be without result.

The Danish envoy has presented a memorial upon the Danish ships seized by the Zelanders, declaring that, remonstrances having proved useless, the King finds it necessary to use the means which God has put into his hands for the protection of his subjects, and that neither by God or man can he be considered the author of the evils which may ensue. The memorial was presented last week, but Mons. d'Odick, who was President, refused to let it be read, so that it was not read until last Monday. The two ministers of Denmark and Sweden act in concert in such matters, both crowns being equally interested, and to-day the Swedish minister has presented a note concerning a Swedish vessel, stayed in like manner.

The Prussian minister has been in conference with the States General concerning their complaints against Baron Kinsky, *drossard* of the King of Prussia in the *Comté de Meurs* and also touching certain things which ought to be given to the dowager Princess of Anhalt, as the barony of Turnhout, a pearl necklace and the House in the Wood.

Mons. d'Obdam's affairs are just where they were. He hopes that his business will get on a little further at this meeting of the States of Holland, but other people do not think so.

We are expecting good news from Prince Louis, who, being master of Ausbourg, may have been able to attempt something.

\* Our Lady of Marienzel, in Styria. See Stanhope's despatch of Sept. 7-18. P. Holland.

In any case, his seizure of this great town, which is the Amsterdam of Germany, will be enough glory for this campaign. He is said to have enough stores to supply an army of forty thousand men for four years.

Mr. O'Farel intends to start for Ireland in a few days. He seems vexed that your Excellency has not answered four or five of his letters. *French.* 4 pp.

LORD CUTTS to [MARSHAL DE VILLEROI?]

1703, September [13-]24. Camp of the Allies at St. Tron.—Hearing that some fresh English prisoners have been brought to your camp, whilst the others have been sent to Louvain and Brussels, I am constrained to dispatch my drum to you again, praying that he may see those in your camp, and have permission to go to see the others. *French. Draft.* 1½ p.

[G. LAMBERTY] to LORD CUTTS.

1703, September [15-]26, Wednesday. Hague.—The intelligence received from Vienna that the Archduke was, on the 12th, proclaimed King of Spain, is not the only piece of news which has gladdened our hearts here, or at any rate, that from England has enhanced its lustre; the Queen, in order to obviate all difficulties in the execution of the treaty with Portugal, having now declared that she will not only furnish the four thousand men for the Emperor, but will pay his share of the money as well. The only thought therefore is now to hasten the preparations for the transport of the new King of Spain, and a conference has been held with the ministers of the Emperor and of England.

Admiral Shovell's fleet is in the Mediterranean and it is to be hoped that there is truth in the news sent by the Imperial Minister from Vienna, that, on sight of it, the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily declared for the House of Austria.

All the same, one hopes that the fleet will return before the winter, as it is only victualled up to the end of November, and moreover, the treaty between the Emperor and the Duke of Savoy has fallen through in consequence of the *finesse* of the Duke, who used the embassy of Count d'Aversperg to his Court only as a means to gain better terms in his treaty with France.

So many new difficulties have arisen in regard to the treaty between Sweden and Prussia that it is doubted whether it will ever be accomplished. It was thought that Mons. de Lilienroot, who is at Hamburg, was waiting to go to the Court of Berlin to offer compliments upon the new royalty, but the Swedish minister here says he is only there on his way to Stockholm, and this receives confirmation by letters from Stockholm, stating that his father in law has gone to meet him.

If this treaty falls through, it will be a great mortification to the government of Holstein, who have got a clause inserted

therein guaranteeing the treaty of Travendal. The House of Lunebourg, however, was annoyed at the treaty, and was moreover displeased that the King of Sweden had written to the members of their House in favour of the Duc de Saverin in his disputes with them, saying, with some reason, that this Duke does not merit the King's favour, since, in his visits to the Courts of Prussia and Denmark, he showed an inclination to enter into engagements in opposition to Sweden.

The three Pensionaries of Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and Horn have been appointed to investigate the case of the Danish ships, and the King of Denmark will postpone granting reprisals until he sees what may be done.

The minister of Munster states that his master claims to be elected Coadjutor of Paderborn more legally—although he had only nine votes—than the Baron de Mattenich, who had eleven; which may lead to complications.

Prince Louis is said to have sent repeated orders to Count Stirum to carry out his previous instructions; and letters from Francfort state that the Count is on the march with his army. It is rumoured that Boufflers has spiked the cannon going to Limbourg, being in the Condros with fifteen thousand men for the purpose. *French. 4 pp.*

LORD CUTTS to [MARSHAL DE VILLEROI ?]

[1708, September 17–] 28. Camp of the Allies at St. Tron.—Acknowledging his last letter, brought by the trumpet sent to Mons. D'Auverquerc, and informing him that he has given the Spanish drum, who is the bearer of this, two memorials from his own secretary to his [correspondent's] commissary, which he commends to his consideration.

Sends salutations to the Duke of Barwick. *French. Copy. 1 p.*

THE SAME to [THE SAME ?]

1708, [September 20–] October 1. Camp of the Allies at St. Tron.—Praying him to be good enough to send the passport by the first trumpet which he sends to Mons. d'Auverquerc. *French. Copy. ½ p.*

[G. LAMBERTY] to LORD CUTTS.

1708, [September 22–] October 3, Wednesday. Hague.—Mons. d'Obdam, having received orders to join the army, was to leave this evening. He is conceived to have sufficiently expiated his misfortune, and will probably command the detachment for the Moselle.

We still have assurances that our Mediterranean fleet is returning home. There is no longer any dependence to be placed on the Duke of Savoy, letters from Paris asserting that he has renewed his treaties with France.

The Danish ambassador has presented a memorial for obtaining permission to transport seven hundred guns, purchased at Amsterdam, for the use of the Norway Militia. He is still waiting for an answer concerning his ships.

The difficulties between Mons. de Lilienroot and Mons. de Schmettau in regard to certain articles (which have been deferred to another time) have not prevented the signing of the treaty, so far as the other articles are concerned; and Mons. de Lilienroot had orders at Hamburg to go to Berlin to congratulate the King of Prussia, but begged to be excused on account of his health. He has now left Hamburg for Stockholm, and the King of Sweden will send some one else to Berlin. I hear in confidence that the King of Prussia has sent Mons. de Lilienroot a handsome present.

The town of Dantzic has come to an agreement with the King of Sweden and has paid him 100,000 gulden.

The Saxon Generals Canitz [Kaunitz?] and Röbel, who are in Thorn, have fought a duel, and Röbel is mortally wounded.

The affair of the Count Stirum is not so bad as we feared, apart from the loss of baggage and cannon. The Count has written to Count de Goez, and I send a short relation received by the States General from a trustworthy source, and which agrees with the Count's own letter. *French.* 8½ pp.

JULIUS HANTELMAN, sen., to LORD CUTTS.

1703, [September 22-] October 3. Tangermunde.—Recommending his son—who he hears is in his Lordship's service—to his notice and protection, and begging to know how he comports himself. *French.* 2 pp.

LORD CUTTS to SIR CHARLES HEDGES.

1703, [September 23-] October 4. Camp of the Allies at St. Tron.—Announcing the arrival “to-day” of the Duke of Marlborough, who will however probably only stay long enough to arrange all matters relating to winter-quarters with the deputies of the States General who have accompanied him. *Copy.* 1½ pp.

SIR CHARLES HEDGES to LORD CUTTS.

1703, September 27. Bath.—Your last letters have been laid before the Queen. The Lord Treasurer leaves this place to-morrow morning, so nothing will be done here, but I hope that when Lord Marlborough comes over, your affair will at length be concluded to your satisfaction. ½ p.

LORD CUTTS to ———.

1703, [September 27-] October 8. Camp at St. Tron.—The garrison of Huy being, according to their capitulation, to be exchanged against a like number of ours taken by the French, will arrive here, by Lord Marlborough's orders, this evening, and the Marshal de Villeroy has ordered the two regiments taken at

the beginning of the year at Tongres, with what other prisoners he has of ours, to be brought at the same time from Leewe. The exchange is to be made to-morrow morning half way between these two places. Each party is to be accompanied by a squadron of horse, the commanders whereof are to cease all hostilities until the exchange is over, and all have withdrawn on either side.

The artillery horses sent to the siege of Limbourg returned to camp yesterday. *Copy.* 1 p.

[G. LAMBERTY] to LORD CUTTS.

1703, [September 29-] October 10, Wednesday. Hague.— There has been a change as regards the ships to be provided by this State for the transport of the new [King] of Spain, for upon intelligence that France was making some naval preparations, one of the burgomasters and the Pensionary of Amsterdam have hurried over here to urge the need of increasing the number of ships of war, and the States General have resolved to augment the number to twenty-four, in the hope, it is believed, of perhaps obtaining eighteen, knowing that some Provinces will fail.

The Prussian minister has written to his master for consent to lodge the King of Spain at Honslaerdick and also at the old Court here, and expects a reply to-morrow. There is a consultation going on here as to the ceremonial used towards Charles II. of England in 1660, in order to obtain some guidance for the present occasion.

Upon the representations of the ministers of the Emperor and the Empire, as well as of Mons. Pacheco, the army is to be kept in the field as long as possible, the former fearing that France may overwhelm indolent Germany, and the latter wishing to prevent the enemy from sending troops into Spain to attack the Portuguese before they are ready. It is said that ten regiments have been already detached from the Low Countries for this purpose.

Mons. Machado has been ordered to distribute oats to the cavalry, and an arrangement has been made with him for magazines at Liege, Hui and other places on the frontier, in order that it may be easier to assemble a large force if occasion should require.

The deputies of Wirtemberg continue to try to obtain entertainment for four thousand of their troops, with the condition that, having no further use for them at home, they may be employed wherever they are most needed, but apparently the matter will not be discussed until the Duke of Marlborough arrives.

The Prussian minister has received intelligence that the bombardment of Gueldre began last Sunday, and believes that by the 15th instant it will be in his master's hands.

Trustworthy letters from Spain state that two couriers arrived from the Court of France in one day, but what they brought cannot be discovered, although it was noticed that the French party appeared dismayed and the principal grandees joyful.

The cavalry at Madrid had been ordered to march towards Badajoz, but had not yet done so. They lack magazines, munition and cannon, which were to have been sent from Pampeluna, but since the arrival of these couriers their removal has been stopped, by which one supposes that they wish to guard this place, in the kingdom of Navarre, as an asylum in case of a rising in the other parts of Spain. Briefly, everything in Spain appears favourable to the House of Austria.

My son wishes most respectfully to thank you for your kindness towards him, in regard to the Duke of Marlborough. If there is a chance of anything, he begs you to enlighten him. *French.* 4 pp.

[G. LAMBERTY] to LORD CUTTS.

1708, October [2-]18, Saturday. Hague.—It is long since we were so bare of news as now. The ministers of the Emperor, England and Portugal have been in conference with some of the deputies of the States General, in order to hasten the preparations for the transport of the King of Spain. The Emperor's minister is much vexed that he has hastened the King's departure from Vienna, seeing that matters move so slowly.

The secretary of Count Waldstein, now a prisoner in France, has been here on his way from Vienna to England, and so to Lisbon, and one sees well enough from his discourse that the nomination of the new King of Spain has not been made with the idea of sending him, after the fashion of a knight errant, to conquer the kingdom, but that the thing rests upon solid foundations, being supported by the greater part of the grandees, and that a general rising will take place as soon as the King sets foot in the country.

It is rather singular that while some of the officers and regiments destined for Portugal make difficulties about going, others, not nominated, are praying to be sent. The States General are still deliberating about the matter; but Mons. Friesen, who objected to going, has now agreed to do so.

he Swedes no longer make any secret of their treaty with Prussia, and the Baron de Friesendorf, their envoy at the Courts of Zell and Hanover, has received orders to notify his master's recognition of the King of Prussia, and their new alliance, which however will in no way prejudice the treaties of the King of Sweden with the said Courts.

Much discussion has been caused by the order to Mons. de Lilienroot to stop at the Court of Copenhagen, under pretext of arranging for the safety of their commerce on both sides in the present troubled state of Europe. Suspicious folks believe that

this is only done to keep the King of Denmark amused, and so stop his taking any steps in favour of the King of Poland or the Czar of Moscovy; whilst others go still further and imagine that an idea of being of some use to France is at the bottom of it.

Affairs in Poland are going very badly for the King, and there is more talk than ever of his dethronement, for he is abandoned by everyone, and even Oginski, one of his strongest friends, is as discontented as possible.

Letters from Count Stirum's camp state that he had been largely reinforced, had received sixteen pieces of cannon and was expecting more, besides three great pieces from Nordlingen, and would shortly begin to march.

From Prince Louis' camp we hear that the Elector of Bavaria is threatening to bombard Ausbourg, which the Prince would be unable to prevent, but that the latter has sent word to the Elector that if he fires a single shot, all Bavaria shall be laid in ashes.

Tallard has stopped short in his journey towards Landau. The taking of Limbourg seems to have disconcerted the enemy  
*French.* 4 pp.

[G. LAMBERTY] to LORD CUTTS.

1708, October [16-]27. Saturday. Hague.—The Duke of Marlborough has arrived to-day, and went straight from the vessel to dine with Mons. de l'Etang.

A harbinger of the King of Spain has come to make all ready for his master, who is expected to-morrow. Count de Goetz has gone to meet him, and besides his own equipage, has borrowed one from the Prince d' Auvergne for the King's use during his stay here.

Several places on the Upper Rhine have prayed for help against the ravages of the French, which it is feared may be carried still further. There is every disposition here to help the Empire, but nothing is more vexatious than to see that the people will not help themselves, nor even second the generous efforts which England and this State make to free "*l'indolente corps Germanique*" from their troubles.

The Elector of Mayence, above all, is afraid of being overwhelmed in his capital, and has written to the neighbouring princes, as the Landgraves of Hesse Cassel, Homburg, and [D] Armstadt. The first of these has sent his letter to the States General, in order to stimulate them to make some diversion, and in consequence of it, they have resolved to send the hereditary prince of Cassel to the Moselle. As to the town of Mayence, the States General some time ago sent orders to the Governor of Bonn to render it all the aid it needed in a case like this.

As regards the Duke of Savoy, all that is certain is that both England and this State have the best will in the world towards him.

I am very anxious about your Excellency's health, not having heard from you by the five last posts. I shall try to-morrow to see some one who has come from the army, and so learn how you are. *French.* 8 pp.

H. HORCKWATER to LORD CUTTS.

1708, October [18-]29. Tongre.—Stating that as the troops march on Thursday, and to-morrow is "*le jour du pain*" he has thought good to deliver bread for six days instead of four to the British infantry, that they may have something on their way. *French.* 1½ pp.

LORD CUTTS to the COMMANDER OF HER MAJESTY'S FORCES in every garrison [in the Low Countries].

1708, November [8-]14. Hague.—Sir George Rooke and Mr. Hill will move the Lord High Admiral to send over another convoy for those recruiting officers who cannot go now. I desire you to advertise the officers hereof, and also to issue orders that no officers of her Majesty's forces, either horse or foot, shall embark for England without a pass-port under my hand and seal, the General of the Foot (who intends for England to-morrow) having delivered over to me the Duke of Marlborough's orders and instructions, and the necessary powers relating to the Chief Command of her Majesty's forces in the Low Countries. I shall shortly send instructions to every garrison, and meanwhile, desire you to send me weekly lists of the alterations in the foot, and of all accidents happening in either horse or foot, that I may transmit constant accounts to his Grace.

I have directed my secretary to take no fees for passports from such officers as have already permission to go for England, and are in the lists signed by the Duke; and for such others as have just pretensions to ask my leave, no more than what they shall think fit to give him. *Copy.\** 2 pp.

LORD CUTTS to BRIGADIER WOOD.

1708, November [6-]17. Hague.—Recommending Sir James Hayse, who, though unknown to himself, has certificates from the Duke of Ormond and others which represent his case as a real object of compassion. *Copy.* ½ p.

LORD CUTTS to MAJOR MEADE, of the Duke of Marlborough's regiment.

1708, November [6-]17. Hague.—In regard to the oath proposed by the magistrates to the officers in your garrison,

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\* Lord Cutts' letters, from this date up to the end of December, old style, are taken from a letter book written in his own hand (as are all the copies of his letters) and headed "Letters to several persons during the time that I commanded her Majesty's forces in chief in the Low Countries, in the year 1708."



Brigadier Ross was with me yesterday and represented that matter to me at large. I desire the officers both of foot and dragoons to make this answer to the Burgomaster: "that no man is more disposed to do everything that may be for the service and satisfaction of the town of Gorcum than myself, as knowing the rank they bear in this government, but according to the constitution and laws of England, if I should order any oath to be taken without the Queen's command, I may answer it with my head;" but you may assure them that I will write to the Duke about it, and do all in my power to serve them. You may tell the commanding officers of the regiments with you, that they must on no account take any oath without my special order, and "that I believe the Queen will have a great deal of difficulty to order any such oath, by reason of our laws provided in that case." *Copy.* 1 p.

LORD CUTTS to THE COMMANDERS OF GARRISONS.

1708, November [9-]20. Hague.—Encloses a copy of the Duke of Marlborough's orders, and desires faithful execution of the same. The discharge of the men may be left to the commanding officer of each regiment, but care must be taken to see that it is done pursuant to these rules. *Copy.*  $\frac{3}{4}$  p.

LORD CUTTS to MYN HEER VANDERSPOEL.

1708, November [9-]20. Hague.—Sends two orders of Sir George Rooke's, which will be best lodged in his hands, and prays him to signify the same to any of her Majesty's ships, so soon as they arrive, desiring the respective captains and commanders to receive all such as have passes under his own hand and seal, (by which they will know them to be the officers mentioned in Sir George Rooke's orders) her Majesty having sent orders to all her captains not to receive any on board without a pass either from Mr. Stanhope or the Commander in Chief. Prays him to advertise the arrival or intended departure of any English ships. *Copy.* 1 p.

*The Enclosures:—*

1. *Sir George Rooke, Vice Admiral of England and Commander in Chief of her Majesty's fleet, &c. to Capt. Jesson, commander of the Portland. Warrant to receive on board the ship or ships under his command such officers of her Majesty's army as shall bound to England for recruits, giving them passage and victuals. Rotterdam, November [8-]19, 1708. Copy.*  $\frac{1}{2}$  p.

2. *A like warrant for the commander of any of her Majesty's ships bound for England. Copy.*  $\frac{1}{2}$  p.

LORD CUTTS to the COMMANDERS OF GARRISONS.

1708, November [10-]21. Hague.—Stating that Sir George Rooke has left orders for some of her Majesty's men of war, daily

expected, to take on board the recruiting officers, and that if any of these officers happen to come to Rotterdam, they may send to him for passes and be ready to go aboard. *Copy.*  $\frac{1}{2}$  p.

LORD CUTTS to the DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH

1708, November [12-] 23. Hague.—The "Council of States" having in the most pressing manner urged the necessity of sending a regiment to Bergen-op-Zoom for the next three weeks, he intends, if they insist on it on the morrow, to send How's or Lord North's. He has seen a list of their garrisons, and (except one Dutch regiment in each, which they say is necessary for the affairs of their government) there are none but the Queen's forces at hand until some other troops return. *Copy.*  $\frac{3}{4}$  p.

LORD CUTTS to the EARL OF RANELAGH.

1708, November [12-] 23.—Requesting that the debentures of the Isle of Wight garrisons may be delivered to Mr. Meryll, whose discharge shall be sufficient and valid, notwithstanding any directions formerly given to Mr. Acton or his Lordship. *Copy.*  $\frac{1}{2}$  p.

LORD CUTTS to the COMMANDING OFFICERS of Breda and Bois-le-duc.

1708, November [13-] 24. Hague.—Desires that the enclosed order may be complied with if Lieut.-General Salyche require it. The States promise that the troops shall return in three weeks, but for the time they are out their officers must furnish them with money. *Copy.*  $\frac{1}{2}$  p.

LORD CUTTS to the COMMANDERS OF GARRISONS.

1708, November [13-] 24. Hague.—Sending instructions which are to be communicated to all her Majesty's officers, both horse and foot, in each garrison. *Copy.*  $\frac{1}{2}$  p.

LORD CUTTS to the WITMAN AND MAGISTRACY of GORCUM.

1708, November [15-] 26. Hague.—Stating that he had intended to hang the man on whose behalf they write to him, but as he earnestly desires to serve and please them, he promises to pardon him, and will send orders to that effect. *French.* *Copy.*  $\frac{1}{2}$  p.

LORD CUTTS to the DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

1708, November [16-] 27. Hague.—States that instead of marching a regiment to Bergen-op-Zoom, he has agreed to detach three hundred men from the garrison of Bois-le-Duc, and the same number from Breda, for two or three weeks, if it is absolutely necessary. Desires promotion for two officers of his

regiment [unnamed] in case his lieutenant-colonel goes to the West Indies, and begs his Grace's favour with the Lord Treasurer. *Copy.*  $\frac{3}{4}$  p.

LORD CUTTS to BRIGADIER HAMILTON.

1708, November [17-]28. Hague.—Acknowledging his letter, but requesting to know why four hundred men have marched when his order was but for three hundred, and desiring that in future, no detachments or regiments may march without his orders in writing, this being a positive article in the Duke of Marlborough's instructions. *Copy.*  $\frac{1}{2}$  p.

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1708, November [17-]28. Hague.—Will order a general court martial, as he desires. *Copy.*  $\frac{1}{4}$  p.

LORD CUTTS to the DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

1708, November [19-]30. Hague.—Nothing has happened in the troops worth mentioning, and he does not presume to trouble his Grace with other news, knowing that he has it better from other hands. *Copy.*  $\frac{1}{2}$  p.

LORD CUTTS to the OFFICERS COMMANDING IN CHIEF at Breda, Bois-le-Duc, and Gorcum.

1708, [November 22-] December 3. Hague.—Sending instructions, which are always to be left with the officer actually in command of each regiment, and desiring that the names of the officers to whom they are given and the date of their delivery may be reported to him. *Copy.*  $\frac{1}{2}$  p.

LORD CUTTS to [the COMMANDER of the battalion of her Majesty's own regiment of Guards].

1708, [November 22-] December 3. Hague.—To the same effect as the preceding. *Copy.*  $\frac{1}{2}$  p.

LORD CUTTS to MR. BRIDGES and MR. WARR.

1708 [November 28-] December 4. Hague.—Minutes. The States General have written a very obliging letter to the Prince Hereditary of Hessen, signifying their great concern for the ill-success of the battle<sup>a</sup> lost by the confederate troops that were marching to the relief of Landau. They "take notice of the neglect in not having timely advice of the enemy's motions, and in not taking such necessary precautions as such an affair required, but they assure him at the same time that they don't impute any part of the blame to him, but on the contrary are

<sup>a</sup> At Spire.

infinitely satisfied with his courage and conduct in that action, and with the very great bravery with which the troops under his command followed his example." This letter will make the whole blame fall upon the Comte de Nassau-Weilburg, the Elector Palatine's general, who commanded all the forces in chief as being the eldest officer there. *Copy.* 1 p.

LORD CUTTS to [MR. CARDONNEL ?]

1708, [November 23-] December 4. Hague. — Private news. "The States-General have directed their deputies that manage the conferences which are frequently held with the foreign ministers to represent to those of the Emperor and the Empire, in the most pressing terms imaginable, the ill-execution of what their respective masters are engaged to for the carrying on of the common cause, and the preservation of the liberties of Europe, and to represent to them, at the same time, that since England and Holland are obliged to send a considerable number of their troops to Portugal, 'tis impossible for the States to assist the Emperor and the Empire with such numbers of their troops as they have done hitherto and to want them upon their own frontiers, especially if the Princes whom it more immediately concerns omit, as they have done hitherto, to make such provisions of troops, artillery and magazines as they are obliged to do by their treaties." *Copy.* 1 p.

LORD CUTTS to the COMMANDERS of HER MAJESTY'S FORCES  
at Gorcum, Worcum, Heusden and Gertruydenberg.

1708, [November 25-] December 6. Hague.—Desires that the lists of the foot regiments, hitherto sent up once a fortnight, may in future be sent up on the 1st of the month (old style) only. Any accident, disorder, or extraordinary occurrence is, however, to be reported forthwith, as also anything desired for the service of the regiments. *Copy.* 1 p.

LORD CUTTS to BRIGADIER FERGUSON and COL. PEYTON, commanding her Majesty's forces at Bois-le-duc and Breda.

1708, [November 25-] December 6. Hague.—To the same effect as the preceding, with the additional instruction that the lists are "to be drawn up by companies, in the same manner that they were the last winter, and [not] in lump as some of them were, by which one knows only the strength and not the detail of a regiment." *Copy.* 1 p.

LORD CUTTS to BRIGADIERS HAMILTON and FERGUSON.

1708, [November 26-] December 7. Hague.—Enclosing an order given the previous winter to the commander in their garrison, and stating that he does not expect any monthly lists of alterations in the Horse, "it never having been customary, except when demanded upon some extraordinary occasion." *Copy.*  $\frac{1}{2}$  p.

## LORD CUTTS TO MR. CHURCHILL, General of the Foot

1708, [November 28-] December 9. Hague.—“Mr. Stanhope has informed me of the ill-news he has received from Helvoet-slucce of one of her Majesty's ships of war being sunk<sup>a</sup> and most of the transport ships being run on ground. . . . 'Tis the opinion of the Grand Pensionary and Mr. Stanhope that some officer with a character should be sent to the troops that are forced on shore, to put things in as much method as is possible in such a misfortune and to encourage the men, to prevent any accident by desertion. Brigadier Ferguson had his Grace the Duke of Marlborough's orders to make the embarkation, but he being at Bois-le-Duc, before he can get to the Brill and Helvoet-slucce the occasion will be over. But Brigadier Withers being at Rotterdam with you, Sir, I humbly propose it if you please to send him with your orders. These troops designed for Portugal being of a different department with the troops which you were pleased to deliver over to my care, and Brigadier Withers being with you, bound for England, I would not presume to send him any orders in it, but humbly propose it to you as what may possibly be of moment to her Majesty's service at this time.

“In the meantime, the Pensionary assures me that orders shall be sent away from the States to those parts, that all possible assistance may be given. . . . I humbly presume, Sir, your timely orders to Mr. Sweet to furnish money for the subsistence of the men, [which] if their provisions be lost, may be necessary. This I humbly thought fit to lay before you as the sum of a conference we had here upon this sudden ill news.” *Copy.* 1½ pp

LORD CUTTS TO THE COMMANDERS OF HER MAJESTY'S FORCES  
in every garrison.

1708, December [1-]12. Hague.—Informing them that the Parliament has unanimously voted “the same forces by sea and land as were last year, and the troops designed for Portugal over and above, as also complete pay for all the general officers in service, forage money for the foot and dragoons and waggon money for the foot;” and requesting them to communicate this to all the officers of her Majesty's forces. *Copy.* ½ p.

*Underwritten:—*

1. *Postscript to Brigadier Ferguson.*—“I sent you an order to empower you to command convoys or reconnoitring parties, as also a private letter in answer to that post of yours wherein you complain of my unkindness, but have no account of the receipt of them.”

2. *Postscript to Col. Palmer.* *Thanking him for his letter*  
*Copy.* ½ p.

<sup>a</sup> The *Vigo* was sunk, the *Russell* ran aground and was lost, several others were injured, and fifty or sixty men drowned, in a great storm. See Alexander Stanhope's despatches, *S. P. Holland*

## LORD CUTTS to LORD TUNBRIDGE.

1703, December [5-]16. Hague.—Recommending for a quarter-master's place one Mr. Armstrong, "a brave and very honest man," who served as a volunteer the last year in the expedition of the Maese, and distinguished himself "with a great deal of bravery" in the sieges, and especially at the storm of Fort St. Michel. *Copy.* 1 p.

## LORD CUTTS to COL. WHEELER.

1703, December [7-]18. Hague.—Acknowledging the receipt of the lists relating to the battalion of Guards under his command, and requesting that the same may now be repeated only once a month. *Copy:*  $\frac{1}{2}$  p.

## LORD CUTTS to MR. CARDONNEL.

1703, December [7-]18. Hague.—Private news. "'Tis said the Elector Palatine is gone to the Emperor to represent to him in person the ill-posture of affairs with relation to the Empire.

"The town of Amsterdam seems at present very much against Monsieur D'Obdam's pretensions.

"Prince Louis of Baden and the Comte of Nassau Weilbourg have represented that they have no need of the body of troops which was proposed to be sent under the command of the Prince Hereditary of Hessen, but in effect, the reason of their refusal is thought to be from that Prince's being to command them, who being a brave Prince and a Protestant, is supposed to give jealousy to the one (upon the account of the late affair at Spire), and not to be so agreeable to the other as a Roman Catholic might possibly be.

"The Emperor has ratified the treaty of Portugal.

"The Circle of Suabia have wrote a very pressing letter to the Queen to desire her Majesty would please to assist them as she did the last year." *Copy.* 1 p.

## LORD CUTTS to the COMMANDER OF HER MAJESTY'S FORCES in every garrison.

1703, December [8-]19. Hague.—Notifying (in case any recruiting officers or discharged men bound for England are in the garrisons) that the *Portland* and *Advice* are arrived, and have orders to sail the first fair wind *Copy.*  $\frac{1}{2}$  p.

*Underwritten:—*

1. *Postscript to Brigadier Ferguson's letter. The States promise that the detachment at Bergen-op-Zoom shall forthwith return. Order shall be taken as to what you write concerning Fort St. Andrew.*

2. *Postscript to Lieut.-Colonel Grove. I have either not received or have mislaid your last list, and pray you to send it (or repeat it for this once) by the first post. Copy.*  $\frac{1}{2}$  p.

## LORD CUTTS to MONSIEUR SLINGELAND.

1708, December [9-]20. Hague.—Sends him, according to promise, the substance of a letter received from Brigadier Ferguson, dated at Bois-le-Duc the 17th inst., stating that Mons. Reamaker, commandant at Fort St André, not only refuses to send back the English detachment in pursuance of the resolutions taken at the Hague, but has imprisoned the commanding officer, contrary to the rights of her Majesty, the rules of war, and the measures to be observed for maintaining good harmony between the nations.

Prays him to move the States General that the detachment may be sent back forthwith to Bois-le-Duc, and that the commandant of the Fort may be made to give satisfaction for the wrong done. *Copy.\* French. 2 pp.*

## LORD CUTTS to the DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

1708, December [10-]21. Hague.—“Yesterday, Monsieur Slingeland assured me that the States had sent their orders (pursuant to the frequent and earnest instances that I had made) to relieve the detachment of six hundred men of her Majesty’s forces at Bergen-op-Zoom, and to send them back again to Breda and Boisleduc. . . . At the same conference, I made a complaint against Mons. Reamaker, the commander of Fort St. Andrew, where by mistake a detachment of her Majesty’s subjects of thirty men were sent without my orders from the garrison of Bois-le-Duc, in the absence of Brigadier Ferguson. My complaint was grounded upon a passage in a letter from that Brigadier, dated at Bois-le-Duc the 17 inst., giving me advice that upon Ferguson’s sending orders to the officer commanding the English detachment at Fort St. Andrew to retire with his men to Bois-le-Duc, pursuant to the resolutions taken here by the States, the commander of the Fort put the officer in prison, and refused to let the men go. This is contrary to the rules of war, and what he can’t justify with relation to the Queen’s troops.

“Mons. Slingeland desired me, after we had discoursed the matter at large, to send him the substance of what I had represented to him in a letter, to avoid the formality of a memorial, which I did the same afternoon, and send your Grace here enclosed an exact copy of it verbatim. Mons. Slingeland told me he doubted not but if the affair was as Ferguson represented it, the commander of the Fort (who everyone says is very brutal) will be severely reprimanded.” *Copy. 1 p.*

*Enclosing a copy of the letter to Mons. Slingeland calendared above.*

## LORD CUTTS to BRIGADIER FERGUSON and COL. PALMER.

1708, December [13-]24. Hague.—Giving them private instructions that in no case are they to send any new detachment of her Majesty’s forces, either horse or foot, out of any of the garrisons (convoys and reconnoitring parties excepted) without special orders from himself. *Copy. ½ p.*

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\* There is a draft of this letter amongst the loose papers.

## LORD CUTTS to BRIGADIER FERGUSON and COL. PALMER.

1708, December [14-]25. Hague.—Sending a duplicate of the preceding, in case of miscarriage, the matter having been particularly recommended to him in his letters from the other side of the water. *Copy.*  $\frac{1}{2}$  p.

*Underwritten :*

*Postscript to Brigadier Ferguson's letter. My Lord Marlborough thought our last detachment a hardship, and wrote to me about it. I shall let him know how prudently you have acted.* *Copy.*  $\frac{1}{2}$  p.

## LORD CUTTS to the DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

1708, December [14-]25. Hague.—Brigadier Ferguson advises me that Mons. Salyche has demanded another detachment for Bergen-op-Zoom, which is the more extraordinary as the States, upon my frequent instances, had promised to send back the other two detachments to Breda and Bois-le-Duc. "I thank God, I know my duty too well, so long as your Grace instructs me, to let her Majestys' troops be harassed by sending detachments to unhealthy garrisons when there is no necessity for it but to save their own troops, though there was some reason for the last.

"Ferguson has very prudently excused it, representing that he could not do it without a special order from me, and I shall manage it in the most decent manner to your Grace's satisfaction.

"I have sent Mr. Cardonnel a paper which (though 'tis kept secret here), I had given me by one of this country, and whatever comes to my knowledge relating to military matters I'm sure I ought not to conceal from your Grace." *Copy.* 1 p.

## LORD CUTTS to COL. PALMER.

1708, December [15-]26. Hague.—Has received his of the 24th inst., and will forthwith send him the necessary orders for holding a council of war in the horse, and another in the foot. Has not yet seen Mr. Watkins, but if he does not come himself with the orders, he shall be told to send a deputation to Mr. Sandby, as proposed. *Copy.*  $\frac{1}{2}$  p.

## LORD CUTTS to COL. FEATHERSTON.

1708, December [15-]26. Hague.—Thanks him for the lists of officers present and absent in his regiment. Had put off having these lists until all the officers ordered for recruits were gone, but is obliged to him for his care. Is sorry for poor Mrs. Tempest; "the number of her mourners is great." *Copy.*  $\frac{1}{2}$  p.

## LORD CUTTS to the DUC DE SCHOMBERG.

1708, December [15-]26. Hague.—Begs to recommend to his Grace—upon the representations of several officers of the



regiments detached from the English army to serve under him in the expedition to Portugal—the sad case of those who have lost all their baggage in the late storm, after having made every effort to equip themselves suitably, and especially of the bearer, Mons. La Farrel, of Barrymore's regiment, whose person and company have both suffered heavily. Wishes him all honour, health and happiness.

*Postscript.* Has written to Mr. Cardonnel to ascertain if the case of these officers might not be included in the Parliament vote for repairing the damage caused by the storm, and has asked him to speak to the Duke of Marlborough about it. *French. Copy. 1 p.*

LORD CUTTS to MR. CARDONNELL.

1708, December [15-]26. Hague.—To the effect mentioned in the preceding. *Copy. 1 p.*

LORD CUTTS to COL. PALMER or the officer commanding her Majesty's forces at Breda.

1708, December [17-]28. Hague.—You are by no means to detach any men out of your garrison either to relieve the detachment at Bergen-op-Zoom or to go to any other post, unless I send you orders. The Duke of Marlborough is very uneasy, and I am very much surprised that those at Bergen have not been returned, according to the promise of the Council of State.

I desire my service to Mons. Salyche. *Copy. 1 p.*

LORD CUTTS to COL. LEIGH or the officer commanding her Majesty's forces ordered for Portugal.

1708, December [18-]29. Hague.—“Sir George Rooke has just now acquainted me that there is a very great disorder and confusion among the troops bound for Portugall, and though I had no right to meddle with 'em so long as the General of the foot was here, yet in his absence, upon the representation which Sir George Rooke has made me, it is my duty as the eldest lieutenant-general of her Majesty's forces on this side of the water, though the forces ordered for Portugall are not under my care by special commission as her Majesty's army in the Low Countries is, it is my duty, I say, as the eldest general officer here of her Majesty's forces, to send you the following orders.

“You are to take upon you the chief command, direction, and care of her Majesty's troops appointed for the Portugall expedition, till such time as some general officer shall join you, and to be responsible for the same.

“You are to cause all such orders and directions as shall be sent by Sir George Rooke or any person acting by his authority to the said forces or any part of them, relating to the placing of any officers or soldiers on board any vessels, to be exactly obeyed, or for the changing any of them out of one vessel into another.

"You are to cause immediately a list to be given you of all officers present and absent of every regiment under your command, of which you are to transmit me a copy forthwith signed by the commanding officer of every regiment, and to deliver another copy to the first general officer that shall join you.

"You are to cause another list to be given you of the numbers of sick, dead and deserted, or killed and drowned of every regiment or of every transport ship since your first embarkation, to transmit me a copy of the same forthwith, and to deliver another to the first general officer that shall join you as aforesaid. In case any officers or soldiers are so sick as that it may be inevitably necessary to leave them behind you, which is to be avoided so far as 'tis possible, you are forthwith to send me the names of such officers and the numbers of the sergeants, corporals, drums and soldiers, marking in the list of what regiments and companies they are, that I may give such further directions therein as the service may require.

"And of all accidents, disorders, or other matters whatsoever that it may be necessary for me to be acquainted with for her Majesty's service, you are forthwith to give me an account in writing by this bearer, whom I send express on purpose.

"I had sooner taken this matter into my care, but not hearing from anybody belonging to these troops, and having heard some time since that Brigadier Withers had put everything in good order, by Mr. Churchill's order, I concluded there was nothing wanting. I desire you will be careful in executing these orders because it is a matter of moment and may be called in question afterwards, and I desire you will direct the same to be strictly obeyed by all the officers under your command.

"You must by no means omit sending me the lists above mentioned, because I am to transmit them by the next Thursday's post to his Grace the Duke of Marlborough." *Copy.* 2½ pp.

LORD CUTTS to MONSIEUR SALYCHE, Governor of Breda and Lieutenant General in the armies of the States General.

1703, December [18-]29. Hague.—Acknowledging his letter and assuring him that he would not fail to remove the officer complained of, were it not that the Council of State have promised to send orders for the return of the detachment to Bois-le-duc. *French. Copy.* ½ p.

LORD CUTTS to BRIGADIER FERGUSON.

[1703, December 22-] 1704, January 2. Hague.—"I send you here enclosed a paragraph of her Majesty's speech, which gives us an account of something so important that I thought it worth communicating to you. . . . The latter part of the speech is very gracious and relates only to the public affairs already before the House of Commons. The Bill to prevent Occasional Conformity is thrown out in the House of Lords, and such prudent measures

have been taken that it has occasioned no heats in the Commons. Some private letters speak of several persons seized in England, and among others a secretary belonging to the pretended Prince of Wales, coming from France."

I am glad you have sent an officer to reclaim the officer of your garrison who is so ill-used at Bommell, for until one has an account from an unconcerned person, one cannot well draw up a memorial. As soon as you transmit me the substance of his report, you may depend upon it that I shall exert the full powers of the special commission by which I act for her Majesty's honour and service and the rights of her subjects. In the mean time, "I desire all her Majesty's officers will act with that decency and temper as is suitable to the Duke of Marlborough's instructions to me, and mine to all her Majesty's forces at present under my command, by which means we shall always make unreasonable people appear in the wrong and more easily carry our point." *Copy.* 1½ pp.

*Underwritten:—*

*Memorandum, that the same letter was sent to Col. Palmer at Breda, as far as the words "coming from France."*

JEAN VAN ERKHUYSEN.

[1703, December 22—]1704, January 2. Hague.—Certificate signed by Lord Cutts, that—having had the honour, as Brigadier of the Guards of the late King of glorious memory, to command the Dutch as well as the English and Scotch Guards at the siege of Namur and elsewhere—he has observed that Jean van Erkhhausen, sergeant of the regiment of Dutch Guards, has always shown himself obedient, diligent and brave, and has distinguished himself upon several occasions. *French. Copy.* ½ p.

J[AMES] BRYDGES\* to LORD CUTTS.

1703, December 22.—I should have answered your Lordship's most obliging letter before, but waited in hopes of being able to announce the King of Spain's arrival. "Yesterday arrived at Spithead three of Admiral Callemberg's transports, having on board an hundred and fifty of Major General Rhoe's horse. They parted from Callemberg sixteen days ago. We are in pain for the *Association*, but hope she's safe (and Sir Stafford Fairbo[r]ne in her) with the Dutch Admiral, who's northward. We have had very warm debates in the House of Commons about the Occasional Bill. I'm sorry it was brought in, and thought it by no means a seasonable time for it, and wish it doth not breed such divisions in the kingdom that wont easily be pacified, notwithstanding its being flung out by seventeen in the House of Lords. The Scotch plot hath occasioned a great deal of discourse. What it is, and what it will end in, we cannot yet learn. Her Majesty

\* Admiralty Commissioner. Afterwards Duke of Chandos.

hath been pleased to assure us she hath taken care it shall produce no ill effects, and that as soon as matters are ripe for it she'll lay it before the Parliament. The proceeding that the Lords have used in this business, in taking the prisoners out of the custody of the Queen's messengers and ordering nobody to be suffered to examine them, was looked upon to be such an invasion of the prerogative that our House thought themselves obliged to address to her Majesty, to assure her of the concern we laboured under for the conduct of the House of Lords in this matter, and that we would stand by and support her Majesty in defence of the rights of the Crown. Some reflections also in the debate upon my Lord Nottingham occasioned a vote in his justification. I hope we shall be up within three weeks or a month, the business being pretty well advanced. I wont trouble your lordship with an account of the damage we received in the great storm, not questioning but you have long before received the particulars of it." 2 pp.

LORD CUTTS to COL. PALMER.

[1703, December 24]—1704, January 4.—Assures him that he has all the reason in the world to be not only contented but pleased with his conduct in every particular and only wishes that everyone in the service had acted so well. Cannot think that their Governor is uneasy upon any ground given by himself. He only takes care not to let her Majesty's forces be unnecessarily fatigued, but will never be wanting when the common cause requires them to march. *Copy.*  $\frac{3}{4}$  p.

LORD CUTTS to [BRIGADIER FERGUSON].

[1703, December 25]—1704, January 5. Hague.—“The Council of State having communicated to me some private intelligences of a design of the enemy upon Bergen-op-Zoom in case of a lasting frost, whereby the inundations that cover one side of that place may become passable, and having made very pressing instances to me to send you the enclosed order, I find myself obliged by an article in his Grace the Duke of Marlborough's instructions to comply with it; but I recommend you to keep it secret to yourself till the alarm comes, or that you receive Mons. Salyche's orders, it being agreed so here, and really necessary for the good of the service. And the Council of State have given me a solemn promise that the march of these regiments shall not be required unless it be necessary to defend the frontiers, my orders being gone for another regiment to march from Breda in case of the afore-said necessity. . . . I hope there will be no occasion, and 'tis my opinion the enemy are not in a condition for such an enterprise, but at the same time I must omit nothing in a capital affair, for which I may be called to account in another place if any misfortune happens.” *Copy.* 1 p.

The enclosure :—

JOHN, LORD CUTTS\* to BRIGADIER FERGUSON and  
COL. PALMER.

[1708, December 25]—1704, January 5. *The Hague*.—*Requiring them, upon the first orders from Lieut.-General Salyche, Governor of Breda, to cause the youngest regiment of foot under their command at Bois-le-Duc [and Breda] to march to Bergen-op-Zoom, and there to remain until further orders, the officers taking care to give no cause of complaint on their march or in garrison. Countersigned by Gerard Russell.*

LORD CUTTS to COL. FEATHERSTON.

[1708, December 25]—1704, January 5. *Hague*.—Requesting leave for “a friend of Cornet Pitt’s,” of her Majesty’s regiment of horse under his command, to come to the Hague for seven or eight days on business of some importance. *Copy.*  $\frac{1}{2}$  p.

LORD CUTTS to LIEUT.-GENERAL SALYCHE, Governor of Breda.

[1708, December 25]—1704, January 5. *Hague*.—Informing him that, upon a communication from the Council of State, he has given orders to Brigadier Ferguson at Bois-le-Duc, and Mr. Palmer at Breda, to cause a battalion to march to Bergen-op-Zoom from each of these garrisons, if he (the Governor) so orders; and assuring him that although his instructions require him to save the Queen’s troops unnecessary fatigue whilst they are in their winter quarters, yet no one will show more ardour and promptitude than himself if the service requires it. *French Copy.*  $\frac{3}{4}$  p.

J. BELLAMY to LORD CUTTS.

1708, December 27. *London*.—Mr. Thomas Goodwin, ‘an ingenious person, a great scholar, a good historian’ and my very good friend, has lately written and published a folio entitled *The History of the Reign of Henry the 5th, King of England*, which he has dedicated to your Lordship and of which he herewith sends a copy. He has begged me to signify this to you, which I could not deny, believing that ‘he could not have dedicated a book containing so many heroic actions of so wise and so courageous a prince to a more fit and proper person than yourself. I beg therefore . . . that he may have and be continued in your Lordship’s favour and be suffered to stand (with myself) in the crowd of your Lordship’s admirers.” 1 p.

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\* “John, Lord Cutts, Baron of Gowran, Colonel of her Majesty’s Coldstream regiment of English Foot Guards, and Lieut.-General of her Majesty’s armies, Captain-General and Governor of the Isle of Wight, Constable of Carisbrook Castle, commanding her Majesty’s forces in the Low Countries, &c.”

LORD CUTTS to the DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH, Captain  
General of her Majesty's land forces.

[1703, December 28—] 1704, January 8. Hague. — The detachments mentioned in my letter of the 25th have returned to their respective garrisons, but on the 4th inst. Mons. Geldermalsen came to my lodgings, and communicated to me, by order of the Council of State, some private advice of a design of the enemy to attack Bergen. His own opinion was that they would not do so, but the Council were urgent for me to send private orders to Ferguson at Bois-le-Duc and Hamilton (*sic*) at Breda, to detach a regiment of foot from each of these places to Bergen, in case Mons. Salyche (who commands upon those frontiers) should request it. He assured me that they should not be demanded except upon an actual alarm of the enemy, and this being pursuant to an article in your instructions, I sent the aforesaid private orders on the 5th instant.

The officer who complained against Mons. Reamaker "was forthwith set at liberty, Mons. Reamaker ordered by the Council to attend me, the detachment sent back to Boisleduc, and all that matter well ended. But I have a fresh complaint from Lieut. Bennet, of Ferguson's regiment, who is illegally imprisoned at Bommell by the factious new Governor there upon a *querelle d'Allemand* between him and a burger." I have sent the enclosed memorial to the Council of State, and am assured by some of the members that I shall have justice done me. Hitherto I have not lost a tittle of the rights of her Majesty's subjects. I have sent another private paper to Mr. Cardonnell, and hope your Grace has received my last. I beg you "to manage me in it . . . for these transactions are kept [secret] here, and it would not be for the service to have it known that they pass through my hands.

"I beg your Grace's favour to Col. Rivett. There was a mistake in my letter, wherein I mentioned [him] as second captain after Chantrill, whereas he is the third, but he is most certainly the fittest in the regiment to be major, and your Grace knows that in the Emperor's army, in France, here, and in England, it has been always the custom to take one of the elder captains who happened to be the fittest, to make major, without observing either first or second; because indeed every man is not fit to be a major, and the life of a regiment turns upon that post. Your Grace had promised Rivett a regiment. If you were pleased to give Holms one of the new-raised ones (I mean, to be raised) all would end well." Rivett has some particular pretensions to be major, as being captain of the grenadiers.  
2½ pp.

*The enclosure :—*

LORD CUTTS to the COUNCIL OF STATE [in Holland].

[1703, December 25—] 1704, January 5. Hague.—*Representing to them the ill-treatment of Lieutenant Bennet, of her*

*Majesty's forces, by the magistrate at Bommell (as will appear by the papers presented herewith) and requesting satisfaction. Copy. French.  $\frac{3}{4}$  p.*

LORD CUTTS to MR. CARDONNEL.

[1703, December 28—] 1704, January 8. Hague.—Sending another paper “concerning matters which are kept secret here,” and praying that it may be laid before the Duke. *Copy.  $\frac{1}{2}$  p.*

LORD CUTTS to the COUNCIL OF STATE [in Holland].

[1703, December 28—] 1704, January 8. Hague.—Sending further informations concerning the imprisonment of Lieut. Bennet, and renewing his demand for satisfaction. *French. Copy.  $\frac{1}{4}$  p.*

LORD CUTTS to COL. PALMER.

[1703, December 29—] 1704, January 9. Hague.—Thanking him for his “expressions of kindness” and promising to send him by to-morrow’s post a special commission to hold a general Court Martial in the horse and another in the foot, and with it, a deputation from Mr. Watkins, her Majesty’s Deputy Judge Advocate, that no time may be lost. *Copy.  $\frac{3}{4}$  p.*

LORD CUTTS to COL. WHITEMAN.

[1703, December 30—] 1704, January 10. Hague.—Upon Sir George Rooke’s representations to me, as the eldest general officer here, I sent orders to Col. Leigh, which he received and acknowledged, promising particularly to report the condition of the respective regiments and companies designed for Portugal, with all alterations caused by sickness, death, desertion, &c., since their first embarkation, and also what numbers were left behind, if any. As however I have heard nothing from Col. Leigh or any other officer of the Portugal expedition, I must desire you to take upon you the chief command of any troops left behind, and to be responsible for them until some general officer shall join you; and hereby require and direct all the officers of the said expedition who are still on this side the water punctually to obey your orders, as they will answer the same to her Majesty. And I further desire you to send me a list of the regiments, companies and troops of foot and dragoons left behind, with an account of their state and all alterations happened to them, as also what is wanting for their present subsistence and speedy departure, and what numbers of sick men you shall be forced to leave behind, if any, which is to be avoided if possible. Lastly, you are to send me a list of such officers as are present with you or absent, specifying where the absent officers are and allowing none in future to be absent without your leave, in giving of which you are to use your utmost prudence and discretion. “I

must recommend to you in the most pressing manner an exact and careful compliance with these orders, as what may possibly be called in question in England."

*Postscript.* I have sent to Mr. Sweet to assist such companies or troops as are in actual necessity. You must acquaint Myn Heer Vanderpoel with my orders, who will have directions to be assistant to you. *Copy.* 2 pp.

*Addressed:* "To Col. Whiteman or the eldest commission officer of foot or dragoons with such of her Majesty's forces ordered for Portugal as are still on this side of the sea."

LORD CUTTS to BENJAMIN SWEET, Deputy Paymaster General of her Majesty's forces in the Low Countries.

[1703, December 30—] 1704, January 10. Hague.—In case any of the forces for Portugal want immediate subsistence, from its being necessary to put them ashore, "upon the coast being frozen up," I earnestly desire you to supply them on account, and I will write to the Duke of Marlborough to have it stopped for you in England. I also desire you to signify to any officers of these forces at Rotterdam that they are forthwith to repair to their posts, there to receive such further orders as Col. Whiteman or the eldest officer present shall give them from me. If the forces do not disembark, and are without provisions, I pray you to assist them with what is necessary. "I could not avoid sending you these orders, and indeed I am afraid this whole matter will be called in question and make a noise in England." *Copy.* 1 p.

LORD CUTTS to MR. SADLER, Commissioner of her Majesty's transports at Rotterdam or elsewhere.

[1703, December 30—] 1704, January 10. Hague.—Representing the great importance of dispatching the rest of the forces ordered for Portugal without delay, as the matter is like to be called in question in England, and asking to be informed whether anything is wanting in which the authority of the States General or his own credit may be of use. *Copy.*  $\frac{1}{2}$  p.

LORD CUTTS to COL. PALMER.

[1703, December 30—] 1704, January 10. Hague.—Sending him the two commissions for holding a council of war in the horse and foot, together with Mr. Watkin's deputation. *Copy.*  $\frac{1}{2}$  p.

LORD CUTTS to the DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

[1703, December 31—] 1704, January 11. Hague.— . . .  
"Upon Mr. Churchill's having left the country, and upon Sir George Rooke's representing to me the necessity of my sending some orders to the forces at Helvoet Sluce ordered for Portugal, I



wrote to Col. Leigh, the eldest officer there, on the 29th December, new style, and sent him such orders as I thought [fit] for the service. . . . He sent me word he would obey my orders; from that time to the 7th inst. I heard not a word, and on the 7th I received a message from the commander of Raby's dragoons, that thirty-two companies of foot are left behind, and the whole regiment of dragoons, and in great confusion. Upon this, I have sent away an officer to Helvoet Sluce with necessary orders . . . and have wrote to Mr. Sadler to hasten them away, and to Mr. Sweet to supply such as are in necessity." *Copy.* 1½ pp.

LORD CUTTS to ———.

[1703.]—It having been determined to collect forage under the cannon of Leeuu [Leuwe], just where the enemy have their strongest guard, Lieut.-General Schults escorted the foragers, who advanced right up to the entrenchments and, notwithstanding the fire of the enemy, gathered their forage and took a horse; two of our men only being slightly wounded in the affair. Yesterday the little town of Hasselt was occupied for the same purpose, the enemy having made no movement to hinder us. *French.* 1½ pp.

J[OHN] ELLIS\* to LORD CUTTS.

1703[—4], January 1. Whitehall.—I have now received three of your letters, as five mails from Holland have come in together. "It is holiday in the rest of the world, but not at Court here, there having been Councils or committees of Council at least once every day since Christmas began. One great subject of our speculations is the augmentation of our forces in Flanders, which seems probable to be done, people here appearing generally to be persuaded of the necessity of it, if we will keep what we have gained and not lose that and much more, next year. I wish your Lordship a happy New Year." 2 pp.

LORD CUTTS to [the ENGLISH COMMANDERS OF GARRISONS].

1704, January [19—]30. Hague.—The Duke of Marlborough arrived last night, intending shortly for England. If any officers of your garrison have business with his Grace, you may give them leave, "not exceeding a third part of the officers present with you." *Copy.* ½ p.

LORD CUTTS to [BRIGADIER FERGUSON?]

1704, [January 22—]February 2. Hague.—Would have sent earlier the order to hold a general Court Martial, but that on the Duke of Marlborough's arrival he thought it his duty to

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\* Under Secretary of State.

submit it to his Grace, who desired him to sign it, as he himself is extremely busy and his stay is to be very short. *Copy.*  $\frac{1}{2}$  p.

*Enclosing :—*

*Order for holding a general Court Martial at Bois-le-Duc*  
*Same date. Copy. 1 $\frac{1}{2}$  pp.*  
*Underwritten. "By his Lordship's command. Gerard Russell."*

MARQUIS DE LANGEY to LORD CUTTS.

1704, [January 27—] February 7. La Haye.—“Comme vous avez eu la bonté—quand le défunt roy Guillaume tarδοit a passer en ce pays et a me faire donner les mille florins qu'il avoit acoustumé tous les ans de me faire donner—de l'en faire si bien souvenir qu'il ne tarδοit pas un ordinaire que je ne les receusse ; aujourd'hui que je voy que la reyne donne et fait les libéralités que la défunte reyne et le roy faisoient, dont j'étois du nombre, comme estant le premier confesseur de France qui apres deux années de prison avois obligé le roy de France par ma simple persévérance de me tirer de la prison de la Bastille et de m'envoyer a Mons, avec un exempt qui m'y conduisit ; de sorte que la reyne, alors princesse d'Orange, eut la bonté de me recevoir, avec Madame la Marquise de Langey et Mademoiselle de Langey, d'une manière que si la reyne avoit vescu elle auroit pourveu aux necessités de notre vie, a la quelle je vous supplie, Milord, d'engager la reyne. Sa Majesté ne sauroit mieux déployer sa charité, ny vous vous employer pour personne qui soit tant que moy, Milord, votre tres humble et tres obeissant serviteur.” 2 pp.

LORD CUTTS to the DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

1704, [February 25—] March 7. Hague.—“The States-General sent me a messenger yesterday in the forenoon to let me know that they desired to speak with me in the Treves-chamber, where I went, and some of their members, with some of the members of the Council of State, after having discoursed with me about the posture of our frontiers and the designs which the enemy might have, together with the present situation of their troops, they represented to me the necessity, in case of any appearance of danger, of making such a disposition as to be able to defend the head of the Maese and to prevent the enemy's making up that part of their lines which Count Noyelle has demolished, and at the same time the necessity of my giving them eight battalions of her Majesty's English forces (if that occasion should happen from the motion of the enemy) and some squadrons. I told them it was beyond my authority to take the field or to move such a body so far as the garrisons of the Maese without your Grace's order, and after a long debate they desired me to represent it to your Grace favourably and to desire your positive orders in it as soon as may be, which I promised them. It would be vain and

\* Cf. Marlborough's letter to the Marquis. — *Letters and Despatches, &c.* Vol. II. p. 447.

imprudent in me to enter into the detail of all that is to be said upon this matter and to trouble your Grace with a long discourse, who knows better than anybody the plan as well [as] the posture of affairs here with relation to what either we ought or the enemy may undertake ; all that is necessary or fit for me to say to your Grace is that if, from the enemy's motions and the situation of the foreign troops in our service (whereof your Grace knows we have one and forty battalions in Germany, besides what we have in Flanders and Zealand) I say if, for these reasons, it be of absolute necessity for such a body to be given out of the English forces as is desired, necessity has no law, and the safety of the whole, with success of the ensuing campaign, are considerations that surpass all others, but without an absolute necessity of that importance, her Majesty's English forces are ill in a condition to take the field or march to the Maese before the recruits of the foot, the recruit horses, a reasonable number of officers and some General officers are come over. When I spoke of this to the deputies, they replied that they desired only that I or the commander-in-chief in my absence might have a power to command such a body in case of necessity, declaring that they would not ask to make use of it if such a real necessity did not actually happen, urging that if it should so fall out it would be too late, when the enemy began to move, to write to your Grace for orders, and by their preventing us in this manner they might render the operations of the campaign useless on our side. They insisted very much upon their not having troops enough to secure the head of the Maese and prevent the enemy's making up their lines without the assistance of such a body of ours ; considering what they [have?] in Germany and Flanders, as I said before. They told me if such a movement was necessary they would put the English regiments in the garrisons of the Maese and not desire them to encamp till the last necessity should demand it. Having said what is necessary to your Grace, I humbly beg your speedy orders what I, or the commander-in-chief of her Majesty's English forces in my absence, am to do in this matter if required upon an alarm. If it happens before I come for England, I shall insist upon being informed of the particulars as well as authority of their intelligence upon which they ground the necessity of such a movement, and when I come for England, if nothing happens before, I shall leave the same private instructions with the next commander-in-chief of her Majesty's English forces in my absence. I should not omit to tell your Grace that I carried Cardoghan this afternoon, he having dined with me, to Monsieur Geldermalsen, who was one of the persons appointed to discourse with me in the Treves chamber, and there we talked over the affair again, I having proposed at my conference that Cardoghan should be desired to put your Grace in mind, at his arrival in England, of sending an answer by the first ; and this I did chiefly that he might acquaint your Grace with the particulars and the earnestness of their request. I think it my duty upon this occasion to represent to your Grace that since by your special orders I have warned all the English forces to be in a readiness to march

by the last of March and that it is very probable there may be a necessity of a body of them sooner, and that nobody knows how soon that may happen, my lord Orkney or Major General Ingolsby, if not both, ought to be hastened over as soon as possible; at least, I'm sure, one of them ought to be here by the middle of March, English style, at the latest. I mean, my lord, actually here by that time. Neither of them can in reason think it hard or make any hesitation after having had so much time on that side of the water, but when your Grace orders any of them you'll please to do it without speaking of relieving me or my coming over. . . . I beg the continuance of your Grace's protection, and your good offices with the Queen." *Copy. 6 pp.*

JAMES BRYDGES to LORD CUTTS.

1703-4, March 4.—Has done his best to serve Mr. Budiani, and although Admiralty business prevented him from being at the House when the bill for Naturalization was read, he took care to lodge the motion in such hands as would ensure the effect his Lordship desired.

The men of war convoying the horse recruits should have sailed the day before, but upon the receipt of news that the Dunkirkers were fitting out a greater strength, it was determined to delay the transports a few days, when the whole Downs squadron would be ready to take them over, and the whole number of recruits would be ready to go. 1 p.

G. LAMBERTY,\* to LORD CUTTS.

1704, March [8-]19. Wednesday, 11 o'clock at night. Hague.—I only received your express at ten o'clock, and have spoken to the post master, who is giving me a postillion to start at midnight, and promises you shall pay only what the States General do. I applied to him rather than to Mons. de Slingerland in order to get the postillion sent off to-night. I have been to your Excellency's trunk and found the four licenses for Orkney, Rowe, Ferguson and Meredith, with Mons. d' Auverkirk's two orders, which I send, and also return the key. I wish you a pleasant journey and a safe return, and pray you to remember the recommendation of the two brothers, the Messrs. Pierrepont, to Captain Windham in Windham's regiment of carabiniers. *French. 3 pp.*

LORD CUTTS to —————

1704? † March [9-]20. Boisleduc.—I send you your marching orders and instructions, by which you will see that I have ordered Hamilton's, Ingoldsby's and Marlborough's detachments to form

\* In this letter he signs his name in full.

† The date is apparently 1701, which however is impossible. The mention of Meredith's as a new regiment would seem to point to 1703, but on this very day of that year, Lord Cutts writes from the Hague.

the two battalions at Ruremonde, and if you add two hundred men to Meredith's (by taking a hundred men apiece out of two detachments at Maestricht or fifty apiece out of four), it will bring the whole matter right. Meredith's, being a new regiment, should be put in a garrison where the exactness of the discipline and a number of good examples of old regiments will form both officers and soldiers. Maestricht will have a hundred men the less, but they can be better spared from a large garrison than a small one, and they will have little enough force at Ruremonde, two of the regiments going there being also very weak in officers. Also a new regiment would be more remarked in a small garrison than in a large one where they will not be so much minded in the crowd and where they will sooner learn from the old regiments besides being under your own eye.

I send you two warrants for holding Court Martials, and would have given you power to confirm the sentences, but that I am not authorized to vest that power in any person besides myself. I mention forty-eight hours for an expedition, that you may not be urged to fatigue the forces, but "if an important emergency should require it for three days, you are in such a case to use your discretion for the honour of her Majesty's arms, and the good of the common cause." You are to give instructions to Col. St[anley] who, as eldest Lieutenant Colonel, will command at Ruremonde, to give you constant intelligence and not to march any of his troops (except upon convoys or parties) but by your orders, and you must desire Count N[assau] to send to you whatever orders he has for them. *Draft or copy by Lord Cutts. 1 p.*

*Enclosing :—*

*I. Marching orders—viz. : to march with the detachments of three hundred men out of each battalion of her Majesty's foot forces, the Guards excepted, according to the route signed by Mons. d' Auverquerc, to Ruremonde, there to form and leave two battalions out of the detachments of the regiments of Hamilton, Ingoldsbay and Marlborough, and with the rest to march to Maestricht, forming them into five battalions before entering that garrison. Effectual care to be taken that no cause of complaint be given by officers or soldiers, either on the march or in quarters. Bois-le-Duc. March 20. Draft by Lord Cutts.  $\frac{3}{4}$  p.*

*II. The Instructions. You are to take command of the detachment of 3,800 foot, besides officers, which I have made upon application of the States-General, causing them to do duty at Maestricht and Ruremonde and to give necessary convoys, but not to march into the field without orders from myself or the Commander in Chief of her Majesty's forces for the time being, unless the Comte de Noyelles or the general commanding on the Maes should require it for a general affair or an expedition of forty-eight hours, more or less. And if the Count desire any of your troops to reinforce adjacent garrisons or upon some enterprise of the enemy, you may comply with the request, if urged.*

*When the detachment is formed into battalions, you are to charge a field-officer or the eldest captain to be responsible for each battalion, who shall direct the captains under him to be responsible for a proportionable number of men.*

*And you are to give such other orders as the service may require, sending an account of all that happens to me or the general in command for the time being, to be transmitted to the Duke of Marlborough for her Majesty's information.*  
*Rough draft by Lord Cutts. 2 pp.*

LORD CUTTS to the DUKE [OF MARLBOROUGH].

1704, March [17-]28. Hague.—Only hearing after the last post was gone that the letters of the 14th inst., new style, were thrown overboard, he has not been able earlier to send a copy of his of that date, which he now encloses, that his Grace may see everything in detail. *Copy. 1 p.*

RICHARD SHUTTLEWORTH to COL. REVETT.

1704, [May 24-]June 4. Rome.—Six months at Paris and six more in other parts of France have not made me forget our diversions in London, Sandwich, Winston, &c. "I had rather spend an evening with some of my old friends in a good English frock and Bisseter waistcoat than dine with a prince of the blood in the finest suit of clothes and the best powdered toupée in France. Give my service to our friend Dick [Steele?], and tell him I should be glad to hear he was suing for a divorce, and determined to live as he used to do. If it was not for the English that are here, this place would be insupportable, for the natives are so damned formal there is no bearing them. The only diversion we have had for this summer is a good Opera, which is put a stop to by a quarrel between two Ambassadors." I spent my Carnival at Venice. If you think of coming abroad, I would gladly make the tour of Flanders and Holland with you. *2 pp.*

LORD CUTTS to [ALEXANDER STANHOPE].

1704, [May 28-]June 8. Rotterdam.—I landed yesterday at the Brill, where I was obliged to stop to give some directions concerning the troops I have brought over with me, and I must stay here to-night to talk with some of the officers that are to go with me to the army, but I find no positive orders whether I am to take the squadron of Cadoughan's horse at Breda and of Ross's dragoons at Gorcum, and beg to know the opinions of the Pensionary and Mons. Slengeland in that matter.

I think there will be no difficulty about the horse recruits, and the recruits of Lord John Hay's dragoons must certainly go, since that regiment marched away but thirty of a troop. If the Duke of Marlborough has left any orders for me at the Hague, pray send them by this bearer—and also the opinions I

ask for,—dispatching him to-night if possible, that I may give the officers my orders and be with you to-morrow evening.

*Postscript.* Please send me word what route I am to take to the army, that I may appoint the officers a place of rendezvous.  $1\frac{1}{2}$  p.

AL[EXANDER] STANHOPE to LORD CUTTS.

[1704, May 28.] Sunday, near midnight. Hague.—Congratulating his safe arrival on their side the water, and stating that he has nothing to tell from the Duke relating to the troops, but that the enclosed will prove Mons. D'Ayrolles' diligence, who has done all that was possible in so short a time, and will know more to-morrow. Fears that unless his lordship comes next day he shall not have the honour of kissing his hands, as he is going out of town on Tuesday for a week, but Mons. D'Ayrolles will be there, always ready to obey his lordship's commands. 1 p.

[MONS. D'AYROLLES to ALEXANDER STANHOPE.]

[1704, May 28? ]—Mons. de Slingerland left this morning for Amsterdam. Mons. de Geldermalsen says that he has no knowledge of the destination of Cadogan's and Ross's squadrons, but he will to-morrow, at the Council, examine the dispositions of the troops made with Lord Marlborough, and see if there is any mention of them. He also says that Lord Cutts cannot do wrong in setting out without these two squadrons, as he has no orders to take them, and that in case the Duke meant to have them, a letter could be sent and a reply received before they were ready to march. He seemed astonished that Lord Cutts did not mention the licenses needed for the newly arrived troops, without which no town would receive them, but on my replying that this was perhaps an oversight, and also that possibly, the troops having been so long expected, the licenses had been sent to the Brill, he promised me to look into it to-morrow at the Council of State, and to send them off at once if they are not already gone. As to the route, the right bank of the Rhine is to be followed to Coblenz, keeping the river always between yourselves and the enemy.

The enclosed paper (*wanting*) gives the latest news of the Duke's march. *Copy. French.*  $1\frac{1}{2}$  pp.

[SERJEANT THURBARNE] to his sister [-in-law, JOANNA CUTTS].

1704, July 20.—Complaining of the conduct of his son-in-law, Col. Rivett, who abuses him and ill-uses his wife, "because he must not stay at home, and ride about in his coach and spend all his incomes." Is resolved to hold his own, and to save for his dear Nancy and her two pretty innocent babes, who shall not want so long as he lives and she continues obedient, and means also to keep something to buy himself a plaster if Rivett cuts his throat (and is not very nimble at it) and to maintain her and the children if he is dead and her husband hanged for killing him. *Draft.* 1 p.

*Overleaf.* Note that this is the substance of his answer to his sister Cutts' disobliging letters. Believes that Rivett has worked upon her to scare him out of some money to fit him for Portugal "which is basely done of her, to foster up a fellow which came from nothing, to spend 600*l.* a year in luxury and wantonness, and pay none of his debts." Fears he illtreats his wife because she cannot get money for him, and that "the Cutts are undoing of her again," as they say she is falling into despair, but by God's grace, though they kill him, he will stand up for Nancy and her children and save for them.  $\frac{1}{2}$  p.

JEAN VAN WEEDE to LORD [CUTTS].

1704, [July 28–] August 3. Hague.—Apologising for the inconvenience and loss of time caused to his Excellency, before his departure from the Hague, by the negligence of a clerk, and declaring emphatically that it happened against his own express orders, he desiring nothing more in the world than to testify his respect for one so distinguished both by position and merit. *French.* 2 pp.

FRANCIS TROWBRYDGE to COLONEL RIVETT.

1704, July 26. London.—Sending him an introduction to Mr. Canham at Lisbon, and praying him to give the writer's services to Mr. Tennell, Commissioner for Prizes, as also to Mr. Batte and Mr. Gibbs, merchants there, and to forget not to put him "at the Envoy's feet." 1 p.

J. HAWLER to COL. RIVETT.

1704, July 28. Admiralty Office.—Stating that he encloses an order from his Royal Highness for the Colonel and his servants to go to Portugal in the *Moderate*, Capt. Lumley, the commodore of the convoy. 1 p.

*Addressed:* "For Col. Rivett, of my Lord Cutts his regiment of the Guards, now at Portsmouth."

[JOANNA CUTTS ?] to her brother[-in-law, SERJEANT THURBARNE].

[1704, July ?]—Defending the conduct of his daughter and Col. Rivett, and asking what he can do more than assign most of his pay for her use and the payment of debt, and what she can do more "than to be willing to do everything that can be thought of, however uneasy, to convince her friends that pleasing herself is not her business." 4 pp.

*The conclusion wanting.*

COLDSTREAM GUARDS.

1704, August 3.—Acknowledgment of the receipt of three hundred and eleven pairs of shoes for the several detachments



of the Coldstream regiment of guards at Portsmouth, under Cols. Sallusbury, Hubbord [Hobart], More, Hill,<sup>o</sup> Hales, Masam,<sup>o</sup> Stevenage, Morrison, and the Major, and also for the grenadiers. 1 p.

J. HAWLER to Col. RIVETT.

1704, August 3.—Stating that the convoy for Portugal is changed, the *Canterbury*, *Greenwich* and *Flamborough* being now to proceed thither, and Capt. Walton of the *Canterbury*, the commodore, having orders to dispose of the officers that were to have passage in the men of war aboard his ships, according as Brigadier Shrimpton shall desire. The battalion of foot Guards is to be embarked as soon as the convoy is ready. 1 p.

JOHN ACTON to his nephew, COL. REVETT, at Portsmouth.

1704, August 4.—Remonstrates against bills being drawn on him for pay of Ensign Mathew and of a man "that Wakelin allows him," Col. Moryson having the Ensign's pay in his hands, and Wakelin being certain to refuse to pay the other, which he therefore might expect from Portugal when he could catch it. States that Col. Salusbury continues in Newgate, without hope of relief "except he can get his wife's 1,000*l.* from her, or leave to sell his commission." Has dined at Kensington, where he found his niece well, but fears their affairs will be always puzzled while they have "that scurvy house" upon their hands. Finds that his niece expects him to pay her 50*s.* a week, which, after all he has done for them, surprises him much, as he does not know how the repayment will be managed, but what is passed cannot be recalled. He must (and he hopes his nephew will also) be wiser for the future. 3 pp.

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1704, August 11.—Advising him to take up his subsistence in Portugal, as the minute the detachment comes there, "they will be subsisted," and warning him that his two men may be more chargeable than he imagines, wherefore he must always take the liberty of preaching good husbandry to him. 2 pp.

COL. E. BRADDOCK to COL. RIVETT.

1704, August 18.—I join with you "in thanks to God Almighty for the glorious success the Duke of Marlborough has gained,<sup>†</sup> which I hope will be the occasion of your speedy return. However, nothing shall be wanting in me to find out a better prospect than that of Gibraltar, Count Newgent being made governor. We shall for certain have some new regiments raised at spring, and I do not in the least question, when I shall put the Prince in

<sup>o</sup> Lieut.-Colonels John Hill and Sam. Masham, the brother and husband of the Queen's favourite.

<sup>†</sup> At Blenheim.

mind of his promise (if my Lord Cutts does not come this winter) but to succeed. . . . I am just going to Windsor, where I shall take all opportunities of showing myself your real friend and servant."  $1\frac{1}{2}$  pp.

JOHN ACTON to his nephew, COL. REVETT, at Portsmouth.

1704, September 12.—Is sorry for his misfortune in staying so long and being put to such charges "in that damnable cut-throat place." Mr. Watson is at Brigadier Webb's, but will call on him on his return. Has had to give bail to Salusbury, but Col. Braddock and Swann have been so kind as to give it for him. Now Mitchener sends word that he demands bail for another account. He is certainly mad, for though he had orders from Col. Braddock to go to his post (by the Prince's order) he is not yet gone.  $1\frac{1}{2}$  pp.

CH: HART to COL. REVETT.

1704, October 22. London.—Requests him to seek out and relieve one William Phillips, who lately kept the Ostrich Inn in Colebrook, but through misfortune has had to fly to the army, and is now in Col. Newcomb's troop in Brigadier Harvey's regiment and in great want. Will repay the money to Col. Revett's wife at Kensington. Wishes him a successful campaign, and that he may be as fortunate in war as he has been in love. 1 p.

RI. WARRE to COLONEL REVETT.

1704, November 7. Whitehall.—By the last letters from the Hague, Lord Cutts was arrived there, and intended for England in a few days. The Parliament is proceeding as fast as they can in the Queen's supply. 1 p.

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1704, November 14. Whitehall.—I congratulate you heartily upon your safe arrival, and am much obliged to you for the account you give me of affairs in your parts.

"The House of Commons has allowed all the estimates that have been brought in, and among the rest what has been demanded for Portugal, viz., 222,379*l.* for the maintenance of ten thousand two hundred men, as her Majesty's proportion of land forces to act in conjunction with the forces of the King of Portugal. The money they have already resolved to give amounts to above four millions and the remaining estimates will come to above 500,000*l.* And these I hope will all be dispatched this week. These matters have all passed unanimously, without any opposition; but the motion this day for leave to bring in a bill against Occasional Conformity produced a debate of two or three hours, which ended in a division. A hundred and fifty three were for giving leave, and a hundred and twenty six were against it, and so the bill is to be brought in."  $1\frac{1}{2}$  pp.

DR. GEORGE CLARKE TO LIEUT.-COLONEL REVETT.

1704, November 14. Whitehall.—I am glad to hear, by your letter of the 26th ult., that you are safely arrived in Portugal. "I hope your battalion will meet with better treatment from those it comes to help than I find it has at its first coming. There are several mails wanting from Holland, and therefore I cant tell you whether Landau is taken or not. At home, the House of Commons has voted all the supplies for land and sea service this next year, and to-day the bill against Occasional Conformity was ordered to be brought into the House. . . . The Queen has turned out Mr. Salusbury for not going with you, and I protest I am afraid the poor man is grown quite mad." I have let the Prince know your desires and shall be very glad to further anything for your service. Pray remember me to Colonel Shrympton.

*Postscript.* Rear-Admiral Whetstone has been at sea with the forces from Ireland, but was forced in to Cork again to wait for a wind. 2 pp.

NICHOLAS BUDIANI TO LORD CUTTS.

1704, November [17-]28. Hague.—Since your Lordship's last departure from the Hague, I have been sore oppressed by the sense of your displeasure. As to what your Lordship told me—that you had brought me a slave out of my country and had been at great charges in bestowing above six years learning upon me—I shall always acknowledge that you have been more than a father to me, but I beg you to call to mind that I have since served you for near thirteen years, since I came from school, without any wages more than a guinea or two in a twelvemonth (save the eight guineas I had last spring), so that you cannot think I have been very chargeable to you. Your Lordship said that you had as much right to do with me what you would as over a Spanish horse that belongs to you, but though that were true when I came to you, it cannot be true now, God's will and your goodness having brought me to a land where no Christian is slave to another. If I have served you of late without alacrity or pleasant looks (as you complain) I pray you to reflect what coldness you have shown to my best endeavours, and what gifts of clothes you have bestowed on Thomas West and on Lature, who had forty pounds a year besides for wages. These things have lain so heavy on my heart that perhaps they have shown upon my brow. I never had the face to demand any settled wages, but more than once you have promised to let me know what I should have a year, and I have hoped you would consider that it would be shame for me to say, after twelve years of service "in the post of a gentleman to so noble and generous [a] person of quality" that I have never yet been master of twenty pounds. But I must stop these melancholy lines, which have been laid before your Lordship to ease the heart of your most sincere, faithful, obedient and most dutiful servant till death. *Seal with device.* 3 pp.

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RI. WARRE to COLONEL REVETT.

1704, November 21. Whitehall.—Lord Cutts has arrived in London. “The House of Commons have finished what supplies are to be given this session, and yesterday began with ways and means. They have given near five millions and have ordered a bill for a tax of four shillings on land and five on offices. They go again to-morrow into a committee on ways and means. By the letters from the Hague of Friday last we understand that hostages were exchanged in order to the surrender of Landau. My Lord Duke of Marlborough was at Berlin on the 11–22nd.” 1*p*.

——— to [SIR THOMAS FRANKLAND ? ]

[1704, Dec. 23–] 1705, Jan. 8. Venice.—I hope you received mine of the 7th ult. from Rome. The following Tuesday Mr. Frankland arrived there from Florence. “He is, without flattery, one of the prettiest young gentlemen I ever saw, and hath a right genius for perfectly understanding architecture, painting, and the curiosities of Rome. The Duke of Shrewsbury says he is the prettiest gentleman he hath seen abroad, because he hath brought more knowledge of his own country and its constitution abroad with him than any of them; he makes a good figure at a small expense and does you a great deal of honour by his behaviour everywhere. About a fortnight after Mr. Frankland’s arrival at Rome, I took the road by Loretto for Bollognia, where I stayed the Christmas holidays, and have recommended it to Mr. Frankland as a place he ought to be at least a fortnight in; there are more and finer palaces in Bollognia than any other city in Italy, and the richest and noblest convents. Its government before it put itself under the Pope’s protection was the same with Lucca, and they have still a magistracy which are chosen by the nobility every two months which governs the Republic, but the sword is entirely in the hands of the Pope, who sends a legate every three years to govern here, and without whose approbation the magistracy can do nothing. However they keep an ambassador at Rome called the Bolognese minister, and pretend to be only under the Pope’s protection, not his subjects. They cannot indeed make war or enter into alliances without the Pope, nor he raise money on them without their own consent. The way of living at Bollognia is the very reverse of what I told you of Lucca. As the Luccese go plain and without equipage, the Bolognese wear laced coats and never go abroad without five or six footmen in fine liveries, and as the Luccese think themselves great enough in being sovereigns of Lucca without any other title of distinction, the Bolognese affect the titles of counts and marquis, and the ladies wear the richest clothes and more jewels than ever I saw anywhere, and none of them without a coach and a gentleman usher to lead them out and in. Its incredible the number of gentry at Bollognia. I counted above two hundred coaches at a *curso* of horses here, full of

ladies, besides what were in the windows of the houses; the ladies here are reputed very handsome, but have all flat noses like their dogs, with extreme good eyes. Bollognia is the nurse and mother of music, most of the women that sing in the operas in all the other cities of Italy being of this town, and the best eunuchs, and most of what we call the courtesans of Venice are young women of Bollognia, who go to Venice and get as much by their industry during the carnival as maintains them at Bollognia all the rest of the year. The country of Bollognia is the most fertile in Italy, lying at the very foot of the Apenins, and their revenue on wine and silk is incredible, and if ever they can pull their necks out of the Pope's collar they will make as good a figure in the world as any of the other Italian commonwealths except Venice. The present legate is cardinal Dada, that was nuncio in England in King-James' time. The convent of St. Michael del Bosco here is the noblest situation in the world. It stands upon the side of the Appenins about half a mile from the city; one sees from it at one time the city, the river Po for forty miles, all Lombardy from the Apenins to the mountains of Tiroll, about eighty good miles, and the Ferrarese to Padua, near eighty more. There are but two prospects in the world that are in competition with it, viz. that from the Carthusian monastery at Naples and that near Damascus in Asia.

From Bollognia I passed through the fruitful yet miserable country of Ferrara to Padua, and so to Venice. I took the palace of Obessy [Obbizo] in my way to Padua as worthy of being seen, all the rooms being painted in fresco by the famous Paul Veronese, and what pleased me most was to see the history of one of this [d'Este] family's installation knight companion of the Garter at Windsor by King Edward, and all the titles and coats of arms of his knights companions still very fresh. He was then general first in an expedition to the Holy Land and afterwards served that King Edward in his wars in France; the family is still in a good condition, the chief lives at Padua, one of the uncles is governor of Vienna, and another at the court of Florence. Thus far my journey from Rome to Venice. But I cannot leave Italy without making some general observations upon the country in general, and first as to their religion; it differs in name only now from what it was in the time of the ancient heathen Romans. I know this will sound very oddly with some sort of people, but compare them together and then let any reasonable man judge of the difference. The heathen Itallians had their gods for peace and for war, for plenty and poverty, for health and sickness, riches and poverty, to whom they addressed themselves in their wants, and the Christian Itallians have their patron saints for each of these things to whom they also address according to their wants. The heathen sacrificed bulls and other beasts, and the Christian ones after the same manner a piece of bread, which a picture in the garden of Aldobrandina at Rome painted in the time of Titus Vespasian shews by the altar and priests' vestments to have been the same as used now. The Pantheon at Rome was dedicated by the ancients to all the gods, and by the moderns to all the saints;

the temple of Castor and Pollox at Rome is now dedicated to Cosmo and Damion, also two brothers. I do not remember one church in Italy dedicated to God the Father and, except two, dedicated to God the Son (viz. St. Salvador at Venice and Redemptor at Rome).

"The respect that is paid to the Virgin Mary is far greater than what they pay to the Son, and whatever English Roman Catholics may be made believe by their priests or impose upon us, it is certain that the devotion paid to the Madonnas in Italy is something more than a bare representation of the Virgin Mary when they desire her intercession. Miracles they not only pretend to be wrought by the Madonnas themselves, but there is a far greater respect paid to a Madonna in one place than another, whereas if this statue were only a bare representation of the Virgin to keep them in mind of her, the respect would be equal. I visited all the famous ones, and it would fill a volume to tell you the fopperies that's said of them. That of Loretto, being what they say is the very house where the Virgin lived, is not to be described, the riches are so great, nor the devotion that's paid to the statue. An Italian servant that I took when my English fellow died desired leave of me to confess and take the sacrament here, and the priests plied about him like oars and scullers at London Bridge who should earn the ninepence his mass cost him. The Lady of Savonna is another famous one and very rich; she is much handsomer than she of Loretto and a whole church full of the legend of the miracles she hath wrought. She is in great reputation, and it's thought will at last outtop the Lady of Loretta; there is another near Leghorne that I also visited called *La Madonna della Silva Nera*, to whom all Italian ships that enter that port make a present of thanks for their happy voyage, and salute her with their cannon, and most ships going out give her something for her protection during their voyage. I could tire you with she at the Annunciata at Florence, she within a mile of Bollognia for whom the magistracy have piazza'd the road all the way from her station to the city, that she may not be encumbered with sun or rain when she makes them a visit, and hundreds more that would fill a volume of fopperies that I had the curiosity to see, but it would be imposing too much upon your patience.

"The religious houses in Italy are designed as much for convenience as devotion, and proves a very good provision for younger children. The Italians seldom allow more than one son to marry, that their family may not be divided by separate portions, and they seldom can spare enough to marry above one or two daughters according to their degree, and they scorn to marry them under, so that the younger sons and daughters are put into religious houses, where they are provided for handsomely and live as happily as people can wish. It's a pleasure to see the neatness of the several apartments in the convents, their gardens, their libraries, and their tables. They go abroad and visit their friends and most of them keep their mistresses, for they own it's more convenience than devotion brings them there, and the

women like to be nuns because they have more freedom (especially at Venice) in the nunnery than in their father's house; they can see their lovers at pleasure in their parlours and say and do anything that can be done with an iron grate betwixt. I never heard more downright lewdness than I have heard amongst the nuns, and although it's called being shut up from the world they are never without company and talk of the things of the world with more gusto than ladies that are out.

"All religious orders are respected because they are mostly gentlemen, but what they call the secular priests, except such as have settled livings, are as contemptible as a common soldier in England, . . . and at Rome their pay is less than that of a common soldier.

"As the religious houses are great conveniencies in Italy so their charities are very commendable. The *Convertiti* for cast mistresses at Venice is a noble foundation; there were three hundred and eighty women in it as I passed through. The *Pietas* for bastards are in every town in Italy; that at Rome is the largest; there is a fine one at Florence, and two in Venice, where upon laying the child in a window and ringing a little bell, it's immediately taken in and very well taken care of. At Venice, the girls are brought up to all manner of needlework and music, and after they are fourteen years old are shewn every Whitsuntide to tradesmen in order to marry, and have a portion of 200 silver ducatts, but if they prove good musicians the hospital seldom parts with them. The boys are put out to prentice, but mostly employed in their arsenal and on board their galleys in the Morea. The hospitals of the *Incurabile* for all manner of sick people, and *Mendicantis* for all aged and decrepid are very noble things and worthy to be imitated. I went into the *Incurabile* of Bologna and was charmed to see so many sick people so well looked after; nurses with broths at every bed, their linen, even the curtains of the beds, very clean, in one corner priests confessing dying people, and in another surgeons and doctors according to the disease. The largest in Italy and the best indued of this kind is at Genoa; it cost above fifty thousand pounds sterling building, and is not quite finished yet. You will be surprised when I tell you that amongst all their charities there is not a Bedlam in all Italy, nor have they occasion for any, for I do not remember in all my travels to have heard of either a down-right fool or a madman in Italy. Whether its the regular diet, their keeping good hours in going to bed, or the happiness of the climate, I don't know. Flashy wit and repartee is not so well understood here as in France and England, but they make the best buffoons in the world and will mimic anything. All the Itallians set up for politicians, from the cavalier to the postboy, and a chamberlain in an inn while he is warming your bed will talk of the interests of princes, and where our fleets have miscarried, and the advantages of France, like a privy councillor. They have generally a very well turned understanding, admirable economists;

extravagancy is laughed out of countenance here, and although they can be as merry as any people, yet they never play the fool in their own faces, which is the reason why masking is allowed for six weeks every year in their carnival, that they may all be as merry as they please without restraint or being known. The ladies in Italy have very good features and especially good eyes. They have no wit, but a sweetness in their address that's very becoming. An acquaintance is easier made with an Italian lady than with an English, and asking the favour is not thought a piece of rudeness in Italy. They may be very virtuous, but they all love to be admired, especially by strangers. The women are very good friends to their admirers, but the men do not know what friendship is to one another; civility they all shew, but confidence never. Backbiting is hardly understood in Italy, it's looked upon to be so base a thing. If a man hath done an ill thing, they will look down and shake their heads when he is spoke of, but never say a hard thing of anybody, nor do they ever give a refusal but by a shrug of the shoulder. Before I left England I was of opinion that if ever it came to a war of religion the papists would have the better of it, but I am now fully persuaded to the contrary, for the common people of Italy are dispirited by the arbitrary sway of their princes, and their minds so naturally enslaved that they have nothing of what we call courage; an enemy may bring them on their knees to pray, but never to fight." 8 pp.

RI. WARRE to COLONEL REVETT.

1704, December 26. Whitehall.—Parliament is adjourned for the holidays, having made such despatch with business that they may rise by Candlemas, unless detained by Scottish matters. It is thought necessary to pass some acts for preventing the dangers threatened from certain acts lately passed in that kingdom. The Queen is gone to Windsor for a day or two. The Lord Treasurer is to be installed there on Saturday. Lord Cutts is in town. 1 p.

MONS. DES ECHALIERS to LORD CUTTS.

[Before 1705.]—Praying for help to enable him to pay his actors and to obtain two or three more, to furnish his opera. *French.* 3 pp.

DR. GEORGE CLARKE to LIEUT.-COLONEL REVETT.

1704-5, January 18. Whitehall.—I take the opportunity of the Marine Commissary's going to Gibraltar to thank you for your two letters. "The latter gave us the most particular and satisfactory account that I have yet seen of the manner of your escape, and the succours getting into the town, which I assure you was a most welcome piece of news. I did not fail to let his Royal Highness know the request you made in both the letters, but must own that I did not find him at all inclined to go



out of the Marines for an officer to put at the head of the vacant regiment. . . . We are told here that the enemy has thoughts of continuing the siege, and we are using all possible endeavours to get our fleet out so early this year, that if they do, you may not be attacked by sea as well as land." 1½ pp.

THOMAS MORICE to COLONEL REVETT.

1705, January [15-]26. Lixboa.—I am glad you all arrived safe, though Masham and I wish you were with us now and again, eating some of my wife's mince pies. I sent you a packet by the *Tartar*, who returned into port yesterday. If the captain does not bring the letters to me in time to go with this, I will send them by Culliford and other ships that are fitting out. My service to Wray, Morrison, honest Ned Purcell, Col. Rieuator, D'Harcourt and all friends. 1 p.

COL. E. BRADDOCK to COL. RIVETT, at Gibraltar.

[1705,] January 21.—My brother Meull, Commissary to the Marines, is bringing 9,000*l.* to pay your garrison, so I hope he will not be unwelcome. My uncle Swan, Stevenage and myself often drink your health. Poor Mrs. Rivett was here two days ago, "but could not be merry nor forbear her tears," but I hope God will spare you for the sake of her and your children. Jackey grows a fine boy. Lord Cutts, your lady, my wife and daughter and myself have dined at Mr. Acton's, and his Lordship seemed to be very fond of the boy. He has promised to do what he can for you, and I hope you may have one of the six new regiments. I believe he has spoken to the Prince and the Duke of Marlborough already, but you know his humour, and that he does not like to be put in mind of things too often. 3 pp.

CAPTAIN GORE to COLONEL REVETT.

1704[-5], January 22.—Wishes him glory, success and safe return. His company is exactly as he left it, only Burchett has lost his nose by the pox, and has been discharged by Col. Braddock. A draft is expected for recruiting the battalion in Flanders, which shall be done at as cheap a rate as possible. *Seal of arms.* 1 p.

THOMAS MORICE to the Honourable COLONEL REVETT, of the battalion of her Majesty's Guards, Gibraltar.

1705, [January 27-] February 7. Lixboa.—I imparted the contents of yours to Col. Masham and Dobbins, who have taken up their quarters with me in the Brigadier's room. We daily drink your good healths, and wished you, Wray and others with us at a merry dancing bout we lately had with the ladies in our hall.

"I am sorry to find the enemy have so many fresh men come to their camp, but I hope they will most of them die in their

trenches, and if they think fit to attack you, I doubt not but they'll meet with such reception as will put them in despair of future success.

"We hourly expect re-inforcements from England, and the ships here are careening with the best expedition they can, to be ready to make you a visit.

"I hope you received the packets by the *Tartar* and *Newport*. I gave the last newspapers from England to Capt. Padden for the Brigadier, and on his changing ships, I suppose he delivered them to Capt. Leake. Pray give my service to Ned Purcell, D'Harcourt, Lundye and Reautour, and tell D'Harcourt that if he will send an old friend a plan of the town and the enemy's intrenchments and approaches, I shall very much esteem it." 1½ pp.

CHARLES TRUBSHAW to [COL. RIVETT].

1704[-5], February 5. London.—Since receiving his from Lisbon, has heard of him by a letter from Gibraltar. Hopes to see him before long in England. *With note by Mrs. Rivett that this was sent to her to be forwarded.* 1 p.

J. C[UTTS] to COL. REVETT.

1704[-5], March 13.—My brother has asked and pressed on your behalf for everything that has fallen out, especially for Lord Lucas's regiment, but so far has got only fair promises for you, and no better for himself. "As I told you in my last, that party prevails at court that never were favourable to him, though I am still of opinion that their and their patron's time will not be so long triumphant as they think, and that the same men that I wished well to last winter will be the prevailing side next, with this advantage that they will have a strong party from the other side to join them. And to make you comprehend this, Peter King and Ansley, with Bromley, &c., are reconciled, and have shaken hands to stand by each other next winter to oppose the iniquity of the times and promote the public welfare." My brother is most really your friend and you have put it in his power to make his goodwill effectual. By this last action you will, if God spare you, have made your fortune, and have given a new and good argument for pressing your advancement. I was very glad your name was in the prints, for the sake of your father in law, who has a considerable share of vanity, and with whom this will work more than many wiser arguments. He took your last letter very kindly and has expressed himself since with much concern for you. [Religious exhortations.] 5 pp.

CHARLES TRUBSHAW to COL. RIVETT.

1704[-5], March 13.—Congratulating him upon his success, (which he found in the *Postman*, short and sweet) and assuring him that my Lord [Cutts] is pleased beyond measure and that Mr. Acton daily solicits Cardinal [Cardonnel] to make out his "breviat for Colonel." 1 p.

DR. GEORGE CLARKE to COLONEL REVETT.

1705, March 27. Whitehall.—Your letter of February 10 gave us an account of the two attacks made upon you, “and by other hands we have notice of the share you had in forcing the enemy from the Round Tower, though you would not mention anything of it yourself. I wish you may always have the same good success and that this may find you well at Gibraltar, for besides my particular concern for yourself, we are in some apprehensions that Mons. Pointi’s coming before the town may have put you in great difficulties by dividing your forces, if he should attack you by sea at the same time that the Spaniards do by land.

“I can send you little news from hence. The Duke of Marlborough is gone to Harwich, on his way to Holland, and we hope our fleet will be soon in a readiness to sail, but before the body of it comes towards you I don’t doubt but care will be taken to preserve that superiority which we reckon Sir John Leake has over the enemy. The Prince of Hesse has wrote twice to his Royal Highness in Col. Borr’s behalf, and a commission is signed for his having the regiment to which he was lieutenant-colonel.” 2 pp.

Account of the SIEGE OF GIBRALTAR.

[1705, March ?]—“The city of Gibraltar has been nine weeks besieged by the Marquis de Villadarias and Monsieur Pointi, with four thousand five hundred French, one thousand two hundred Walloons and about nine thousand Spaniards. They had put ashore, by a squadron of twenty-two men of war, forty-two cannon, all from twenty-four pound ball to forty-eight excepting two of twelve pounds and four of six and three pounds; they had seven mortars, most of them thirteen inches in diameter and the rest to fling grenades royal, they had fifty thousand ball put ashore with proportionable powder and a great number of bombs of all sorts. They first dressed a battery of three guns, then another of four guns, another of seven, another of twelve guns, and their nearest to us of eight guns, and had several small pieces firing upon the mountain which oversaw their trenches, where we had some cannon. They first began to batter a large bastion called the north bastion, and disabled our cannon and the round tower communication to it. They then began to batter one half of the curtain which was not covered by any covered way and made a breach therein and dismounted about eight cannon, they then fired on the parapet of the rest of the curtain and dismounted all the rest of our guns but four, and could not go deeper with their breach by reason that part of the curtain was covered, and thus they battered for about three weeks with great fury and then broke down our gate and dismounted two guns on the south or seven gun bastion. They began their new battery of twelve guns and broke down our [*sic*] to the round tower, which obliged us to open another place in the wall, and by a correspondence from the town they fired so hard against it that all that part of the wall was broke, and then we opened another sally port at the

head of the walls on the hill which they could not reach to batter, although attempted it. They then continued to fire warmly to make some breaches in the walls that were continued from our south bastion to the top of the mountain, and thought they had made them wide enough to mount, but having two walls or lines to pass before they could get at those breaches, they fired for a long time against them but to small effect, and if they had made breaches, the marching of any number of men that way was altogether impracticable, yet we covered those breaches as well as the ground would allow and made several lodgments for men on that ground, and those are the two attacks they seemed to have carried on. As for the bastions and curtain, part of the curtain is secured by palisades upon the covered way and a line of fire upon their flank from the round tower to the town for five hundred men, and the covered way which can take them in front can hold three hundred. Besides this fire we could lodge men in several other places on the bastions and curtain, and have a range of cannon on the old mole that bears upon them on their right as they march, and so long as we keep this round tower and the communication to it from the town, the enemy cannot pretend to attack us there; but to strengthen it more, a mine has been made from the edge of the hill to the sea, which is about one hundred and fifty paces (which is all the level ground the enemy has to march upon) under the glacis of our covered way, of six large chambers, wherein we have fixed sixty barrels of powder, which will effect any number of men that can pass on the plain; and as, for to attack us the upper way on the hill, they must pass within pistol shot of our round tower, be exposed to all our fire and stones from the uppermost mountain and exposed to our guns from the old mole, and their access there being most impracticable, we have little fear of it. We found the garrison here about nine hundred strong and no more, the rest being disabled, wounded or sick, and if that small number could defend the place, we are now much better, being re-inforced with two thousand two hundred good troops. The enemy has held correspondence in this place with a friar now in custody, and a letter being sent to him our out sentries took him, but in rifling his pockets the letter was lost, yet the bearer says the import of it was only to know if the mine had been charged, and if it was not, th[eir] army was resolved to make an assault at the old mole, the covered way and hill, and would have sent five hundred grenadiers in boats to amuse us on the end of this island where they got up before, but having no answer did not think fit to attack. Several deserters come in and all agree that there are not above two thousand five hundred of the French left by new wines and sickness, that of the Walloons there remains but eight hundred, and as for the Spaniards they are about five thousand but [in a] miserable condition. Most of their horses are dead for want of forage, for they have none but what comes by sea from Malaga; their ammunition is short and it is thought they have drained Cadiz, Malaga and Alicant of what they had of it, and have fired about

forty thousand ball against the place. Their cannon are made a great many of them useless either by breaking or the vents grown too large, so that they are forced to fire them by trains, and for want of ammunition they fling no more shells (but formerly threw one hundred and eighty, one hundred and seventy etc. by night) and very modestly fire against the place. They brought their approaches near the covered way in two branches, but a party of two hundred men marched out two nights ago and demolished them, and believe they will proceed no farther on that way because (now the garrison is strong) we can make a great fire on flanks and front and sally when we think fit. In short a few men more had been master of their battery if it had been pushed home, but no disposition was made for going further. By all appearances the enemy intends a blockade, for they are convinced they cannot take the place, and seems to close their trenches home to the rock to hinder any sallies from us. As for the matter of the fleet, &c. you can best give an account, and what has passed since your arrival."  $\frac{3}{4}$  pp.

CAPT. WILLIAM STANHOPE to COL. RIVETT.

1705, April 5. Gibraltar.—Requesting a loan of forty dollars to defray his servant's charges to England.  $\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Seal of arms.*

RI. WARRE to COLONEL REVETT.

1705, April 17. Whitehall.— . . . "The news from France of the siege of Gibraltar being raised makes me hope this may find you safely returned to Lisbon. My Lord Cutts is now in the Isle of Wight, and in a few days he will be going for Ireland, where he is to command the forces of that kingdom in the room of Lieut.-General Erle, who is coming over. The Queen is at Newmarket, and expected at St. James' next Saturday, and on Monday it is probable there will be a general Council and a proclamation issued for calling a new parliament." 1 p.

MARQUIS DE LANGEY to LORD CUTTS.

1705, May [9–]20. Hague.—Assuring him that he would be extremely vexed by his going to Ireland instead of returning to Holland, were it not that the appointment given him there by the Queen will be so much more advantageous to him than a subordinate position in "these armies." *French.* 1 p.

RI. WARRE to COLONEL RIVETT.

1705, May 15. Whitehall.—I am very glad that you have escaped all danger "which was as great I fear sometimes from the scarcity of provisions as from the enemy's bullets. I heartily congratulate with you for the honour you have obtained, and wish you all happiness. The Gazette will tell you some of our elections. We want our Dutch letters, but by the last, my Lord Duke of Marlborough is now at Treves." 1 p.

GEORGE, LANDGRAVE DE HESSE [DARNSTADT, to the PRINCE OF DENMARK].

1705, [May 25—] June 5, 1705. Gibraltar.—“Vostre Altesse Royale me permettra bien de recommander a sa haute protection le lieutenant collonell Revett, qui, dans toutes les occasions durant ce seige s'est comporté avec tout la vigilance et exactitude possible, principalement quan les ennemies donnerent l'assaut a la breche et a la Rondele, luy, par le dehors du chemin convert, donna si appropos que les ennemys, de crainte d'estre coupés, se retirerent avec precipitation, ce qui assista nos gens par le dedans des ouvrages, les repousserent [*sic*] avec tant plus de facilité. J'ose donc supplier vostre Altesse Royale qu'en egard de ces bons services rendu, que elle veuille bien se souvenir de luy en temps et occations, et de me permettre de la pouvoir assurer qu'il n'y a personne plus veritablement que moy, et avec toute soumission, de vostre Altesse Royale le tres humble et tres obeissant serviteur.” *Copy.* 1 p.

J. TUCKER to LORD CUTTS.

1705, June 12. Whitehall.—I hope you have arrived safely at Dublin. The enclosed (*wanting*) from Mr. Cardonnel will tell you that the Duke of Marlborough is resolved to march with a considerable part of his army towards the Meuse, where the French have put the Dutch in great consternation by taking Huy and investing Liege. “This proceeds from the Germans not having joined his Grace's army, which, if it be not design in Prince Lewis, it looks so like it that a man must have a great deal of good nature to think more favourably of it. All people's mouths are open against him here in an incredible manner, and if curses and hard words will do him any harm, he has enough of it.” The Queen has appointed the Earl of Sunderland envoy extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the Emperor, “to make the compliment of condolence” and to negotiate an accommodation between him and the Hungarians. I hear that a new commission of the Prince's Council is passing, and that Sir George Rooke is left out. Mr. De la Faye shall send you the prints and our common news, and I will be sure to trouble you if anything else offers. 2 pp.

COL. HANS HAMILTON to LORD CUTTS.

1705, June 26. O. S. Lisbon.—“Knowing your Lordship's curiosity for intelligence, and believing that news from this part of the world may prove a rarity where I suppose your lordship is at present, I flatter myself that this will not meet with an ill reception. The public papers must ere this have given an account of the arrival of our fleet in Portugal, whence on Friday last Sir Cloudesly Shovell sailed to the Straits with the greatest part of it, having left a considerable squadron to convoy our transports and the Irish fleet (which arrived here the same day ours sailed out of this port); their design being to prevent the Brest and Tholoune squadrons from joining. We shall *sejour* here

eight or ten days to take on board Rabi's and Cuningham's dragoons, as also a Spanish battalion of four hundred men raised by the *Almirante* of Castile, so that our army is to consist of seventeen battalions and two regiments of dragoons, a force sufficient to protect a people willing to take arms and join us, but too few to design an entire conquest; The lords Peterborow and Galloway are daily in conference with the grandees about the operations of the campaign, the result of which is yet only guessed at. Some talk of Catalonia, where (as we are informed) a great part threaten to revolt in favour of the House of Austria; others of landing near Seville, which with much facility we may do, considering that all the French and Spanish troops (which are but an inconsiderable number at present) are upon the frontiers of Portugal, save what are thrown into Cadiz, who are all Spaniards, and about a thousand horse left to scour about the coasts of Andalusie. Our General is teeming with vast projects, for several others are current here, as taking of Cadiz, &c. However the case stands, we shall undoubtedly meet with many difficulties, for I can't see how we can take the field in a season when all other troops in these countries are forced by the extremity of the heat to seek for quarters of refreshment or some cool retreat; besides, there is no provision of horses for the officers of foot of any degree, nor for carrying the soldiers' tents, by which I presume we cannot march far from the water side, unless the inhabitants are willing to provide such carriages as are necessary on these occasions. The king of Portugal's health would no ways be doubted of if any durst tell him he's pox'd, but that's a crime *de leze majesté*, and since the loss of his palate wont convince him, 'tis in vain to have recourse to arguments, for nothing can persuade the monarch of the infidelity of his swarthy mistress. The most favourable account I can give of this climate is that I wish I were fairly out ont, for the only comfortable thing I have seen since I landed in it was one rainy day. Colonel Duncason is dead of the wounds he received at the siege of Valence,\* and Wade has got his regiment, who was a brevetted lieutenant-colonel to Bloods. Several both English and Portuguese are every morning found dead in our streets, for murder is as frequent here and passes as unregarded as picking of pockets at Comon [Covent] Garden playhouse. People are generally fond of change and a new way of living, but never was a man so weary of his wife as I am of this. I am mightily concerned for the affairs of Flanders, for the taking of Huy has already reached our ears, as ill news seldom moves slow or comes alone. I fancy there are years *de bergers* as well as hours, and 'twas our good fortune to catch the old gentleman by the forelock and strike while the iron was hot. I wish your lordship a more favourable campaign than I am like to have, and as soon as our exploits are worth your lordship knowing, you shant fail of a relation of them." 3 pp.

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\*Valencia de Alcantara.

## RICHARD WARRE to LORD CUTTS.

1705, July 8. Whitehall.—Congratulating him upon his arrival in Ireland and entrance upon his administration, and mentioning the appointment of Lord Bridgewater as Master of the Horse to the Prince, in place of Lord Sandwich, “who has not appeared for some time,” and a rumour that Mr. Russell Robarts is made one of the grooms of the Bedchamber to his Royal Highness. 1 p.

## B. PORTLOCK to LORD CUTTS.

1705, July 14. Whitehall.—“This day about noon Col. Durell arrived here, and is gone express to the Queen at Windsor. We have not yet our letters, but have an account of these particulars, viz., that my Lord Duke had forced the French lines near Hespen and Heylishem on this day sennight, the 7-18 instant.\* That upon the alarm Mr. D’Alegre appeared with a great body of horse and foot, computed at fifty squadrons and twenty battalions, but was soon obliged to retire with considerable loss.

“His Grace then ordered a detachment to march to Tirlemont, where the battalion of Monluc was forced to surrender at discretion.

“The next morning they marched and encamped with the right at Vlierbeck. within a mile of Louvain, and the left at Corbeck. The enemy marched the night before over the Dyle and have quitted Diest.

“Mr. D’Alegre and the Count de Horn, two lieutenant-generals and two major-generals, with about eighty officers and fourteen hundred private soldiers, besides the regiment of Monluc, are taken prisoners. We have likewise taken ten pieces of cannon and many standards and colours. The further particulars we expect with the letters.

“My Lord, his Grace [of Ormond?] commanded me to give your Lordship and my Lord Chancellor this account, and with his compliments to your Lordship bids me tell you that he will next post be sure to answer your last letter.

“The bells are ringing and the Tower guns firing.” 2½ pp.

## Rt. WARRE to COLONEL REVETT.

1705, July 17. Whitehall.—Has only time to send some prints to acquaint him with the glorious success of the Duke of Marlborough. ¼ p.

## J. TUCKER to LORD CUTTS.

1705, July 24. Whitehall.—Hopes in a post or two to be able to tell him that her Majesty’s letter for his allowance as Lieut.-General is signed, it having been three or four days in the Lord Treasurer’s hands. 1½ pp.

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\* See Marlborough’s despatch of this date. Vol. II., p. 173.



## JOHN IRWIN to COL. REVETT.

1705, July 28. [Gibraltar.]—Regrets that he has been unable to ship the Colonel's horse, Capt. Spelman having sailed before he could secure one of the boats, which were engaged unloading a collier at the old Mold. Afterwards, Capt. Hooper promised to take him, but just as he was being hoisted up, "the captain went on board, stormed like a devil, and sent the horse on shore again, and had like to knock the master on the head for assisting," although it was by his own orders.  $3\frac{1}{2}$  pp.

## RICHARD STEELE to COL. RIVETT.

1705, August 2. Lady Mildmay's, Bond Street, Piccadilly.—"I share with you in the pleasure you must needs live in from the conscience of so many and honourable actions you have performed since you left your friends here. After this congratulation I have nothing to entertain you with except it may be agreeable to you and inflame your own hopes at Court by hearing what Colonel Moncall met with there, for the action in which you supported him. You know, I suppose, he had a letter from the King of Spain to the Duke of Somerset. His Grace appointed him to meet him at Windsor in order to be presented to her Majesty: he was attending there on Sunday last, the Duke of Ormond came to him, and offered to introduce him, he excused himself and told him the Duke of Somerset had engaged to do him that honour; upon which his Grace of Ormond went to the Prince, told his Highness who waited, the Prince sent for him and himself carried him to the Queen, who received him in a manner for which any of you heroes would give all the limbs you have.

"Your friend Mr. Addison, who covers this to you, is secretary to Sir Charles Hedges in the room of Mr. Ellis. He may be a serviceable correspondent to you, and I am sure would be glad of an opportunity. Write to him what passes, and to me how you do under his direction. Your uncle Cutts (who always thinks he has too many friends) has used me like a scoundrel. I wish you laurels, titles, favours and adventures and a safe return, the same good-natured man." 2 pp.

*Endorsed:* "Letter from Mr. Steel."

## COL. SAM. MASHAM to the HONOURABLE COL. REVETT.

1705, August 2. Altea Bay, on board the *Pembroke*.—The loss of your company is no small misfortune to me, but I hope you are gone where it will be greatly to your profit. We have had a good passage and came to an anchor here last Monday. "We find no people of note, but the few peasants that are here seem to be in our interest. Last Tuesday a ship came here from Ligorn with letters from Mr. Hill, which tell us that Prince Eugene had passed the Oglio in sight of the enemy and had taken nine battalions, six Spanish and three French, and that he lay within

less than two leagues of Millan and had given them only three days' time to consider what they had to trust to. . . In our passage the *Kent* took a boat laden with some of those brass guns that saluted us so often at Gibraltar." 1½ pp.

RICHARD WARRE to LORD CUTTS.

1705, August 2. Whitehall.—Stating that letters from Lisbon report that the fleet there with Lord Peterborough, having taken on board the King of Spain and the land forces, has sailed, and got over the bar, and that the victualling ships were safely arrived. Also recommending to him one Capt. Shadwell, "a modest and deserving gentleman" who has always behaved very worthily.

T[HOmas, LORD] WHARTON, to LORD CUTTS.

1705, August 20.—A letter of introduction for his kinsman, the Earl of Kilmarnock.

THOMAS MORICE to COLONEL REVETT.

1705, September [5–]16. Lisbon.—. . . "We have news that Prince Eugene had beat the French in Italy. The battle was very bloody and the Prince himself wounded in the hand, though not dangerous. The Duke of Marlborough came up fair with the French army in Flanders and by his superiority in numbers as well as goodness of troops had promised himself a great success, and when come to the point, the States' Deputies would not agree to engage. His Grace has writ them a letter which pretty well shows his sentiments on that affair.

"The packet-boat was chased into the river by six French men-of-war, so George Walton has thought proper to stay a little longer."

*Postscript.* "My service to honest Leffever, &c." 1½ pp.

EDWARD DARBY to COL. REVETT.

1705, September 5–16. Lisbon.—If Lord Cutts is made Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, we hope you will be content with the laurels you have already acquired and will sit down under their agreeable shade. "Lord Marlborough was prevented from attacking the enemy's camp by the Deputies of the States, when he had flattered himself with a complete victory. There has been a bloody battle in Italy, according to the rumours before you went, and both sides sing *Te Deum*. The malcontents have been defeated in a considerable rencounter, which may facilitate an accommodation. Five stout French privateers cruise off this harbour, so that Capt. Walton is not sailed. . . . There is great news by a vessel put in at Faro from Denia that the kingdom of Valencia has declared for the Archduke, and a considerable force in Catalonia that espouse the same interest, but no advice from the fleet." 1½ pp.

LORD GALLWAY to MR. [GEORGE] CLARKE, secretary to the Prince of Denmark.

1705, September 10-21. Elvas.—Requesting him to state to his Royal Highness that Col. Revett, now returning to England, has particularly distinguished himself in her Majesty's service at Gibraltar, and had a great share in repulsing the enemy from the Round Tower. Can assure her Majesty and the Prince that they cannot bestow their favours on a more deserving person. *French. 1 p. Three copies.*

LORD GALLWAY to the DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

[1705, September 10-21. Elvas.]—Assures him that Col. Revett has acquitted himself with distinction at Gibraltar, as is testified by the Prince of Hesse and all who were at the siege, and is well worthy of his Grace's protection. *French. ½ p. Two copies.*

[COLONEL] THOMAS LEFFEVER to MR. [HENRY] ST. JOHN.\*

1705, September 11-22. Elvas.—“Col. Revett has desired me to give him a letter to you, which I'm sure he does not want to acquaint you of his worth and of his gallantry in the service, and to such persons your favour will never be wanting. My Lord Gallway was very desirous to keep him in this service, and would by way of exchange have put him at the head of my Lord Portmore's regiment, but the officers worked upon their lieutenant-colonel's goodnature not to leave them, which will prove a great detriment to that regiment, that wants mightily a good officer to command it.” Col. Revett has particularly distinguished himself at Gibraltar and his character sufficiently recommends itself. He desires that I will join with him in entreating your protection, “which I very heartily do, and flatter myself we shall obtain our request.” *1½ pp.*

JO: METHUEN [English ambassador at Lisbon] to SIR CHARLES HEDGES [secretary of State].

1705, September [15-]26. Lisbon.—Requesting him to present Col. Revett, one of her Majesty's captains of the Guards, to the Queen, “as one that during the whole siege and stay there since hath behaved himself with a distinguishable bravery and with a continual application to the service.” *¾ p. Two copies.*

THOS. MORICE to LORD [BISHOP OF ROCHESTER].

1705, September 16-27. Lisbon.—In my hurry and difficulties I fear I am not so punctual in paying my duty to your Lordship as I should be, but you and your family are never forgotten, and

\* Secretary at War, afterwards Lord Bolingbroke.

no day passes without my drinking your good healths. The bearer of this, Col. Revett of the Guards, has signalized himself at Gibraltar, and was a great instrument in defending it. He is nephew to Lord Cutts, and one of the best sort of men I have met with amongst his profession.

I have told Mr. East, now at Gibraltar, to enquire after Tom Mantle but can as yet give you no account of the matter, my Lord Peterborough going from thence in so much haste that things were a little confused.

I am in great trouble through the death of Mr. Darby, who came to assist me in my affairs (for which no man could be more capable) and died suddenly while sitting at dinner one day this week, but I have seen enough of the world to bear all things with some patience, and hope to live and have some happy hours with your Lordship still at Bromley.

I pray you to give my service and my wife and daughters' to my Lady, Mr. Archdeacon, Mr. Moor, Mr. Love, Dr. Knipe and his family, the Dean of Christchurch, Sir Francis Lee, Sir Stephen Lennard, and all friends. I have found for Mr. Sprat a puppy of the finest breed of setters the kingdom of Castile affords. Pray tell Mr. Guy that I have done what he ordered, but soldiers are not apt to write, and I have not heard from H. Pulteney since sending him the money. 3½ pp.

THOMAS MORICE to COLONEL EDMUND REVETT.

1705, October 2-18. Lixboa.—I hope you have got safely to your lady. I fear you were badly provided with fresh provisions on board.

"The news from Catalonia you'll have no doubt sooner than we, for my Lord Peterborough has not afforded the Ambassador a ship, and now we conclude we shall have none till the fleet return. Old Red-nose of the *Flamborough* is dead. The loss of the brave Prince of Hesse is what we all lament. The siege of Badajos was at last undertaken, and three batteries are raised with little or no loss, the one of thirty cannon, the other, sixteen, the third, fifteen bombs, and not above a thousand men left in the town, and they most or all Spaniards, Count Tesse with his people being gone to Merida upon our giving out that we only intended to sack and destroy that town, so our troops struck in betwixt him and Badajos. He lies now encamped with six or seven thousand men, as we hear, at Talavera. Our people make no doubt of being masters of the place in ten days' time."

My service to your lady and little ones, and to honest George Clarke. Tell him our news. 2 pp.

H. ST. JOHN to his kinsman, LORD CUTTS.

1705, October 9. Bucklebury.—A severe fever, which confined me for some time to my bed, has now sent me down to my country house to recover my strength. As to the report you

mention, I cannot tell how so idle a story should ever come to spread. I treated it as a jest from the first, and advised my cousin Cutts (when she sent to me) to do the same.

I wish I had any news to give you, but I am so far out of the way that what comes from me must be out of date, "only the Duke of Shrewsbury's marriage to the Marquise de Leide will be news as often as 'tis told. Sure, my Lord, it is a matter of great merit to make an ancient Roman beauty a convert at the expense of making her a wife.

"My Lord Marlborough was, by the last letters, at the Hague, from whence he intended to go to the army to give his last orders and so proceed to Vienna. Pray God they may be able to do any good at that Court! It is insufferable that England and Holland must every day take a greater burden upon them, while the House of Austria—entirely applied to secure the confiscations of Hungary and procure more—seems rather neuter than a party in the war against France." 2½ pp.

LORD CUTTS to his sister [JOANNA CUTTS].

1705, October 18. Clincarty House in Dublin.—You will do me a signal service if you will send me all certain news of state intrigues, party designs, or whatever comes under the head of secret or cabinet news; but tell me nothing that you have not sure grounds for, or at any rate, if it be doubtful, please mention it as such. You have my honour for it that your labour shall not be lost. "If I may add one request more, it shall be that you'll keep your sentiments of public affairs as much to yourself as you can possibly, but by no means to say anything of the ministers and great men which may be mis-represented, or they may take ill, nor to declare with any warmth for any party, for which your sex has a fair pretence. This, since it will let you into the knowledge of more secrets, and be for my interest, I hope you will not deny me."

*Postscript.* Remember me to Cousin Lockhart and all friends. I have no letters from any relation, excepting Lord B.<sup>c</sup> and my cousin H. St John. 4 pp.

THOMAS MORICE to his kinsman, COLONEL REVETT.

1705, November [5-]16. Lisbon.—Yours from Falmouth was joyfully received, as we feared privateers. We are well satisfied with the honourable reception you had from our good Queen, and hope that from the honest old gentleman will be a finishing stroke to all you desire. Your baggage has been sent by Mr. Foliet, but Mr. Traplin, Mr. Stevenson's clerk, laid a sort of embargo on it for omissions in your account and I had to pay 15*l.* for you on that head.

"We hope one time or other we may see a man-of-war from Barcelona or England, for we have French privateers come to

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\* Perhaps Paulet St. John, Earl of Bolingbroke.

the very mouth of this river, and nothing but merchant ships to disturb them. From Barcelona we have not a line since they left us. Our unfortunate campaign was, it's said, chiefly owing to Mr. Fagell, otherwise it had been very great. Shrimpton writes that he must stop from yours and all the colonels' moneys for your sick men left in the hospital at Gibraltar and also for Stevenson's own allowance, so that what pay you receive at the office there for yourself, servants, and no effectives, to pay for your recruits, Mr. Acton must sign receipt for, and Capt. Cartwright must return it here as a stoppage on the battalion, otherwise our accounts will be all confused . . . . I hope the next news we shall have of you is that you have a regiment of your own. My Lord Portmore, we hear, is to have the Scotch Guards. If so, cant you look out sharp. Friends and money are good things."

*Postscript.* Pray tell Mr. Lowndes that I sent him the Articles of capitulation of Barcelona by the last post. The enclosed for Col. Lapell, you must deliver with your own hand, or get George Clarke or some friend who knows him to do so, and desire his friendship for my boy, who has a commission of ensign with him.  $3\frac{1}{2}$  pp.

LORD CUTTS to his sister [JOANNA CUTTS].

1705, November 8. Dublin.—"I have just now received yours of the 1st of this inst., and having the Duke of Ormonde's letters of public business by the same post to answer, besides an hour's conference I am to have instantly with my Lord Chancellor (who is this moment coming hither), I cannot write half of what I design. . . . I have been forced to dine upon a rabbit in my closet to-day, and have not stirred from my writing-table (but for half an hour to eat) though 'tis now eight o'clock, and though all the morning I was either giving audiences or in the Cabinet Council."

I will order you a supply as soon as possible. Your letter received to-day is very full. Pray write nothing but what you have good grounds for.  $3\frac{1}{2}$  pp.

GEORGE LOUIS, Electeur, to LORD CUTTS.

[1705 or earlier,] December [11–]22. Hannover.—Monsieur de Cresset m'a fait tenir, Milord, la lettre que vous avés pris la paine de m'écrire. Il ma étté tres agreable di voir par tent d'expressions l'amitié que vous me tesmognés sy obligenment. Je vous prie de me la continuer toujours et d'etre bien persuadé que jen fais un tres gren ca [grand cas]; le merite et la distinction de vostre personne mettent sy fort connue. S'est de quoy je vous prie, milord, d'etre bien asseuré, comme ossy que je me ferés un plesir tres singulier quend je pourés vous faire counaitre den les occasions mon affection et lenuie que jay de vous rendre servisse." *Holograph.*  $1\frac{1}{2}$  pp.

Memorial of COL. REVETT to his Grace [THE DUKE OF  
MARLBOROUGH].

[1705 or 1706.]—That he has served almost eighteen years from carrying arms in that regiment in Bergen-op-Zone, commanded by Lord Cutts;

That the King gave him a company in the same regiment after the battle of Steinkerk, and after the siege of Namure gave him his company of the Guards for his service there;

That in June 1704, a battalion of Guards were ordered for the service of Portugal, where he was commanded, and in which service there were Cols. Wikeman and Hussey, two junior lieutenant-colonels who had obtained brevets of colonel from his Grace;

That upon application to his Grace for a like brevet, he understood from Mr Cardinell that it would be sent after him into Portugal;

That Lord Gallway granted him a brevet commencing from the arrival of the battalion, October 20, 1704, which was a year short of what he should have had.

That upon Cols. Sutton and Britton having obtained their brevets to be antedated to the most glorious battle of Blenheim, there were many officers senior to them that could not in honour serve the last campaign;

That he, being senior to them all, and lieutenant-colonel when Sutton and Britton were but captains, was glad of the opportunity of having the honour to serve under his Grace's own command, and prays that he may not suffer for his readiness to do so;

That the letters sent to his Grace from the Prince of Hess, Lord Gallway and others, testifying to petitioner's service at the siege of Gibraltar, gave him hopes of having justice done to him;

And that therefore petitioner prays that his brevet and those of the other senior officers may bear the same date as those of Col. Sutton and Col. Britton. *Draft.* 1½ pp.

JOHN CHAMBERLAYNE to LORD CUTTS.

1705[-6], Jan. 5. Petty France, Westminster.—I have written several times to your Lordship, both to ask some small office in his own country for my wife's brother, and also on behalf of another person. On the former head, I shall never again trouble your Lordship so long as you are Governor of the Isle of Wight, but I must ever renew my attacks on account of Col. Dudley, for my word and honour are at stake. I am asked "Why did you not stop payment with the commissaries of the soldiers' accounts? Why did you not stop it in Lord Ranelagh's office? Why did you not apply to the Parliament? Why did you not insist upon the money, and not take a bond which cant be sued in Ireland? Lastly, why was you guilty of that excess of generosity at the expense of other men, creditors of the government of New England, to take but 50%. when you might

have had 100*l.*? *Pudet hæc opprobria nobis et dici potuisse, et non potuisse refelli.* If I can make any answer to these reproaches, my Lord, it should be: That when one has to do with a man of honour, a verbal promise is bond and judgment; one's debt is as safe and come-at-able in Germany, in Flanders, or even in Ireland, as if he were every day to be found in Petty France; that it is as well worth 20*s.* in the pound whilst he's a member of Parliament as when he's none, and finally, if one is so generous as to take but 50*l.* instead of 100*l.* from such a man, because it would be extremely for his ease and convenience, one is sure to receive from the said man of honour 100*l.* when one expects but 50*l.*" If I am mistaken in my argument, I know who has a better title to such reproaches than I have. 1½ pp.

RICHARD WARRE to LORD CUTTS.

1705-6, January 22. Whitehall.— . . . "The House of Commons finished yesterday in the committee the Regency Bill. The chief alteration that I hear of is this: that all persons in office—except such [as] are particularly named, whereof I have not a list—are excluded from being members of Parliament after the Queen's demise. It was thought that the Bill, as it was sent down, would have imported a repeal of the clause in the Act of Parliament for Settling the Succession in the Protestant line, whereby all persons whatever in employment were made incapable of being members; so that what is now ordered mitigates that clause." 1 p.

J. CREWE to LORD CUTTS.

1705-6, January 26. Utkinton.—I venture to appeal to you, as will appear by the enclosed (*missing*) on behalf of Thomas Cookson of Chrisleton, near Chester, eldest son of Richard Cookson, of this town, "but 'tis not so much on his and my own concern that I thus trouble your lordship, as on the supplying the army to her Majesty's commands and purposes. Abler and better men may be had, if the justices, instead of intrenching upon an Act of Parliament upon particular occasions, would require the constables in their several townships to send in such as the law directs and inhabits with them, and upon their failure to be punished." The taking doubtful in lieu of legal men occasions complaints, lays unexpected burdens on towns who have to maintain the women and children, sends unfit men to the army, whilst abler and more useful ones are left behind, and gives pretences for men to desert "when they be told they be exempt by the Queen's favours in the Act for raising men. . . . I say nothing of Capt. Henry Davis (I hear of Col. Le Pell's regiment), because his obtaining some of them under the connivance or seeming power of some justices may be his excuse, but that he has been about five months in this his native country raising his men and that Cookson is not the first where I am concerned who has been unaccountably brought on his account before some justices." 2 pp.



SIR G[ERVASE] ELWES to LORD CUTTS, at Dublin.

1705[-6], January 29.—On behalf of his grandson, eldest son of Sir John Robinson, who desires to serve in his Lordship's regiment of guards.  $\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Endorsed*: "Sir Jarvis Elwes."

THOMAS MORICE to COLONEL REVETT.

1706, April 19. Lisbon.—I am glad to find you have got to your *quinta*. I wrote you a fine parcel of compliments by Cloys, but that went to the bottom. "I could not have believed you would have been ill when you got to your dear lady and little boys. I'm glad to hear its so well over with you, and that things have another face. I have seen damned ugly ones in my time. *Libere nos Domine*."

I hear that Adam Cardonell got my son's commission from Lapell. As to the respite, I believe Lord Cutts could give us a general order for leave of absence which would put disputes out of question.

"You must put in for a member next Parliament, since you see the convenience of a man's serving his country."

I am sorry to dun you, but Lord Gallway would not allow the  $\text{sl. } 10s.$  for the maintenance of the mules, and I have had to repay him. I pray you pay it to my sister, Mrs. Helena Morice, at Westminster.

"We have begun our campaign very happily, and I don't see what can hinder our penetrating Spain where we please. First my Lord made the Duke of Berwick scamper, and took and cut off some of his rear, made a major-general prisoner, and the night gave them the opportunity of escaping. Since that, we took Alcantara with four thousand men prisoners of war for six months, and my Lord will, in three or four days, march towards Placentia, which is but fifteen leagues from Madrid."

*Postscript.* My humble service to Serjeant Thurland (*sic*).  
4 pp.

N. BUDIANI to LORD CUTTS.

1706, May 1, O.S., Barcelona.—"I am extremely glad to have this occasion to send your Excellency [a] few lines, besides the opportunity of presenting my most humble duty to you, after which I shall endeavour to make you as perfect an account of our voyage and good success as I am able to the best of my capacity. Upon the twenty-sixth of March we set sail from the cove and after twelve days we arrived at Lisbon, as my last from thence gave your Excellency an account, which I hope is come to your hands before now. Upon the eighth of April we set sail out of the river of Lisbon with the addition of one man of war more called the *Antelope*, by reason there went a report at Lisbon the French had twelve men of war waiting for us at the opening of the straits; yet, notwithstanding, we proceeded on our intended voyage with a very fair and strong wind, insomuch

that in thirty hours we were within a cannon shot off Cape St. Vincent, which is about half way from Lisbon to Gibraltar; and as ill luck would have it we espied seven sail making towards us, and it being towards the close of the evening and the wind chopping about against us, we made all the sail we could possible towards Lisbon, so that by break of day we were about twenty leagues backward of our intended voyage, and moreover we saw the enemy's ships (as we supposed) all in a line of battle as our men of war sailed all night; but with the sunrise we discerned them to be the convoy and the transports coming from Gibraltar. After the commodore had spoken with them they went on their voyage and we back again [on] ours, but happened to be becalmed, so that we were three days getting to Cape St. Vincent. Yet nevertheless that day three weeks we set sail from Ireland, we anchored in the bay of Gibraltar, where we received intelligence that Barcelona was in a distressed condition both by sea and land. The French had a fleet of thirty-five sail of line of battle ships [and] thirty thousand land men encamped round it. Which news made Sir J. Lake [Leake] out of all patience, and having there withal contrary wind for ten days together; but as Providence would have it, Saturday before we came thither, the wind presented full west as it could blow. With that Sir John set sail, leaving orders for us to follow him, and if no further orders met us from him we should all be disembarked at Denia or Althea and so to march by land to Vallencia. In our second day's voyage from Gibraltar we met with a French cruiser of forty four guns near the cape de Gat[a] and one of our men of war forced her into a small river at Vera and the men got ashore and blew the ship up in our sight. In two days after we came in view of the Cape St. Martin near Denia, where we met with an advice-boat from Sir John Lake that we should sail under the command of one man of war and land at Tarragona, and the rest of the men of war should make all the sail possible and join his fleet, as Sir George Bing had done two days before. But the wind slackening, our transports came up with the convoy in sight of the fleet, after which proving great calms, we kept them company to Tarragona, and before which the transports received orders to sail on to Barcelona, before which we came last Saturday, though we had very great calms and great fogs, and landed our men immediately into the town, for the enemy's fleet had got intelligence of our approach and set sail the day before, carrying with them the Duke d' Anjou, and left their army to go on with the siege, they hoping we should not have come before the town was stormed, they having stormed the fort Monjou some time before after having lost five thousand men. And indeed we lost no small number of men, of which your Excellency will have better account from other hands, with an account of my lord Dunnagas being killed therein, as also a col[onel] of the Queen's Own regiment whose name I have forgotten, as also Colonel Russell's being taken prisoner. But, my lord, I have the saddest news to relate to your Excellency yet if common report may be credited, that all the English had been massacred in less than forty-eight

hours as we happily arrived, for the inhabitants could not believe but that my lord Peterborough had sold them to the French; but this day we are adored like demi-gods, there being so great an alteration, the new come forces having behaved themselves like [brave] men, in the which honour our regiment, though I say [it], has no small share. I must tell your Excellency that last night the enemy left their trenches with the greatest precipitation or fear that ever was heard of and marched towards France, hoping to get off with their lives; having left near upon [a] hundred pieces of cannon behind them without so much as nailing their touch-holes up, as also their mortars and all sorts of ammunition innumerable as well as hundreds of sacks of meal, notwithstanding their approaches was upon the glacis these four days and the breach was as low again as that at Venlo and six times wider, so that we expected them to have attacked us ever since we came. This day is also very remarkable for the great eclipse of the sun, that we were forced to burn candle at nine o'clock in our rooms for five minutes whilst the sun was wholly covered."

*Postscript. 1.* "I had liked to have forgot to acquaint your Excellency that the transports out of England with the detachment of the Guards joined us as we came this side of the Straits and all your officers are well, I having seen Colonel Swan this day. Mr. d'Abbodie has been dead these six months."

*Postscript. 2.* "I had left out a piece of material news, which is that the French had left a burning match to have blown up most part of their cannon and ammunition but as Providence would have it, it went out as it was within an inch of the powder." 8 pp. *Seal with device.*

*Addressed:* "To his Excellency My Lord Cutts, one of the Lords Justices of Ireland, at Dublin."

*British postmark:* "Ma: 31."

#### H. PYNE to LORD CUTTS.

1706, May 4. Waterpark.—Concerning a race-horse which Lord Cutts has apparently offered to take under his care "till after the match," the writer having doubts about his groom, and yet fearing to provoke him lest he should revenge himself upon the horse. 1½ pp.

#### LORD CUTTS to his sister [JOANNA CUTTS].

1706, May 11. Dublin.—Apologising for not writing to her at large, as he has been taken up all day "with settling the next winter's quarters throughout the kingdom, being to form a camp soon, and not being willing to do it in a hurry, because the forces will move from their camp into their new quarters." 1½ pp.

#### JOHN CONYERS to LORD CUTTS.

1706, June 18.—"The Chief Justice of Ireland and I, since his coming over hither, have often met, and our greatest satisfaction has been to remember your Lordship. . . . I do most gratefully

acknowledge, and return you my hearty thanks for your favour to Mr. Baggs's poor and distressed family in the advancement of his son, who I hope will inherit his father's virtues, and then I doubt not but he will make a good man, in whatever post he is. . . . Next session I hope we shall be so happy as to have your company in St. Stephen's Chapel, where your lordship will see such a new appearance of public affairs, that, though you have been so long a member of that body, you will scarce believe you knew the men you formerly were acquainted with. But these remarks are not proper to be enlarged upon, nor is it fit for me to take up more of your time." 2 pp.

THOMAS MORICE to COLONEL REVETT.

1706, [June 21--]July 2. Lisbon.—“I have yours of May 20 from Checkers, and am, you may believe, sufficiently rejoiced at the glorious news from our great Duke. God prosper him in his going on, that he may at once humble that mighty monarch and reduce him to *petit*. I conclude on that side you have been well pleased with the joy of the raising the siege of Barcellona, and with that confusion that made us masters of all that vast number of utensils.

“My wife is sending Mrs. Revett a case of sweet waters, which goes in the *Expedition* man-of-war, Captain Cole, to the care of Brigadier Shrimpton's man.” 3 pp.

LORD CUTTS to his sister [JOANNA CUTTS].

1706, July 11. Dublin.—I requested Mr. Smith, my secretary, to write to you last post, as I was going a few miles into the country, for my health's sake. I beg you not to say a word about my coming over, for the time will soon be here now, “and it would be of the last ill-consequence to the Duke of Ormonde and me both, if I should let go the thread of affairs before I put it into his hands . . . 'Tis a mistake that this is a bad air. They eat a great deal of flesh and fowl here; they have their malt-drink usually new and their wines are extremely good (which may make them more insensibly slip down) and all this may influence strangers.” My colic was only due to “too much closet-business, too little bodily exercise and too full meals.” 4 pp.

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1706, July 19. Dublin.—. . . “'Tis very hard that the insinuations of those who wish me dead (and have their designs in reporting me so) should have more credit with my friends and relations than my own letters.” I assure you that I am perfectly recovered and that Ireland neither has nor has had any share in my illness. “I thought I had told my mind at large upon this subject when Captain Moore once officiously got me leave to come over out of Holland; but to cut this matter short, I swear

to you, and give you my honour, that if any one should, without my knowledge or consent (which would be barbarous) if they should get me leave to come over, and if another Lord Justice were named in my place (which would be a step to my ruin) I would not stir out of this kingdom till I saw the Duke of Ormonde here, cost what it will. Manage this as you will with Mrs. P [ickering?] but dont let my own relations stab me, when my heart is sore enough." 4 pp.

CHARLES OTWAY to LORD CUTTS.

[1706, before August.\*]—States that while sitting with the agent of Lord Mohun's regiment, in company with Major Whitmore, Captain Rapin and Captain Samazan, some hot words passed between the agent and himself, and the agent having struck him with his cane, he returned the blow with his scabbarded sword, when unhappily the scabbard flew off, and the man received a wound of which he died. If he is brought to trial, and the worst should come, he prays his Excellency to take pity upon his great youth, assuring him of his true repentance and sincere resolution to amend his life in the future. 3 pp.

THOMAS DANIEL.

1706, August 16.—Articles of agreement between Thomas Daniel of Dublin, sword cutter, and John, Lord Cutts, one of the Lords Justices of Ireland, colonel of one of her Majesty's regiment of dragoons, for the furnishing of certain swords, scabbards and bayonets, by the said Daniel, for which his Lordship covenants to pay at the rate of 4s. for every sword blade and scabbard; 12s. for every sergeant's sword and 2s. for every bayonet. *Signed and sealed by Daniel, the seal being a coat of arms.* 1 p.

LORD CUTTS to RICHARD WARRE.

1706, September 24. Dublin.—Wishes his sister Cutts and Mr. Trubshaw to be informed that seven mails are wanting from England (lest they should wonder that their letters are unanswered) and that the camp by Cork has given him so much business that he has not been able to write so often as he would otherwise have done. Is impatient for news from Italy and Spain as well as Flanders, having nothing but ship news. 1½ pp.

SIR RICHARD COX, C[hancellor], to LORD CUTTS.

1706, October 2. Dublin.—The packets have arrived with such good news that I have ordered a triple salvo. I enclose an extract of Mr. Manley's letter, brought by Mr. Trubshaw. I have but one public letter for the Lords Justices, and it

\* Capt. George Whitmore was made major of Lord Mohun's regiment on March 6 1706, and promoted to be lieutenant-colonel on August 5 of the same year.

mentions only the concordatum and convoy for a store ship from Liverpool, and "to have Lord Windsor's horse do duty at Dublin." Not a word of our troops at Cork, so your Excellency need not be here before Saturday. 1 p.

THOMAS MORICE to LIEUT.-COLONEL REVETT.

1706, October 25. Lisbon.—I thank you for your care with Lord Cutts about my son; pray communicate anything concerning that matter to Mr. David Campbell of Pall Mall, who has my letter of attorney.

I am still insisting with Lord Gallway about the mules, "and hope to get over it, either for your good services, my own, or both." My wife begs you will send the knife which you took to have mended for her. Either the Marquis of Montandre or Col. Southwell might have brought it. Also you have neglected to send my sister at Westminster the carpet, which, with others, is to complete making up her bed. How you'll atone for all these things I cant tell. Your friend Mr. Fauler, who you say had the tea, has, I hope, drunk it up by this time, as it will hardly keep. I should like a pot of good mangoes to eat with our friends over a piece of Portuguese beef and mutton. If you wish to come to Portugal you may probably be admitted, for we have sufficient need of troops on this side.

*Postscript.* My boys at Westminster say that Col. Moryson is the best gentleman I ever wrote to them by, which pray let him know. 3 pp.

JOSEPH BOUCHE to LORD CUTTS.

1706, December 1. London.—Praying his Lordship to give order for the satisfying of his account, as he has applied to "Mr. Trubchar" for his money in vain. *French.* 1½ pp.

SIR EDWARD LAWRENCE to COL. RIVETT.

1707, June 10.—Concerning a bond of Mrs. Cutts', which the writer has left with his sister. 2½ pp.

SERGEANT JOHN THURBARNE to COL. RIVETT.

1707, November 11.—Informing him that he has this day, by the recommendation of Mr. Fleetwood and Mr. Price, been examining into a misdemeanour committed by Parker Taylor, viz.: pressing a man, dragging him four miles by force, beating and wounding him and exacting 6s. before they would let him go. If Rivett does not examine and punish it, he will have to bid good-night to all his interest in this country. 1 p.

*Addressed:* "Col. Rivett, at his house in Wardor-street near old So[ho?] House London. *Postmark:* Wendover.

## ROBERT HARLEY to [JOANNA CUTTS?]

[1707?] Saturday.—Regrets that “a defluxion of rheum” has for many days rendered him unfit for any business. Must now attend the Queen with the foreign letters, but will not fail to wait upon her on Monday.  $\frac{1}{2}$  p.

## Case of LORD CUTTS.

[1707.]—Recounting his services and stating that “in the wars of Ireland, where many made estates, he made no advantage by injustice, as is yet remembered there, and with his being often wounded, was at more charge than the pay of a private regiment answered;” that the Isle of Wight never made much more than 1,000*l.* a year; that the Guards were not so much to him, who sold no commissions, and that this, “not making 2,000*l.* a year, which was for some years paid in remote tally or bills, was all he had until he went for Ireland, except general officer’s pay, which the charges of campaign more than expended from him, who never had the dispose of contingent money without account.” 3 pp.

*Endorsed:* “Copy of my Lord Cutts’ case, given by his sister to the ministers at the time of his death with her petition.” [There are several copies of this or similar memorials.]

## CHARLES TRUBSHAW to MADAM CUTTS.

[1707?]-Stating that he has looked over the minutes of Mrs. Pickering’s will, made in Lord Cutts’ life time, and finds that besides medals, all the Cutts’ family pictures, &c., she gave all the residue of her estate, real and personal (after the payment of certain legacies), to the said Lord Cutts, making him her sole executor, which executorship would probably have been worth more than 10,000*l.* 1 p.

## JOANNA CUTTS to MR. CARDONNELL.

1708, July 14. Polland Street.—I beg you to have the charity to remind my Lord Duke of the petition he promised me to recommend to the Queen. I am sure it is in his power to put this matter right, since I find my Lord Treasurer is not averse to my being considered. The treatment which my brother’s memory and I myself have met with is very hard, especially “when its remembered the manner of his going into Ireland, which I need not repeat to you, and that if he had disobeyed that command, whatever had been the consequences of his refusal, he had been supported, and his debts paid, and I provided for, so as not to have wanted favour, of which I can give full proof; and that by that unhappy journey he got his death, and I lost with him more than 30,000*l.*, besides jewels and plate to a very considerable value, which was fully given to him, and, had he outlived Mrs. Pickering one hour, had been mine; and if he had not gone thither, by which means he was so long absent from

her, she had not fallen into those hands, who, though they had not power to injure him, easily took the advantage of his death to ruin me. . . . I dont know who it was that gave the Queen ill impressions of my brother and me, and such as are known to God and man to be contrary to truth, as well as to good nature or common humanity, but I'm very sure 'tis in the Duke's power to set this right." I pray you to let me know his Grace's pleasure, and to tell me whether you think it would be well for me to come over to the Hague, where many of my brother's friends would join me in soliciting the Duke. 4 pp.

Mrs. CUTTS to the LORD TREASURER.

[1708, July?]-Memorial setting forth her brother's services and charges and her own necessities, and stating that his going to Ireland (which, as attested by the physicians, was the cause of his death) was not, as given out by his enemies, "a reward asked by him, but, on the contrary, a very unwilling act of obedience and submission," as his Lordship and Lord Marlborough know well, Mr. St. John having been employed by the Duke to persuade him to undertake the employment. Prays him to support her petition to the Queen, believing that her case is too singular "to be reckoned among the common beggars of the Queen's charity," and reminding him how long she has waited silently under the utmost difficulties and distresses. 3 pp.

A. MASHAM to her cousin, Mrs. CUTTS.

[1708 ?]-Has acquainted the Queen with what she desired, who thinks she will do very well to apply to the Duke of Marlborough. Wishes her success with all her heart.  $\frac{1}{2}$  p.

Memorial of COL. EDMUND REVETT, to SYDNEY, LORD GODOLPHIN, Lord High Treasurer, &c.

[1709, early in?]-Praying for some assistance out of the contingencies, such as was granted to Col. Gossuch, to enable him to support his charges as commander of a battalion of her Majesty's foot guards in Flanders.  $\frac{1}{2}$  p.

COL. EDMUND REVETT to his cousin, DAVID POLLHILL.

1709, [July 21-] August 1. From before Tournay.—"I fear the care I have taken to transmit to you the truth of what happened in these parts since I have been here may be a reason why you have had no more from me than I have had from you, however as a Christian I persist, and cannot omit telling you that on the 28th July, N.S., about six in the evening Monsieur Sourville came himself to the breach and beat the *Shamade*. Hostages were exchanged, and for the articles of capitulation I refer you to the prints, and on the 31st the town was evacuated, our troops marched into the town and about nine at night, we began to fire upon the citadel, which is the finest and the strongest



fortification in Europe, and they have in it a sufficient number of troops for the defence of it, which I apprehend will give us a good deal of trouble. This siege is to be carried on by thirty battalions of foot, ten of Imperialists, four of English, three of Prussians, three Hannovers and ten Hollandais, and ten squadrons of horse in proportion as &c. [*sic*]. We fear the taking of this place will take us up thirty days from this time, for there is not a foot of ground that is not undermined and casemated, which will oblige us for the preservation of our people to approach it *à la sabb*, which indeed is very slow but sure. My lord Albermarle is declared governour of the town, and though the citadel is not in our possession, we have declared one Le Roke, the principal engineer to the States, governor of the citadel.

"We have this morning received advice that the enemy were under great concern for the loss of the town, which they believed would have held out longer, and this morning half their army marched into their lines by Bethune and Doway, and the other half lies at a place called Hornain, within two leagues of Vallentienns, where they are throwing up of a line to cover it, but I believe they will find it very difficult for them to guard so great an extent of ground, and to keep us from passing. We talk here that we shall march in a few days to a town called Orches, four leagues from Tournay in the Chattilline of Lisle, where we shall meet with forage and cover our siege till the citadel is taken. We begin to talk about what will be our next enterprise, and there are almost as many different opinions as there are officers. But this I think I may lay down as a principle, that we must hug either the Scheld or the Lyss for the conveniency of living. Some thinks we shall go to Condé, but the difficulties indeed are very numerous against our passage into France that way, which I believe will hinder our attempting it. But there is a town called Aire situated near the source of the Lyss, within ten miles of St. Omers and about thirty from Callais; this town is strong, but will not take us up so long a time to take it as the other, besides there is no town of force to stop us from thence and we can be supplied with what we shall want from Lisle; this is nothing but our conjectures, and time will shew us who is in the right.

"The chat of Peace is again revived here, and the French officers say that we shall be good friends before the end of August. Indeed I am so great a lover of peace and the good of my country, that I among the majority wish that there had not been any cause for the loss of so many good men and officers that have fallen at this siege, which are about three thousand killed and wounded; but that is matter of speculation and so will leave that to you who is a better judge.

"The plan of the town is imperfect, and till the citadel is ours we cannot pretend to have one, which with the attacke as soon as it's over I will send it you. Mons. Sourville's plate was coined down to pay the garrison, which is a good reason, and to shew

the vanity of the country there was no great occasion [*sic*]. This Mons. Sourville was a prisoner with us in England and very justly is looked upon as a good officer, and his conduct in this siege is that that will make him marshal of France.

"We had this morning about one hundred deserters with four officers of the Spanish troops, which had hid themselves in the town and who came to us this day and they say there is three hundred more." 2½ pp.

*Addressed* : "To David Polhill, Esq. To be left at Mr. Bendishes, Hatten Garden."

RICHARD STEELE to [JOANNA CUTTS?].

1709, October 26.—Concerning the procuring of a "pass home" for a person unnamed. 1 p.

————— to Madam —————

1710, June 18–24. Hague.—Since we came over most of our time has been taken up in seeing the provinces and doing some business at Amsterdam, but I hoped before this to have sent you the good news of the surrender of Doway and said something relating to the peace, in both which I have been disappointed. 'Tis hoped you may next week have the news of Doway's being taken. We are masters only of one of the revelins within the counterscarp, which has cost us, they say, about seven hundred men, but 'tis hoped the other works will not cost us so dear in proportion. The D[uke] of Mar[borough] and Pr[ince] Eug[ene] are much together at play, but it is only at small game, which makes still diversion. In the last report the deputies made from Gertrudenberg, we hear the French offer all the preliminaries but Sicilie and Sardinia. Formerly they would have had the forts on the coasts of Italy, but we have got 'em driven from the continent. However they hold their grip, and I doubt of their sincerity. For this they offer to pay the allies monthly a sum of money till K[ing] Phil[ip] be driven from Spain, and will give us the bankers of Paris as security for the payment. A money expedient is good, but how they will pay us when they cant pay their own troops I cant tell. The Emperor's ministers are offended with the proposition and would reject it out-right, others, though they do not like it, has taken some time to advise with their masters of it, and against Doway be taken we shall have their answers. They are making Cardinal Boullion's impeachment at Paris, who, is thought, will not so easily escape as Sach[evere]ll did, but he is got out of their hands, and I do not hear that so many take part in his quarrel as there was for the Doctor, whose business makes a strange noise even here. The Zar of Moscovey has of late taken away the revenues of his Patriarch, lest he should be able at any time [to] occasion tumults, and will have all his clergy maintained on the public revenue, as is here. I wish, for the peace sake, that our contentions made less noise, but I know things with us must have their course, which I hope will be over before I have the honour to see you, Madam.

"I am as happy as I can wish in my charge. My Lord Lonsdale is a very hopeful youth." If there are hopes of peace, we shall stay here to see the treaty, and if not, shall go for Germany, whither I shall be proud of carrying Dr. Hutton's commands, as also of his company. 2½ pp.

R. B. to [JOANNA CUTTS].

1710, August 13.—Desires to know what further steps have been taken for sending for their friend in Germany or tending to his interest. Hopes the late good news from Spain may raise the sinking stocks and make the new Commissioners more easy. Asks whether the Archdeacon's speech has been shown to the party. Sends service to Mrs. Lockhart. ½ p.

JOANNA CUTTS to N.

[1710, August.]—"I should have returned answer to yours before, but both myself and since my cousin [Mrs. Lockhart?] have been ill. Her's has been this fever. To the subject of your last—the very great confusion they are all in till my lord and lady Marlborough are out, both of which changes are expected, makes it dangerous to meddle in your affair till it is over, which I think will be very soon. . . . Having this occasion to send by a private hand, I must tell you to entertain your father what I think will be the Queen's new measures, only with this caution, that what is designed in some particular changes is kept very secret, so I cannot be certain; what I tell you as so, you may depend on. It is so that the Queen has been always uneasy at the bringing in the Whigs, and from being imposed on by a persuasion that they had the only interest in England to believe it necessary, gave way to it but never liked them. That 'tis now two years since she has been convinced my lord M[arlborough], my lady and the junto were her enemies and dangerous to her interest and the constitution; that she delayed to make any steps before was in hopes of a peace every year; that she had certain intelligence that the Duke had tricked her out of it, else what she now does had been again delayed; that on this, taking occasion on their insolence in misrepresenting her own words, giving assurances to foreign States in her name without her order, intriguing with the Dutch and the Court of Vienna, she has begun, and will go on to make a thorough change. My lady M[arlborough] has been for some months forbid coming to her and you may depend she never will see her more. The Duchess of Somerset will be Groom of the Stole, cousin M[asham] Privy Purse, and I hope lady Hide, Lady of the Robes,\* and by this division of her places her favour will not be engrossed in so narrow a circle as before. This for the women. How the great places will be disposed among the men is not certain, only Mr. Harley and my lord Rochester are

\* These appointments were not, however, made until the following January.

united, and with him all the heads of the church party are entirely reconciled to Robin, to whose indefatigable diligence and industry and wonderful intelligence is owing all this turn, since he has by it opened the Queen's eyes to see her danger. This you may depend on. The Whigs give out my lord Rochester is dissatisfied, but he will be soon declared in the ministry, which will be a great blessing to you and I, though this is not to be yet spoke on.

"You may also depend that the Elector of Hanover is in this measure and perfectly in the Queen's interest and she in his. What the message to him is I can't yet be certain, but by what poor Cresset\* told me before he died I do believe it is either to offer him the command of the army in the duke of M[arlborough]'s room, or to invite him hither personally to confer with the Queen. This I think I've good reason to believe. The Queen takes nothing worse of the late ministry than their endeavours to persuade people that she was not firm to the Protestant succession or had the least inclination to leave her people into the hands of a popish prince. I believe it will be made appear in the next parliament (the writs to call which will be out the first week in September) that the design of the late ministry and their junto was to have obliged the Queen to take a 10,000*l.* a year and retire and the Bill of Regency to take place in her life, by which they would have had England to sell to the highest bidder, tho [?thus] I shant be much longer laughed at for saying the Whig lords were the best friends to the P[rin]ce of Wales. The Queen sat last week in her new Treasury, and will do so constantly, by which means she will see all the former mismanagements which have been more bold and enormous than ever happened in any reign. Besides the extravagancy of Blenheim, &c., only, which has cost the public 175,000*l.*, there is appearing besides secret service allowances for the army, contingent monies &c. appearing on the Treasury books, fifty, forty, thirty and several such sums paid to my lord M[arlborough] without any reason as if he were king and his name the excuse. The remittances are made for Flanders and Spain. Sir Rich[ard] Hoare, Sir Francis Child, and a number of honest citizens have provided more than they have occasion for this six months. Furnace, Heathcoat, &c. have offered theirs, but the premium the late Treasurer allowed them being what these thought they could not answer to the public, they refused their offers."

*Postscript.* I think I have deserved something of our new people, shall take care that your affair is included. "I have seen C[ousin] M[asham] but once in a hurry since all this. 'Tis impossible to be imagined the confusion they are in, but she has assured me of her good-will to us when the storm is over." 12 *pp.*

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\* "Mr. Cresset, who was going envoy extraordinary to the Court of Hanover, is dead." Luttrell, under date July 27.

## NICHOLAS BUDIANI to JOANNA CUTTS.

1711-12, February 2. Dublin Barracks.—I pray you not to think my silence due to disrespect, for since the death of my ever honoured Lord and Master, I am under more obligation to you than to any living soul, “not only for your singular good favour which you did for me with his Lordship when alive, but also being the relict of his honourable name and family, which I have wonderfulest reason in the world to honour and reverence to the last moment I have breath.”

The business of my calling has required such close attendance with the regiment that I have not been able to pay my respects to you. I was “sometime in Flanders, some months at sea, sometime at great distance in England from London, and for the longest part of the time up and down in Ireland. . . but now we are on duty in Dublin, where we shall continue till June next, if peace be not concluded before.

“Tuesday night last we lost by death General Ingoldsby, one of our Lords Justices, who is much lamented by all sort of people. He died of a quinsy in his throat after five days’ illness and is to be buried in a magnificent manner this day seven night in the vault at Christ Church where my dear Lord and master was laid, whose coffin I’ll see if I live and do well so long.” 2 pp.

## FRANCES, LADY RUSSELL.

1713, July 10.—Note by Lady Russell that whereas it has been alleged by some of the Russells that she brought nothing into the family, the enclosed [*wanting*] is to show what she had in money, “besides a much better personal estate” than she has ever had, by much.

Also, memorandum of “an acknowledgment of 2,000*l.* received by Sir Francis Russell” of her money when she married his son, Sir John.

## G. LAMBERTY to [JOANNA CUTTS].

1713, August [4-]15. The Hague.—Four days ago, the Earl of Straffort’s secretary gave me your letter, the first I have received since the packet given me by the late Col. Revett before starting on the campaign during which the fight near Mons<sup>o</sup> occurred. As to what you desire to know, I have a great mass of papers collected during this long war, which I am about to arrange, and I will send you extracts of anything upon this question. At the time of the affair, I took care to publish several things in the gazettes and also in the monthly historical letters here. But in the report of the siege of Venlo, for instance, where my late Lord took Fort St. Michel, the Prince of Nassau Saarbrug had a false relation printed, depriving my late Lord, your brother, of the glory. *French.* 3 pp.

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\* i. e. Malplaquet.

WILLIAM THOMAS to [JOANNA CUTTS].

1714, May 18. Treasury Chambers.—Stating that the Lord Treasurer has directed the Officers of Works to examine her pretensions in her memorial of the 14th inst., and that whatever vouchers she has to support them may be produced to that board.  
1 p.

A [supposed] letter from the PARSON OF A PARISH.

[1714, July, after the 9th.\*]—"Sir, I desire you will spare me, being a plain old man, if I am not so quaint in my expressions as the rest of your correspondents. I have no doubt but you are a very worthy gentleman, though somewhat testy when you are offended. Of what sort, name or title I wont be so bold to guess, but the appellation 'Sir' I think may serve for anyone living that is not a peer, and that I presume you are not. The occasion of my writing to you to be brief is this. There are two gentlemen whose estates divide my parish, the one Sir James Carbunkle, [a Tory, *erased*] the other Sir William Lawless. They are both of them very vehement in their way, and both without any regard to religion or good manners. Now, Sir, these two have distracted all my parishioners. They write every post to their tenants such strange news, and contradicting each other, that there rarely happens a post night without some broken heads about the politics. The last post, in Sir James Carbunkle's letter were these words, 'you may depend on't the fanatic dogs are down and never will hold up their heads again. As soon as the Parliament meets we'll have an act to hamper the rogues and take away their toleration.' In Sir William's letter is these—'It's high time for you to better yourselves, for popery and slavery are coming fast upon you. The Prince of Wales will be in Scotland in two months, where four thousand men are ready to receive him and as many stand of arms are just now arrived there to equip them. All is adjusted here. The T[reasurer] is to go out and Lord B[olingbroke] and the great favourite L[ady] M[asham], who now carry all before them, have sent a great lady into France with an important message to his mother. We have sent notice of it to the Elector of Hanover, but like a dull German as he is, he takes no notice of it†. And notwithstanding notice of these things are given to the Secretary's office, nobody is taken up for it nor any care. Rank Jacobites are employed in every place, and in the kingdom of Scotland, where he is to come, none but such have any power or authority.' Now Sir, my parish being very honest, well meaning people, that abhor a popish successor on the one hand and a change of the constitution on the other, are dist[racted?]. The business is done it's all agreed. A great l[ady] is sent into

\* The Queen prorogued Parliament on the 9th. Oxford gave up the staff on the 27th.

† This sentence is cancelled.

France with an important message by B[olingbroke] and that bitch M[asham] who now carry all before them. The Tr[ easurer] is to go out and they rule the roast." 2½ pp.

DUKE OF ORMONDE to JOANNA CUTTS.

[1714?] December 1.—Stating that he received her letter just as he came to town last Saturday night, and will be ready to wait on her whenever she pleases. 1½ p.

LORD BOLINGBROKE to MRS. JOANNA CUTTS.

[1714?] Wednesday morning.—Promising to wait upon her the next morning, and assuring her that her commands should have been sooner obeyed, had his time been more at his own disposal. ½ p.

Memorial of MRS. REVETT.

[1714? ]—That Colonel Revett served King William in Flanders, and afterwards Queen Anne, for the space of twenty years, and did good service in the defence of Gibraltar, as the Prince of Hesse's letters to the Prince of Denmark, and also Lord Galloway's will attest;

That he lost his life at the battle of Blarney [Blaregnies or Malplaquet] where he charged under the Duke of Argyle.

That petitioner was left with four small children, without a penny in the world, and with 4,000*l.* debts contracted in the late war.

That she has since had some estate from her father, but has appropriated a great part of it to pay Col. Revett's debts.

That she bought a commission for her son, who is now at Gibraltar.

And that Queen Anne granted her a pension of 200*l. per annum*, which enabled her to breed up her children, who are all alive and growing up to be a great charge. 1 p.

Petition of MRS. RIVETT to KING GEORGE I.

[1714? ]—"Que le Colonel Rivett, ayant épousé une niece de my Lord Cutts, il servit sous luy comme volontaire, et se distingua par sa bravoure et par son courage dans toutes les occasions où le roy Guillaume employa ce seigneur, particulièrement au siege de Namur, ou il eust l'honneur de se faire remarquer du roy, qui ordonna qu'on luy donnât une compagnie dans la [sic] regiment des gardes commandé alors par my Lord Cutts.

"Que le roy lui avoit promis un regiment, mais que la mort empêcha sa Majesté d'effectuer sa promesse.

"Qu'il servit en Espagne, où, par sa conduite, il merita l'approbation de my Lord Galloway et de tous les officiers generaux, et qu'au siege de Gibraltar, ou il commandoit tous les grenadiers,

il eust l' honneur de rendre des services tres considerables, et par sa bravoure ne contribua pas peu au salut de la place, de quoy le Prince de Hesse luy avoit donné d' amples tesmoignages.

"Qu' a la bataille de Tanieres [Tasnieres or Malplaquet] il commanda le bataillon du second regiment des Gardes avec la derniere bravoure, et y fut tué apres avoir receu diverses blessures.

"Que Madame Rivett, son espouse, à qui il laissa quatre enfants, avec une grosse dette sur son bien, obtint de la bonté de la reyne Anne une pension de 200*l.* par an, en consideration des grands services de son mary qui n'en avoit jamais luy meme receu aucune recompense, laquelle pension elle supplie tres humblement sa Majesté de lui vouloir continuer, sans quoy elle et ses enfants se trouveront réduits a une grande misere." 1 *p.*

#### LORD CUTTS.

[1714?]"—"An account of my Lord Cutts his conduct in the time he served the public."

"That my Lord Cutts being born of a family which was one of the first in England that embraced the reformed religion, and that had ever since maintained a constant zeal against popery, he was carefully educated in those principles, which engaged him when not twenty years old amongst those who opposed the popish faction.

"Soon after king James' accession to the throne, he having been known to the then Prince of Orange, at his desire, who at the same time did him the honour to entrust him in a negotiation of very great importance, he went a volunteer at his own expense to the Duke of Lorrain, by whom he was so much distinguished that though then not twenty years old, at the end of the campaign he recommended him to the Emperor's favour, and he was honoured with a considerable employment in the Imperial service, in which he behaved himself with a general approbation the next campaign.

"At the end of which, coming home by the Hague to wait on the prince, he acquainted him with the measures then concerted for his speedy coming into England to protect the religion and liberties of these nations. And as my Lord Cutts entered into the Revolution, to which the credit and interest his family and his own conduct had given him in England made him useful, with a disinterested zeal for the public safety, so he spent 8,000*l.* in that service before king William landed in England.

"In the year '88, king James, apprehending the approaching storm and raising forces, did him the honour to offer him the command of a regiment, and when he excused himself, as not being capable to serve His Majesty because he could not be for taking off the laws against papists (which was the question put at that time) the king had so much opinion of his honour and probity that he was pleased to dispense with that and only required of him by the Duke of Berwick to promise to serve him faithfully. But his principles not allowing him on the one side to serve against the religion and laws of his country, and on the



other being incapable of so much baseness to take a trust or make any promise he could not keep, he refused employment on any terms and for his safety was forced to go off that very night in a fisher boat for Holland. By which sudden journey he suffered very much in his private affairs.

"By King William's commands (who was pleased at that time to promise him he would take care of his fortune, and that the debts he had contracted on his estate in the service should be repaid him) he quitted the Imperial service and came over with him in his expedition for England.

"He served in the command of a regiment of foot in Ireland until the reduction of that kingdom, and in each campaign was wounded, as well as suffered by the disease of that country, by which accidents to him who took no advantages to himself more than the direct pay of his regiment, or ever made profit of the calamities of that country by plundering and making sale of corn and cattle, a practice contrary to the King's expressed order as well as the public good, that service was more expensive to him than either the pay of his regiment or the profits of his own estate, now lessened by interest money, taxes, and that neglect of his affairs which his constant attendance on the King's service occasioned, by which his debt still increased.

"The King was so well satisfied with his conduct in Ireland and the service his regiment had done, that at the end of that war most of his officers were advanced, and himself had the King's promise that when any of the forfeited estates were disposed of, he should be considered. But the King being pressed by more important solicitors, he, who always considered his master's interest more than his own ease or profit, and besides having an entire confidence in the King's good intentions to him, desisted and gave up the *custodium* of a considerable estate, which it was for the King's service to dispose to another, though he had had the grant of it.

"The next year he served in Flanders, and in the battle of Steinkirk received a wound of which it was with great difficulty and length of time that he recovered, and whilst he lay so ill of wounds at Brussels that no letters were given him, he lost 300*l.* a year for ever for himself and family, an estate on three lives, the two last dying before he could give his orders to renew the first.

"In [16]98, the Isle of Wight being vacant, the King gave him that post, which was the first employment he had after seven years serving at a vast expense that did not create him much more charge than the profits amounted to.

"The next campaign he was employed in the descent to Cameret Bay, &c., and his conduct in that expedition was so acceptable to the King that at his return the King gave him the second regiment of Guards. From thence to the end of the war he served in Flanders, having always the approbation of the King to have done his duty well, and in several occasions he had the honour to

be of use, particularly at the siege of Namure, where he commanded at the head of the English, and his conduct at the attack of the Terra Nova was acknowledged to have hastened the reduction of that important place.

"After the Peace of Reswick, the King gave him a grant of considerable forfeited estate in England, but there appearing afterwards a settlement which made the King's title void it proved of little effect to him.

"His Majesty afterwards did him the honour to assure him by himself by the archbishop of Canterbury that he should be provided for, and that neither himself nor his family should suffer by his service to him, and till that could be made effectual gave him 1,000*l.* a year out of the Privy Purse. He received it two years, but the last year, that which was due when the King died, though his Majesty had the goodness to order it in his sickness, was never paid.

"As never any man obeyed with more diligence and exactness the King's commands in his several posts, neither selling commissions, oppressing officers or soldiers under his command, or making undue profits of the clothing, allowing false musters or taking those perquisites which the King expressly forbid and were thought inconsistent with the good of the service, so his diligence and fidelity to the service of his Prince and country was not less remarkable at home than in the field, constantly attending the House of Commons, where he was always chose, had a great many friends on whom he had influence and was always well heard; and as on every occasion where the Protestant interest was concerned he shewed the greatest zeal, so most particularly on the happy settlement of the succession on his present Majesty, none could boast of more forwardness nor of a more steadfast adherence to that design than himself." 4 *pp.* *Unfinished.*

SIR EDWARD LAWRENCE to MRS. CUTTS, at Somerset House.

1715, July 14.—At Sir Richard Steele's request, he has stopped proceedings against her, but he begs that she will not be long before she takes up the bond, and must desire her to pay the bearer, Mr. Attwood, his bill for entering the judgment, as she agreed to do. 1½ *pp.*

W. VANE to [JOANNA CUTTS].

1716, December 18. Fairlawne.— "On these surprising changes that have lately happened in town, I firmly depended upon the favour of hearing from my good cousin, had it been only to have let me know whether her old friend, the great Duke, be past all hopes, because we have here very various accounts of the state of his health. The removal of the late Se[creta]ry\* I find creates many speculations in town, though perhaps it may be only shifting the scene, unless his paying some particular respects to

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\* Charles, Viscount Townshend.

the son<sup>o</sup> has disgusted the father, and if so, I believe his Lordship will hardly be transplanted to Ireland and we may perhaps hear of further changes. Do you not expect the first Commissioner<sup>†</sup> will undergo the same fate with his brother-in-law? I perceive by the prints that the flying squadron in Scotland carry all before them. I doubt that prognosticates no good to some of our friends, but who knows what a session may produce? However, I take it for granted that the Tories are still to be kept out of play, unless the divisions amongst the Whigs force one of the parties to apply to them. I hope you heartily congratulate me upon my good cousin's being made Privy Seal,<sup>‡</sup> and I dare answer for him that whatever his predecessor did, he will pursue very moderate measures. Pray be so kind to let me know when you expect the proclamation for the sitting of the Parliament. There is now no further talk of a Captain General; if the alliance with France take place, there will be no occasion for any. Pray give my humble respects to Mrs. Lockhart and Mrs. Ballandine, and let the latter know that I am sure there are some new lampoons." 4 pp.

S[ELINA] LADY HUNTINGDON to the COUNTESS OF HERTFORD.

1718, June 13. Chelsea.—“Did my dearest Lady Hartford see the long arrears due to my many spiritual correspondents, she would see a love to her that is not without partiality, and indeed her last letter affected me strangely from the extreme tenderness of it, and I cannot help crying out with the prophet ‘how long shall these vain thoughts lodge within us.’ O how does my pride still drink in the approbation of those I love! What attacks does the shield of faith suffer from these fiery darts; they are so clothed by reasonable excuses that makes their penetration but the more unfelt. [Religious meditations and exhortations.] I cannot help making dear Lady Hartford a sharer in my joys, and this is at present with the hopes of the conversion of the blacks, of which Mr. Whitfield gives me great hopes in North America. He has had three hundred children in a morning brought to him to baptize . . . O how glorious a day is this like to be, what many wise and good men of all ages have longed to see; there is hardly any Christian Church but what there is an awaking in (but the Roman Catholic one) . . . I hear Mrs. Masham is near you. By what I hear, she is really very earnest and a very good woman. I know her sister, who I esteem very much. As I can only speak that I know, so it is all I am able to say of Mrs. Masham, but inclined to believe most highly from report. She surely would be a pleasure to you at times. . . . I am fitting up a little retreat close by the ancient walls of mouldering pomp, and which now serves as a perpetual monument of that better part I have chosen. The towers of these remaining ruins cast a solemn gloom over my little habitation on one side, and on the other, I am within the sound of those echoes praise lends to the venerable walls in which my repository is prepared, and where my

\* i.e. the Prince of Wales.

† Robert Walpole

‡ Evelyn Pierrepont, Duke of Kingston.

slumbering dust will wait the archangel's summons. It is to be as primitive as possible, since the single eye has raised it only that the poor, unworthy inhabitant may there glorify her Saviour in body, soul and spirit while she is here on earth. When I am fixed in it, I shall not fail to give you some account of my life there; contrary much to all the human views of happiness and greatness, depend upon it.

"I had got this far ten days ago, but I have been so much out of order that everything but trying to submit to the rod seemed hard to me. My friend and old companion, pain, I hope he may have done me some good, but I ever feel how much more I want to learn obedience by such sufferings.

"I have seen Lady Archibald [Campbell?], Lady Pomfret, Lady Bath; these are the enquirers after truth, but I might hope their progress quicker than it is. Oh, my dear Lady Hartford, how hard is [it] for all to be forsaken, to be counted a fool or mad in return; for this is all the visible reward for renouncing earthly delights. But to God alone belongs the power to soften hearts, and make them yield to that still small voice that calls them from the trifles of time to the joys of eternity."

*Addressed:* "For the Right Honourable the Countess of Hartford, at Percy Lodge, near Colebrook, Bucks." 5½ pp.

SELINA, LADY HUNTINGDON to the COUNTESS OF HERTFORD.

[1718, December 21? ]—"My dear Lady Hartford's letters give me such delight that I feel my whole heart under an immediate engagement to speak in the simplicity of it all I feel from them. Could I be sure you would look upon me as one of those ten lepers that lay upon his face at the Lord's feet, giving him thanks, not only for myself but you, I could best and clearest (by that figure) be understood. But shall I tell you that part that most struck me was the text that is in St. Luke, and for more reasons than one, it being that which first showed me the narrow way that leads to life, by being repeated by an old pious clergyman, and to which he ascribed his salvation, as being the cause of his conversion. [Religious meditations and arguments.] Your judgment is most exactly right with respect to our Church, but remember our Lord's charge, *let them alone*. They be blind leaders of the blind, but never was it known that a man should open the eyes of those that are born blind. We must love and pray for such, and did they know this, I should still love them more, but they say they see, and so their sin and unbelief must remain. . . I have met with a letter wrote in Germany, which when I have got through the translation of, I must send it you, with some history of the person, who is a man of quality that wrote it to his sister, and upon which she renounced all her former sentiments of earthly happiness for the humility and patience of Jesus Christ. He lives unknown now, but is a secret blessing to some great people abroad, who is a-seeking for nothing less than the possession of the kingdom of God. So nigh as my dearest Lady

Hartford is to this royal crown of life, I am sure it will give her great pleasure, as the household of faith will have the first claim to all our joys. How widely spiritual and natural comforts differ! The temporal honours and riches create envy from those who are not possessed of them, whereas in the things of God, a holy rejoicing, as well as a holy emulation, makes us glory in His gracious faithfulness to man. Your approbation would be a means of making me vain about my son. He has great merit to me, but this, with all my other offerings, are at the Lord's feet, and I am a simple pilgrim upon earth, who will have nothing to hope from but the God of the whole earth. *Seal with arms and coronet.* [Not dated, but with postmark of December 21.] 6½ pp.

ENSIGN REWETT.

1722-3, March 7. London.—Receipt for 450*l.* pounds received from John Russell, Esq., on account of Ensign Rewett's commission in the Guards. By Lord Cadogan's orders. *Signed.* A. Corner. *Slip of paper.*

GOVERNOR [JOHN] RUSSELL.

1722-3, March 17.—Cabinet maker's bill for 7*l.* 16*s.* 6*d.*, receipted by George Nix. ¾ p.

[JOHN FULLERTON?] to the Honourable HENRY FRANKLAND, &c., owners of the ship *Prince George*.

[1727.\* Jiddah.]—Giving an account of a great tumult and massacre of Englishmen, on June 6th, ensuing upon the bringing ashore from the *Prince George* of the corpse of a Musselman sailor. This was done to satisfy the people (there having been a great mortality of the "Moors" on board the ship, and rumours of their being maltreated or murdered); but it had a quite contrary effect. The people gathered in great numbers, shouting "a Musselman killed by Twingee [*sic*]" rushed to the house where Mr. Robert Frankland, Captain Dalghish, Thomas Hill, William Moresons, Richard Barnby, and John Fullerton had just finished dinner, burst open the doors, and murdered all except the writer. He escaped and got on board the *Prince George*, where in the name of the owners he deputed Mr. Thomas Cross to be captain in place of Capt. Dalghish, and afterwards returned to the town and, protected by the authorities, took up Mr. Robert Frankland's place, although his new station sat but very heavily upon him. On the 9th he was sent for to the Fort, and ordered to give an account of money and goods lost, which he did to the best of his ability, Mr. Frankland's ledger and day book not turning up until after he had finished.

\* For date, see Mr. Stanyan's despatch of October 6, 1727. *State Papers. Turkey.*

On the 18th, a grand Council was held at the Fort on the affair, there being present the Xeriph, who came from Mecca for the purpose, the Bashaw, the Muftis and Cazies of Mecca and that place [Jiddah], the General of the Janizaries and the most noted of the merchants. The Xeriph and Bashaw declared their great concern for the late accident, saying that it was entirely due to an unruly mob, and appealing to the writer and to Mr. Cross whether they had ever given suspicion of their being concerned in it, to which the Englishmen replied in the negative, and that they had always found the utmost civility and kind usage. The authorities promised to make good all losses, and to allow them to depart with their ship that they might not lose the monsoon, but in August they are still detained and much of the money is yet unpaid. They sent an account of the accident and their losses to the English ambassador at Constantinople, but, never thinking of their ship being detained, did not request his interest for their despatch. It is very doubtful however, whether their letter would ever reach him, most being intercepted on the way. *Unsigned. 6½ pp.*

*[It is probable that John Fullerton was the writer, as his name comes last in the list, but excepting for this inference it might be either Morison or Barnby.]*

HENRY FRANKLAND, Governor of Fort William, to his uncle  
JOHN RUSSELL, late Governor.

1728, July 31. Fort William.—Is much concerned and grieved by the sad news contained in his uncle's letter. His cousins Molly and Betty have arrived safely, he is glad to say, (although heartily sorry for the occasion), and he will love and help them as if they were his own children. Sends assurances to his aunt that he will try to "make all her babies as happy and as easy as Bengal can afford." Frank Russell has been ill, but is better, and happy in a good wife. Billy Rivett is very well, and coming shortly to see his sisters. "Governor Dean's coming out again is much more to the satisfaction of the place than if anybody else had come abroad." Is very ready to deliver up his government, and longs for the happy day when they shall meet in Old England. *2 pp.*

*Addressed:* "To John Russell, Esq., at his house in Greek Street, Soho Square, London, *per ship George.*"

*Endorsed:* "Bengal, Governor Frankland."

*[The two girls mentioned here are apparently John Russell's daughters, Mary and Elizabeth, and Billy is their half brother, Governor Russell having married Col. Revett's widow as his second wife.]*

RICHARD MOUNTENEY to CAPTAIN CHARLES RUSSELL, in Duke  
Street, St. James.

1736, April 13. South Shields.—Concerning three bonds in which Captain Russell, Mr. Ben. Bradley and the sons of the writer are joined with him as sureties to the government, and

also concerning a proposal made to Russell and Mr. Cowslade for securing certain trust money by the Broughton estate.

*Postscript.* Approval, signed by Richard and Anna Mounteney, of the proposal to place the money in trust for the latter in South Sea annuities (as their sister Gascoyne's is) until the Broughton security is agreed upon and settled. 2 pp.

JOHN FRANKLAND to the REV. MR. WIND, at Thirkleby.

1736, May 6. Cambridge.—Thanks him for the melancholy information of his uncle's death. Although the will is not so perfect as it might be, yet as it only needs Sir Thomas Frankland's approbation, he believes that he will not "suffer much in that quarter."  $\frac{3}{4}$  p.

*Endorsed:* "Jo. Frankland on H. F.'s will."

[CHARLES RUSSELL to MR. HOLMES at Calcutta?]

1736, October 20. Checquers.—Is glad to hear that every thing has arrived safe, and is now sending shoes, pumps and boots by the *Louisa*, Captain Pennell. The clothes and periwigs shall follow. Mr. Gascoigne is sending him some claret by the same ship, with Mr. F. Russell's wine. Thanks him for the stockings sent to Captain Revett and himself. Can give him no encouragement about the suit at law, unless there were better grounds to go upon, and has heard nothing of his brother Vanduren, but if the lawyer can get any tolerable foundation to go upon, will not fail to do his utmost. Has sent out full powers to his cousin [Francis] Russell to recover whatever may be due from the black merchants Bissnodass Leat or Samsunder Leat to his [the writer's] father, and has attached his father's will and probate to the letters of attorney.\* His correspondent's name is also put into the letters, in case of death, although he trusts that poor Mr. Russell, who has been so many years in India, may live to see his native land once more.

*Postscript.* Hopes that Mrs. Holmes and his little ones are well. *Draft.* 4 pp.

BEN. GASCOYNE to [CHARLES RUSSELL].

1738, December 27. Turnweele Lane.—Stating that he has sent some of the things for Sir Francis Russell by Mr. Charles Fowlis, third mate of Captain Gilbert's ship, and offering the compliments of the season. 1 p.

[CHARLES RUSSELL to SIR FRANCIS RUSSELL.]

[1742, February?].—Concerning the loss of Mr. Hume's election, Miles Barnes' having put himself out of the direction [of the East India Company], Mr. Fazakerley's money, letters sent out by the *Houghton*, the calculation for the eclipses, the

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\* John Russell, late governor of Fort William, died December 5, 1735.

change of the ministry, the well-being of Billy and Miss Fazakerley, and the likelihood of the writer's being sent abroad, in which case his wife will look after the Indian letters, &c. [*Notes in Chas. Russell's hand.*]

LIEUT.-COL. CHARLES RUSSELL to his wife MRS. RUSSELL, JUNR.,  
Duke St., near St. James, London.

1742, June 3. On board a billinder, between Bruges and Ghent.—I am now on board a billinder, which is very like one of our west country barges, and have just stopped for an hour at a half-way house on the river, where your brother and many more of us have made a very good bait, with a piece of cold beef and tolerable good thin burgundy. The weather extremely hot. Only one company on board, so Mr. Vane and I have a little cabin, which keeps us from being broiled. Your brother and Mr. Berkeley are in the next boat. Yesterday we disembarked from our transports, and came in billinders from Ostend to Bruges, twelve miles through a very flat country, not a house worth 50*l.* and scarce a tree (except a willow) or a hedge all the way. When we arrived at Bruges we had three miles to march into the middle of the town; saw a great many Franciscan, Dominican and St. Augustine friars; a very large town; the Governor, burghers and all the best people turned out to us. 'Twas eight o'clock before our quarters were allotted, and past eleven before we got to bed, but I slept well and was up again at four, when, with no small difficulty and confusion, Mr. Vane and I got on board with all our men. "I take this opportunity, whilst Mr. Vane has been snoring ever since we baited, to write this strange and confused account to my dearest life, who I dare say wont expose it, but can fancy to myself I am now talking to her and seeing my dear little Molly playing about, calling 'Ah, Papa,' but can scarce see to read it without help of my handkerchief." We hope to reach Ghent at five or six o'clock and I shall send this by Colonel Douglas of the 3rd regiment, who is in parliament, and returns to England to-morrow.

At Bruges we heard that the Dutch persist resolutely in not coming in to join us, so our stay perhaps may not be long. If possible, Lord Robert Manners, Ge[orge] Walgrave, your brother and myself mean to mess together and lodge near one another. Remember me to Mr. and Mrs. Knight and Worsley; "my duty to my mother, who I hope keeps up her spirits, and love to Fanny and Jemmy, and a few kisses to little Molly and Johnny."

*Postscript.* Mr. Vane is now awake and sends his service to you. We are on deck, drinking your health in burgundy. A fine breeze has sprung up, which makes it pleasant, and we are within a league of Ghent; "a much more fertile country than

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\*All Colonel Russell's letters contain many warm expressions of affection to his wife and two little ones, and are often, in great part, about his private affairs. Almost all have a seal with his coat of arms and crest in very high relief.



between Ostend and Bruges; great plenty of wheat and barley; a sandy road each side the river planted all the way with oak and ash, not one tree that looks thriving or worth sixpence in the whole plantation " !

6 o'clock. Just got well to Ghent, and can say no more, for Colonel Douglas goes away to-night.  $3\frac{1}{2}$  pp.

LIEUT.-COL. CHARLES RUSSELL to HIS WIFE.

1742, June 9. Ghent.—“ I can have no pleasure here like that of conversing in this manner with my dearest life, and telling you 'tis not to be expressed what joy I feel even in the expectation of a letter from you. . . . At present there is very little amusement in this place. The principal inhabitants, of which there are a great many who keep their coaches, drive about every evening round one of the large market-places and some of the streets, all the officers bowing to them as they pass by; the ladies dressed all in sacks, but so disguised that there appears no beauty among 'em; some of their equipages are very gaudy and fine. The greatest beauty we have here has followed us from England, which is Lady Vane, who arrived here last Monday night, and in reality has followed the brigade of Guards, which, as soon as she is tired with, intends to proceed to Brussels. She has no woman with her, and walks about each evening with an officer of each side of her.” We have mostly had cold easterly winds since we came here. Our provision is tolerably good, but the wine very bad, weak and thin. On Saturday we go into the house which seven of us have taken together; what housekeeping we have there you shall hear by and by. I will try on Friday to send a line or two by Sergeant Lee, of Col. Lascell's company, who the Duke sent hither with our men's kettles and flasks. Your brother wishes to know whether Captain Stanhope, Earl Stanhope's brother, who is gone from Bruges to England, is about buying Col. Duncomb's company.  $3\frac{1}{2}$  pp.

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1742, June 16. Ghent.—I received both your letters on Monday, June 14,\* and need not tell you how happy they made me. I am pleased to find you rise so early and begin to use some exercise, for if you fail to take proper care of yourself and thereby injure your health, reflect only how miserable you will make me, and to what little purpose all your kind expressions of love and regard will be, if, by neglecting yourself, you deprive me of all that is valuable to me in this life. I am now going to dine with the Governor, who dines at twelve o'clock, so must break off for the present.

“After a great feast of three courses and a fine desert I am too full to entertain you. Ten colonels, including myself, were invited, and I could understand French enough to perceive the Governor a very agreeable man, and extremely polite. We were

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\*This shows that the letters are dated old style.

three hours at dinner and a great deal of good wine at it, but none after, which there was no want of. He lives in a very good house; a hall and two fine apartments of each side, the rooms large and very lofty, furnished with tolerable good tapistry and some fine landscapes, and an exceeding good picture, just sent him, of the Queen of Hungary, very like, they say, and very beautiful. A piece of very good news, the Governor told us, was just arrived, which came from Lord Stairs and also from Vienna; that the King of Prussia had signed a treaty with the Queen of Hungary, that in ten days he was to withdraw all his troops, who were neither to serve against her or any of her allies, and in consideration of this, his Prussian Majesty was to have all Upper and Lower Silesia (with some small exception) and the town of Glatz which did formerly belong to Silesia; upon which *Te Deum* will be sung in all our churches to-morrow."

The wine and food here agree with me very well, but the latter is spoiled by the dressing. No salad can I eat, the oil is so bad, so if Lightfoot and Merriden will bring some, they wont be sorry when they get here. There are plenty of baggage horses in this place, and I do not believe we shall go far enough away to make them necessary.

You surprise me when you say you fear you will be obliged to use the money I left with you. I left it for no other purpose, and if you spared it, or as much more, if you had occasion for it, you would make me very unhappy. There is no fear of our wanting money when we meet again. [Directions about the poor rates at Missenden, sale of hay &c.] The weather here has been so cold that several people have had fires. I told you in my last that I was to hear some fine music on Sunday, but it proved very indifferent. "It was, according to new style, St. John's day, and a very great festival here, many solemn processions being carried about the town, with St. John's head finely wrought in silver in a charger. The church dedicated to that saint is by much the finest here. It is called St. Bave's Church, or St. Bavain, and has a great many curiosities in the inside of it, many fine monuments, pictures and statues, particularly one of exquisite workmanship of St. John, brass, and marble columns of the different orders are really very fine in the church."

"As for the ladies, I have seen none but in their coaches, and have not spoke to a woman since I've been here, except here and there a servant-maid; as for the tradesmen's wives, they appear to have nothing of any beauty among 'em . . . . I am sorry to tell you poor Vane has been in arrest ever since the 11th of this month, having had a fracas with Capt. Rich. A blow has been given by the latter, so not easily to be made up. So far I can say, and not one here says otherwise, that my friend has not been in the least to blame, which is a great comfort to him."

*Postscript.* Robinson, Durand, Vanbrugh and Hildesly are all well. 9 pp.

## LIEUT.-COL. CHARLES RUSSELL to HIS WIFE.

1742, July 13.—“Set out at ten in the morning from Ghent to Antwerp, dined at St. Nicola and got to Anvers, which is thirty-three English miles, at 7 o'clock. Went the next day to see the Notre Dame eglise, where was the picture of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary done by Rubens, and a most exquisite fine piece, also another fine picture by the same hand of our Saviour being taken down from the cross, with Rubens' own picture in it, his two wives, and two daughters. The same day went to see the eglise de St. Jacques, where there was a bas-relief of our Saviour's crucifixion, executed in a most elegant manner; went the next day to see the convent of the Carmelites, where we saw our Saviour's head finely drawn, which was taken from the Turks; we then went to see the Jesuits' convent, where was a fine picture of St. Ignatius driving the devil out of those that were possessed, by Rubens, and a fine picture of St. Bernardus making an offering, by Vandyke, and the architecture of the church was most beautiful, belonging to the said convent; then went to see Mr. Sneye's fine collection of fruit and flower pieces, and a fine picture of a Jesuit by Vandyke.” 1 p.

## THE SAME to THE SAME.

[1742,] October 1 and 2. Ghent.—Our family being all gone out except Lightfoot, who is below stairs learning French dialogues, I cannot divert myself better than by fancying you sitting by me, and chatting to you.

Our present orders are to march next week and cantoon in a village near Courtray, about two days' distance, and in a very wholesome situation. I keep very well, partly I think because I take no malt liquor. Poor Merriden and many others are miserable for want of English beer, and sometimes drink that of this country, which is mere hogs-wash. You ask what place we have for divine worship. ‘Tis a shameful thing we should have but two for all the troops in this garrison; one only for all the horse Guards and grenadiers, and foot Guards. Since the former came they have constantly had the church for the morning service, and the afternoon only for us, but as the horse officers dont take up all the room allotted for them, I have an opportunity of going in the morning; and chaplains we have in plenty, and some very good preachers and agreeable young men. We have a brother of Mr. Barton's of St. Andrews often with us who is chaplain to the train of artillery. On Sunday next a sacrament is appointed and a collection intended for the poor soldiers' wives and families, and those sick in our hospital. . . . Seven or eight of the King's coaches came in last night, I suppose from the Hague, but yet we doubt of his coming. Nothing this day talked of but cantooning, which they say we are to do if his Majesty should not come, and without fail next week, though my Lord Stair's coming, I find now, is not to be till Tuesday or Wednesday. . . . On Monday next, being the Queen of Hungary's birthday, the whole garrison is ordered to be under arms, and great rejoicings we are to make, with a *feu de joie*, &c.” . . . 5 pp.

## LIEUT.-COL. CHARLES RUSSELL TO HIS WIFE.

1742, November 2. Ghent.—I was sorry I was obliged to break off so abruptly in my last, and not able to give you a better account of the review. "I was mistaken in the short description I gave you of Prince Frederick of Hesse, for 'twas only Prince George, his uncle, I saw at the review, whose person, I can assure you, dont please me near so well as his nephew's, who I saw on Sunday last at Lord Stairs', and like him extremely well. His stature a good deal resembles the Duke's Mr. Windham, only thicker legs and rather a plumper face, but in that much the greater advantage. If you remember, Miss K—pe gave a quite different account of him. He was extremely pleased, I hear, with the appearance we made at the review, and as we gave a peculiar satisfaction to our General and Commander in Chief, I cant omit the manner in which he expressed himself by the orders that were given out the day following, viz.:—

'Ghent, October the 31st, 1742.

The parole is Frederick and Bruge. As my Lord Stairs has seen with great pleasure the great beauty of all his Majesty's forces, both horse and foot, belonging to this garrison, he is persuaded that the troops he has not seen are answerable to the sample of those he has seen, and that there is nothing wanting to make that body of troops irresistible but that the flourishing youth of which the different corps are composed should vie with one another to excel in their exactness of duty, in which case the British troops will soon acquire the reputation of excelling in order and discipline, as they have already the fame of surpassing other troops in vigour and beauty. My Lord Stairs expects that the officers will pique themselves to stay in quarters this winter, and that no officer will desire to be absent but in case of necessity. In that case, my Lord Stairs flatters himself that very early in the spring his Majesty will find an army worthy to put himself at the head of.'

By this you may see how few officers will leave Flanders this winter. The Duke of Marlborough set out for England this morning, before the orders came out."

By the time this reaches you, I hope you will be preparing to go to London, whence I shall expect to hear a great deal of news from you, which the Town will be full of, at the meeting of Parliament. Before they adjourn at Christmas, people will be able to conjecture what turn the affairs of Europe will be likely to take, and if pacific measures are upon the anvil, as is the common opinion. (Private affairs. Recommends "Daffy" for his little girl.) You will be surprised to hear that I have not eaten one grape this season, nor scarce seen one that was ripe. Walnuts we have had in plenty, and baking apples and *legumes*, particularly celery and endive, but no eating apples at all, either golden pippins, russets or non-pareils. 4 pp.

## LIEUT.-COL. CHARLES RUSSELL TO HIS WIFE.

1742, November 13. Ghent.—We expect that the orders from England of which I spoke to you will be countermanded, for “our Commander-in-Chief and our generals are of the opinion that such a march in this season will quite destroy our flourishing troops, and I believe another express or two must come [from] England before we set out, for all this time we have received no orders to prepare for our marching. Comfort yourself only with this, that it is thought and known to be so impracticable, that we could scarce reach further than Namur or Luxemburgh, which are very agreeable places for our winter quarters and a fine pavement all the way thither.” I am only sorry for your brother’s disappointment and poor Bos[cawen’s], who was stopped at Bruges; but if we stay here, those who have furloughs will soon have orders to use them when they please. “How much more desirable would it have been to have taken the field soon after we arrived here and have had something to have done worthy our calling; after which one might have hoped to have enjoyed one’s winter quarters in a much happier manner than what I have, or am likely to do. [Private affairs.] Pray remember to see Oliver and let me know a deal from St. Helena and of Kendall, and what he hears in the city of Sir Francis and his lady. Who knows but Bellasyse went this time of the year to see the worst, as he before saw the best of Missenden; but that would be a piece of news too good for me to hear, more successful than could well fall to my lot to be; as the purchase could not be done without me it would necessitate me to come to England . . . provided the troops dont march far from here. But what could induce me to build such castles in the air; [I] thought myself chattering as I used to do to my only life, and expecting some cheerful, prudent reply.” Our messmate Lightfoot has left and Merriden has taken a small house. He is mighty civil now, and lays his objections to Berkeley’s door, for they had scarce common patience with each other.  
5 pp.

*Addressed:* “To Mrs. Russell, junr., at Great Missenden, Chesham, Bucks.”

## THE SAME TO THE SAME.

1742, November 16 and 17. Ghent.—It must be intolerable to you to know that if the wind had changed earlier your brother would have been with you before Duke D’Arembergh arrived here and put a stop to all leave except for those going for their health and members of parliament. Some of the latter are still waiting to see whether we are to march or not. “We have not till this day received orders to be in readiness for a march, yet we dont in the least expect it (though all prepared) but believe the next mail will bring orders to the contrary from England, in answer, as it is said, to what Lord St[air]s has wrote over, who is strongly averse to a winter’s march, as are all our g[enera]ls, knowing for a certainty ’twill be the destruction

of the greatest part of our men, but especially of our cavalry, which cant without an immense expense be repaired and which is of the greatest consequence. As for our officers, they will be so well provided, both within-side and without, that no harm can happen to them, but for our men, who cant have those advantages, and have not been used to it, they will be to be pitied. Lord Stairs is this morning gone to Brussels for a few days, to consult, we suppose, upon this occasion with Count D' Harrack."

I fear Bellasyse saw no temptation to make him a purchaser. It is unlucky Drayton proves so convenient to him. Fanny writes that Lord Effingham sent her a letter from me, with not a word in it, but the lace I sent for you. I wrote by the post to both you and her and thought the letters would have arrived first. As to the French tippet, give it to her from me if you do not like it, but I had much rather you kept it if you think it pretty and I will get her another. I find poor Mrs. Trevor dont approve of her lace because it is not Brussels and like that which Bos[cawen] sent Nanny Trevor, but that cost more than we were commissioned to lay out. I am vexed that Lord Effingham should have told Fanny that I was in hopes to get leave, which I should never have said to him without telling you of it. I have read the India letters and dont advise you to send out more than fifty or sixty pounds in nick-nacks or ivory toys, a model in tin of a grate of about eight or ten pounds value and some few books that you think worth reading. 5 pp.

LIEUT.-COL. CHARLES RUSSELL to HIS WIFE.

1742, November 19 and 20. Ghent.—It is said that an express went yesterday to Lord Stairs at Brussels. We hope to hear the contents to-morrow, when his Lordship returns here, but everything confirms the impracticability of our undertaking a march into Germany this winter.

The chief purport of the letter from India "seems only relating to Eyres and himself,\* and his own conduct and abilities in the discharge of the Company's affairs at Cossimbuzar. . . .

"In my last, I mentioned something of a court-martial relating to Captain Rich, and can now with great pleasure tell you that long and tedious disagreeable affair is happily decided. The battalion was ordered yesterday morning under arms, and Captain Rich, before all the officers, offered Mr. Vane a stick, to make what use he thought proper of, asking him pardon at the same time for the rash and most extravagant action he had been guilty of, and that he did it much more sincerely from his own inclination, and begged him to accept of it as such, than from any obligation the sentence of the court-martial required him to do. Upon which Mr. Vane assured him he heartily did forgive him, as it appeared to be from a motive of his own, not thinking the court-martial had anything to do with it. . . . Mr. Rich's behaviour was much approved of upon the occasion, and after having so

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\* Sir Francis Russell.

long a confinement, Mr. Vane was justified in the acceptance of such a submission. I can't help feeling for poor Rich and his family, he having been sufficiently mortified for so many months, and to think what joy they must be in when they come to hear of his being so happily set at liberty. . . . This morning we have had a very disagreeable affair, which was obliged to be put into execution, but very luckily neither your brother nor myself were upon the command. Two troopers of Lord Pembroke's regiment were last week condemned to die for mutiny, the one for abusing and striking his officer, Jack Boscawen, the other for as grossly abusing him, and being more guilty if possible, all but striking, both belonging to the same troop with our friend Jack, whose duty it was to prosecute, but would have been very happy to've had them both pardoned, but for example's sake 'twas necessary at this time not to show mercy; and accordingly they both marched, attended by a great number of the troops of the garrison, to the place of execution. Both kneeled down, some distance from each other, and when one was shot, which was him that gave the blow, the other was pardoned, but drummed out of the regiment and quite through the garrison." . . . 5 pp.

LIEUT.-COL. CHARLES RUSSELL TO HIS WIFE.

1742, November 24. Ghent.—The contrary winds still prevent us hearing from England, but it is thought that Lord Stairs will give no orders for marching, whatever he may himself receive, until he has an answer to his own express. I believe he has sent "the concurrent opinion of the Hanoverian and Hessian generals joined with his own to let the grandees in England know how impracticable 'tis to begin a march into Germany in this season without destroying our cavalry and the greatest part of the British troops." [Private affairs.] This place is extremely dull, no public place of any sort but the play-house, and that of no use except as a coffee-house, "for if one understood the language never so well, not one word could one hear distinctly enough to be able to understand what was said. The coffee-houses are so bad that I never go to one. . . . The meadows all round this town are now under water and almost all frozen, so that they begin to talk of making use already of skates; in short so shocking a country as all this part of Flanders is, is much worse than I can express or represent to you. . . I know you will wonder we have none of us all this while made an acquaintance with some of the Flemish ladies and have been introduced to some of the agreeable families amongst 'em, but can assure you, even of those who are masters of the language, it is not to be done. Very few are acquainted, and they only to speak at the play-house, but very little at their own private houses, the chief cause being their frugality and economy, few or none of 'em having any fortunes more than

will answer their public show, which is to drive a coach and pair and have a large house, that being their only ambition." Vane and Boscawen desire to be remembered to you and little Molly. 5 pp.

LIEUT.-COL. CHARLES RUSSELL TO HIS WIFE.

1742, November 27. Ghent.—Next Monday we shall have five mails due to us, and, unless the wind changes, we may have fifteen. We are very quiet here. Berkeley reads a great deal and never goes out when he can help it. I visit my company in their barracks and see them mess whenever it is fair, but excepting twice a week to a play, as to a coffee house, I never leave home in the evening, either agreeably entertaining myself in this manner, or reading Shakespeare or some other book. Your brother leads the same sort of life, and very soberly I assure you. Poor Merriden has gone, and at the last tried to insinuate that it was more our disapprobation of him than his dislike to us which was the cause of his leaving, but I reminded him that the first week he came he found fault with everything we did. Berkeley scarce knows how to contain his joy for having so good a riddance of him. We are wondering whether it wont be worth while to send a cart for our letters when they do come, there will be such a load of them. 4 pp.

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

1742, December 1. Ghent.—To my great joy I yesterday received five letters from you, which confirmed our belief that a stop is made to our winter's march into Germany. It was not owned at Lord Stairs' in the morning, but was known at night by Lord Ancram and George Bos[awen] having their leave renewed. They set out to-day and your brother to-morrow. I have not dared to indulge myself with the least thought of it, so many of my own rank being absent, yet I intend now to try, my India affairs and my family business being a good plea. If I dont succeed, I know you will bear it with all the philosophy you can. 4 pp.

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

1742, December 6. Sittingborough [Sittingbourne].—Announces his safe arrival in England, Lord Robert Manners, Hildersley and himself having come over in a small fishing-boat from Ostend to Dover, together with Vane and her brother, who have gone to Sandwich. Hopes to reach Duke Street next day. 1 p.

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

1742, December 6. Rochester.—To the same effect as the above. 1 p.



## LIBUT.-COL. CHARLES RUSSELL TO HIS WIFE.

[1742-3, February 18,] Friday night. Dover.—Announcing his safe arrival at Dover, where he fears they may be detained by contrary winds. 1 p.

*Endorsed with the above date.*

## THE SAME TO THE SAME.

[1742-3, February 19,] Saturday afternoon. Dover.—We took a walk round the Castle this morning and had the pleasure to see the wind blowing fair. We must wait for the packet from London, but Captain Hodgson assures us the wind will hold.

Nine o'clock at night. Have just come to my quarters at the Ship from the coffee-house, where we heard of the success of the Austrians, which your welcome letter confirms. Your account of the dear sweet babes makes me happy. Captain Durand says you behaved like a heroine.

Lord Rothes has crossed to Calais. Col. Brown arrived here three or four days ago, and by Capt. Hodgson's account cannot live a month. We embark in a few hours. 4½ pp.

## THE SAME TO THE SAME.

1742-3, February 21, Monday morning. Ostend.—Announces their safe arrival after a passage of twenty-six hours. They set out presently in the *trachsute* for Bruges, but Col. Gee is first going to walk them round the works of the place. 1 p.

## THE SAME TO THE SAME.

1742-3, February 23. Ghent.—We had a pleasant journey here in the *trachsute*, and found Merriden and Collier ready to receive us. Berkeley has nearly fretted himself ill because his baggage is left behind. To-morrow we set out by diligence for Brussels and Liege. I hear that Lady Vane has come over and gone to Aix-la-Chapelle. Hope we shant overtake her. I am sorry to say Dueren is twenty-one miles from Aix, but for the present you must direct to me in the first battalion of Guards, to be left at the post-house at Aix-la-Chapelle. I have been almost too busy to think of the happy ten weeks I so lately enjoyed, but must now look forward to our next meeting. 3 pp.

## THE SAME TO THE SAME.

1742-3, February 26. Brussels.—I wrote last to you from Ghent. General Honeywood told Durand we were so good in coming over so soon that it was an encouragement for us to have leave another time. We hope to be at Aix next Tuesday, and as that is our head-quarters, shall stay a day or two to wait on Lord Stair and divert ourselves before we go to Dueren. Many accidents have happened to our troops in their march, such as the breaking down of waggons, baggage carts, &c. Poor Lord

Stair was overturned before he got to Maestricht, and his coach broken, but nobody was the least hurt. Frank Townsend had his cart broke down and all his baggage in the dirt. It has cost him four pounds to have it repaired, and he says he now begins to be sensible of the pleasures of his profession. Ghent will soon be a melancholy place. All the horse are to be here; the first of them come in to-night. Mr. and Mrs. De la Ruelle wanted me to stay with them, but I and my fellow travellers made the *Pom d'ore* our house. The meagre dinners of this Lenten season have not suited us very well, for they spoil their fish by their bad sauces, having only oil instead of butter, but we are making up for it here, at the *Hotel de Flandre*, which is really rather too luxurious, so that it is high time to be gone. Three or four agreeable young fellows belonging to the horse have lived with us. Being meagre season, the family ladies of this house have not eaten with us, but at breakfast, and in the evening, at tea and cards, we have been much with them "and who should be amongst 'em ever since we have been here but Lady Vane, who keeps Lent with the family, has a lodging near and is well received in this town, but whilst we've been here is chiefly with us. Berkeley shuns her much and assured me he would never be with her but in my company. She behaves extremely modest and very agreeable." An Abbé here, the author of the Brussels Gazette, tells me that the post to Aix la Chapelle and thence to the cantonments, is very well regulated, so I hope to enjoy my greatest pleasure, that of hearing regularly from you. When you see Mr. Fred. Frankland and Worsley, the young ladies of this house, Mesdemoiselles Caroline, Tonton and Nazette, desire their compliments to them.

Lord Ancram, Lord Robert Manners and Hildersley are just come, the latter bringing me your welcome letter.  $4\frac{1}{2}$  pp.

LIEUT.-COL. CHARLES RUSSELL to HIS WIFE.

1742-3, February 28. Liege.—We left Brussels yesterday and came through a fine country as far as Louvain, with hills, woods, arable lands and villages with large churches and convents. From thence, to Tirlemont and St. Iron [Tron], but this part of the day's journey very dull; a great waste of arable land with scarce a house or a tree. To-day the country has improved again, but "I cant say much in recommendation of this city, it lying very low, buildings but indifferent, and a strange beggarly set of people for its inhabitants." The river Maes however has a fine effect, being broad and not too rapid, with some fine meadows near it and rows of trees, and a rising hill at a little distance. To-morrow we go on to Aix-la-Chapelle. 3 pp.

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1742-3, March 3. Aix-la-Chappelle.—After a journey through as delightful a country as any in England, diversified with hills, wood and water, we arrived last Tuesday at this place, which is situated just like the Bath, in a bottom surrounded by hills.

Next day we waited on Lord Stair, were graciously received, and afterwards dined with him. We have had invitations from Generals Campbell and Legoniere, and shall stay here a day longer to accept their civilities. Brigadier Frampton is here from Dueren and gives us a poor account of the place, as to the badness and scarcity of provisions, "but we have great reason to believe it will mend every day, the people being extremely civil and very fond of us: were at first frightened out of their senses, and almost all ready to desert their houses, expecting to be used as they were by the French last year, who . . . took all their forage and provisions and paid nothing for 'em. As soon as they saw our money, and the different treatment of our troops, there was nothing they would not do to oblige us, so hope soon to fare well among 'em. The country all about it is very fine, and I think it very lucky we drew such quarters, for all our regiment except the grenadiers lie together and only three companies in that town besides, belonging to the 2nd regiment. The rest, with all the 3rd regiment, lie dispersed fifteen miles asunder from each other, and our grenadiers are marched still twenty-one miles further than us."

*Postscript.* I have just got your letter, but when I opened it and did not see your hand, I was somewhat amazed. "However, soon found out your eleven lines, which were five too many" and hope you are as well as you say. I was afraid your behaving so well at our parting might have this result, and can only thank God that things are no worse. I long for my next letter to bring a good account of my dearest soul. 3½ pp.

LIEUT.-COL. CHARLES RUSSELL to HIS WIFE.

1742-3, March 5. Dueren.—Has just arrived safe and well after a fine day's journey through a pleasant country. Regretted leaving Aix, where he received great civilities from the general officers and met many old acquaintances, but likes his present quarters better than he expected. Lord Ancram, &c. will follow on Monday. Is vastly impatient to hear again from his dearest life. 2 pp.

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1742-3, March 9. Dueren.—The quarters allotted to me here were so bad that I went to the magistrate and got them changed for very good ones. We are all quartered upon private houses and are happy if we have one good room and a fireplace in it. Stoves are chiefly made use of, for cheapness, which give a very disagreeable heat and make the rooms so warm that, without great care, people inevitably take cold when they go out into the air. Coals and candles are found us by our landlords, but as I think this a hardship for them I have had some laid in of my own. "This town has formerly been a very good one, much larger than at present, and was once one of the Hans towns, but is now a very beggarly one, being subject to a despotic power and

very much fleeced by the late Elector Palatine, nor will they now be any gainers by what will be expended by our troops, for 'twill be all squeezed from them again by the present Elector, to whom this Duchy of Juliers is subject. There are about twenty-five Protestant families in this town and three hundred Catholic ones, but the former few pay as much taxes as the latter; and there is also a very pretty church belonging to the former where we had divine service last Sunday, performed by a very good sort of man, the chaplain to the 2nd regiment, which is to be continued every Sunday, with a collection made for the poor Protestants of this place. The inhabitants, who have their service in high Dutch, go to church at eight and we at ten o'clock, and can assure you we had a very great congregation. The Protestants here were in great hopes once of having the King of Prussia to have been their protector, when he was to have had Juliers and Bergues, which claim he gave up upon the French being guarantee to him for Silesia."

Berkeley is next door to me and Durand close by, and though the town is shabby, we have very good rooms and I have a good bed, which is lucky, as my wise sergeant let mine be carried off with Conway's baggage when the grenadiers marched to Gemund, a town twenty miles away. "They really have been unfortunate, for their quarters are miserably bad, whereas they ought to have covered Lord Stair's quarters at Aix, . . . where the grenadiers of the marching regiments are suffered to be." This place lies low, but there are the pleasantest rides and walks imaginable on all sides of it, with pretty little villages and romantic hills covered with woods and interspersed with some fine chateaux. 5 pp.

LIEUT.-COL. CHARLES RUSSELL TO HIS WIFE.

1742-3, March 12. Dueren.—It is surprising how difficult it is to get anything here except bread, milk, and Dutch cheese. The meat is very poor, and garden stuff not to be had, although there are gardens all round the town, but they were all destroyed last autumn by the mice, who came in such numbers that they ate up even the roots of the herbage for twelve or fifteen miles around. The little hillocks and the banks of the high-ways are full of the holes where they burrowed, just like rabbits. And to add to this misfortune, the French were quartered here for nine months. However, the mice have all vanished again, so matters will soon improve. Berkeley and I had great difficulty in finding any place where we could get our food cooked, for the only two public houses in the place were engaged for fixed messes; but after a day or two we poked out a place where the quarter master sergeant was quartered, and where the good woman is willing to dress any thing we can get. Here Berkeley and I dine tête-a-tête, with now and then eggs and bacon and a pudding, and upon hares and woodcocks, which are very abundant, but as their season is now over nothing but necessity will make them go down. However things are mending now, for the butcher has got an ox from Cologne, of which we have laid

in as much as we could get, and I believe our mess will increase, for Lord Robert Manners and Boynton are coming from Aix, "both which, we take it for granted will be glad to live, and cant well refuse 'em a place at our table." Mr. York is in a mess with Col. Churchill and four others of the 2nd regiment. He has a German cook, whom he is good enough to allow to help me in getting in provisions. Durand's mess is glad to come to us at night, as our room is larger than most. "We meet every night at six o'clock, have two tables at whist, at a shilling or two, then have a cold collation of almonds, raisins, figs, macaroons, butter and cheese, drink a very thin Moselle wine, without water, of [*sic*] which there is no other liquor here to be had, except sometimes a little brandy punch, drink, laugh and are merry till half hour after ten, and then all retire to our respective homes. . . . How long we shall remain here I cant tell, but 'tis the only place I have yet been in that an officer may live upon his pay, if it may be called living at all." We only pay sixpence a day for stabling and forage in plenty for each of our horses. I am glad I brought *Poppet*, and wish I had his fellow. We hear that the Spaniards could make no further progress in Italy, and that the French troops had been in a very miserable condition in Germany and were retiring into Lorraine.

What good news it would be to us to hear that Mr. Eyre would purchase Missenden ! 5 pp.

LIEUT.-COL. CHARLES RUSSELL TO HIS WIFE.

1742-3, March 16. Dueren.—[Private affairs.] You may be quite easy about me, for this air and the sort of life agrees with me very well and I was never better. You are very good in sending me so much chit-chat, and need make no excuse about it, for whatever you say or do gives me pleasure. The fine weather has made this place very agreeable, and Lord Robert Manners has brought beef, mutton and hams, as well as burgundy, claret and old hock, so we shall fare well. Those few of our men who got colds and fevers upon the march are mostly recovered, and we have scarce any sick at all, but having consumed most of the forage here (which the dragoons cant subsist without) we have orders to march a few days further on, and expect to start on Tuesday. We shall cross the Rhine at Andernach and be cantoned in villages near Coblenz, where I believe we shall have a pleasant summer, see a little more of the world and then return home. I dont hear that the horse are to leave Brussels, nor that any troops but our English foot are yet to cross the Rhine, but shall perhaps know more before next post. 5 pp.

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

1742-3, March 19. Dueren.—You have this morning made me inexpressibly happy with your two letters of the 7th and 11th, but just think how miserable it made me to see Parslow, Berkeley and Durand receive their letters, and not one for me. . However

Mr. Ramsden has been so good as to send these enclosed in Lord Stair's packet by a messenger. I cant determine which is your best way. It will be giving you a great deal of trouble to send to the General Post Office in Lombard Street, and put in a shilling with every letter, yet if you pay the money at any of the common offices, it will be sunk, and the letter lost. The other way is to trouble Mr. Ramsden every time, which perhaps you wont care to do. I advise you to get George Bos[cawen], who will want to know for his own sake when he comes out, to find out from Mr. Ramsden which is best to do. You must direct *A Monsieur, Monsieur Russell, Lieutenant-Colonel dans le premier regiment de gardes de S. M. B. a Dueren, ou partout on l'armee sera en marche.*

I have just bought a new horse for Nat to ride. *Poppet* is worth his weight in gold, and good for everything. I have been so interrupted that I am forced to lock myself in, "being determined the little time I have, to talk to and think of nothing but you. Indeed, my dearest life, the pleasure of hearing you are so well is sufficient happiness for me, but don't think you amuse yourself enough." I have one favour to beg of you and that is that you will go to my sister on a Thursday, not only for her sake but your own, for if she goes to Stockholm and this is her last winter at St. James, I know it would hurt you to think that you had refused her. She mentions without the least reserve that if her mistress should marry she would go with her, and say good-bye to England, God knows for how long.

Lord Robert Manners has had some fine courses with his greyhounds, and brings home two or three brace of hares almost every day. We go to Novenich, seven miles from here, on Tuesday, halt there until Friday and then proceed towards the Rhine.

My compliments to Lady Lee, and thanks to Fuller for his kind letter. 5 pp.

LIEUT.-COL. CHARLES RUSSELL TO HIS WIFE.

1742-3, March 22. Norvenich.—This morning I left Dueren with some regret but in good spirits, at seven o'clock, and marched to this place, a distance of not more than eight English miles. We arrived about eleven, with only three companies, the rest being quartered in the neighbouring villages. So fine a morning and so delightful a country I scarce ever saw. Our village consists of fifty or sixty thatched and dirt houses, where however our men are well quartered. As for ourselves, there was but one house, which Brigadier Frampton had fixed upon, but that one so noble a chateau that it easily holds us all. The quartermaster was refused admittance, although the house is quite empty and unfurnished, and he was accompanied by the chief burgo-master, who however is little better than a peasant, "so force took place, the doors broke open, and we now are in possession of a perfect palace," with a draw bridge, great court, and twelve rooms on a floor. There is a moat with plenty of fish, but these

we have spared, not being dexterous in catching any. Poor Berkeley is in a neighbouring village, but Lord Robert and I have apartments next to each other, and Durand is with us. We all mess together, the Brigadier's cook and my drum performing most nobly in a very spacious kitchen.

We halt here two days and on Friday march for Leghenich, some nine or ten miles further on.

I am obliged to you for dispatching Sir Francis Russell's letters by the last ships; am sorry Eyres is such a fool, but never much depended upon his having taste enough to like Missenden. *3½ pp.*

LIEUT.-COL. CHARLES RUSSELL to HIS WIFE.

1742-3, March 25. From the grand chateau at Norvenich.—This morning we proceed on our march, but have only six or seven miles to go. We have lived very cheerfully in our noble chateau, the Brigadier with his staff, that is, his brigade major, adjutant, quarter-master and surgeon, and four more of us having passed our time very sociably, walking and riding out a-coursing every morning, having the finest sport, in a most delightful country, and with plenty of game.

Berkeley is with us all day long, for the other villages are only a mile or so away. They are thick and prettily dispersed, and though there are great signs of poverty in them, our men have done very well, finding eggs in plenty, some bacon and greens, and very good bread, made all of wheat. Every evening we walk through pretty woods and gently rising hills to pay our neighbours' quarters a visit; then home to whist, a slight supper, and so early to bed.

Leghenich.—It is now eleven o'clock, and I have found a man who is going to Dueren and will post this there. Last night so much snow fell that it was two feet deep all the way, but we have had a most delightful morning for our march, only a little troublesome to the men. However they were much delighted to see our sport, for we killed three brace of hares in our way, with Lord Robert's greyhounds. We are quartered now in single companies, but so near one another that Lord Robert, Berkeley and I shall be every day together. *8 pp.*

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1743, March 28. Rhynbach.—I sent my last from Leghenich by a Jew who is our contractor for bread, and have now an opportunity by an officer in the Queen of Hungary's service to send this to Aix-la-Chapelle. On Saturday we marched from Leghenich to Gross Bullesheim, halted on Sunday, and came here to-day. The country has continued to be more delightful and diversified than any I have ever yet seen, but our pleasure has been a little abated by the great snow which fell when we were at Norvenich, for the roads are now very dirty and the

marching consequently very bad for the men, though none have as yet suffered by it. One good attends them, by their coming into quarters where the French and Austrians have both been, who not only paid nothing but expected money from their landlords. Our men, not being used to be so unreasonable, think themselves very happy in being entertained, as they mostly are in the villages they come to, with the best fare they can get. For myself, I always choose the route where the Generals have been, and have my company in a neighbouring village, where I can see them every day. Lord Robert, having an officer to his company, has had my leave to be with me and Berkeley is near enough to dine with us every day. Brigadier Frampton and his staff are always in the same village, but, though asked, we never eat with him. Yet we see him when we please and hear all expresses going to and from the Generals. I travel with my man cook, have my soups every day, and lay in provisions where I can. Lord Robert and I have coops behind our carts which are often recruited with fowls, and we kill two or three brace of hares every day. Poor Durand, with three other companies, has been three or four miles from us, but I hear he is well. "We should have been vis-a-vis de Coblenz on Sunday but have just had orders from General Ligoniere, who is a day's march before us, to halt till further orders, the late snow and to-day's rain having swelled the Rhine so much that its impassable and may be so for these five or six days or longer."  $3\frac{1}{2}$  pp.

LIEUT.-COL. CHARLES RUSSELL TO HIS WIFE.

1748, March 30. Rhinbach.—We are to march to-morrow to a town called Ahrweiler, about nine English miles further, and there to halt again. We shall there be within about six leagues of that part of the Rhine where we are to cross as soon as the waters are abated. "Lord Robert Manners, who never writes, hopes my mentioning him so often to you will be a means of the Duchess of Rutland knowing he is well, which I can assure you is not only so, but in good spirits, saying every day at dinner he never desires to live better than he has done upon this German march; behaves extremely well, without having the least quality airs about him, and I have brought him to be as useful in providing and catering as I could wish. Only we two keep a table, have had four dishes every day well served up, and can afford to ask two constantly to add to our table. Berkeley is one, and one always from the Brigadier's mess, who is glad of the honour of being invited. Hot rolls, good butter, with tea and cream every morning, except the marching mornings, and then I don't allow it." Few fare so well, but we old soldiers know how to live. In some of the villages, the companies have had nothing but the bread we are provided with and water, and Berkeley was forced to buy a cheese here and carry it with him to the King's company. My company has had the luck to fare well, and to-morrow will be in the same town with me. I have had but one man sick, with ague, and I have sent



for him to be under the care of our surgeon, and to keep with us until he is well, having a waggon for the sick. I am just come from visiting my men and was very happy to see them all so well and in such good spirits. I have not lost or left a man sick upon the road since leaving Ghent, except one who is ill with fever at Louvain. Here I and my mess-mate have to take up with one room between us, where we must both sleep and live, entertaining in the grand manner that I have described, though the dimensions of the room are only fourteen feet by ten. Yet we pass our time very merrily, and go to the Brigadier's in the evening whenever we have a mind for company. Not having an officer to my company, I should have been forced to keep with it, had I not commanded the battalion.

April 2. I am now at Ahrweiler, a small city on the Ahr and a very romantic place, "lying in a bottom, tolerably well built with stone, and slated, not thatched. It is surrounded with vast high hills, the sides of which are planted with vineyards and the tops of the hills all covered with woods, in which are wild boars. We went with the Brigadier and five or six more of us yesterday in pursuit of 'em, with the assistance of two or three of the country people with dogs. We saw seven or eight, and only wounded one, which they are gone after this morning in hopes to find again. . . . To-morrow we march three leagues, and on Monday we shall beat Andernach, on Tuesday cross the Rhine, and on Wednesday we shall be at the end of our route, over against Coblenz."

April 3. I am now at Sinzig, after a pleasant march over a delightful hill which brought us to the Rhine, close to which this town is situated. 5½ pp.

LIEUT.-COL. CHARLES RUSSELL to HIS WIFE.

1743, April 7. Neuweidt [Neuwied].—We marched on Monday to Andernach, where we halted two days. Lord Robert and I were quartered in a private house, where our landlord invited us to a very good dinner, and was so obliging next day as to lend us plate, &c., for an entertainment which we gave to Lord Ancram, Walgrave and Berkeley. We marched thither six miles by the Rhine, "and I think I never saw so romantic and so fine a prospect, a noble river but rather too rapid a stream, a rich valley on the side we were of, with high hills near it planted with vineyards from the bottom to the top, on the other side of the river vast high mountains, [at] the bottom of which were villages and towns well built, and so thick that they were in less than half a mile of each other for several leagues together. This day we marched from Andernach, only four miles, crossed the Rhine over a bridge of boats, and came to Neuweidt, where we now are, within half a mile of the bridge; by much the prettiest and best built town we've been in. There is a fine chateau joining to it, belonging to the Count of Neuweidt, which the Marshal Neupergh

at present is in. He is one of the Austrian generals that commands those troops that are to join us. He invited all the officers to dine with him that belong to the four companies that are here, and gave us a fine entertainment."

Friday, April 8. We halt here to-day and shall march four leagues more to-morrow, to a place called Horen, where we are to halt till further orders. Lord Robert Manners' company and that which Durand belongs to will be with me. The weather has been very cold and it has snowed every day for this last week, which has made the roads a little dirty, but as our marches have been very short, the men have no ways suffered by it.

You surprised me by your account of the reception your brother met with from his Royal Highness. I think him cruelly treated, particularly in not being allowed to sell. As to his resigning at this time, it would have been want of spirit to have acted otherwise, if he could possibly live without it, after such hard usage and long services without preferment. None but fools can think it any dishonour to a man who has gone twice upon service. If the matter of Miss Killig[re]w should succeed, it will be lucky for him and may for once in his life make him think himself fortunate, which, poor man, he has hitherto had little chance of doing. I am sorry you have been puzzled about settling your money affairs. God knows you have so little that I fear you have not cause to be much perplexed. Pray thank Johnny Greenhill for his letter, and tell him how pleased I am that he is so pretty a poet.

As for what we are designed to do, 'tis impossible for me to know or even surmise. 5 pp.

LIEUT.-COL. CHARLES RUSSELL TO HIS WIFE.

1743, April 10. Hohen—We left Neuweid yesterday and marched to this place, about two leagues from Coblenz. We married men, Capt. Parslow and myself, flatter ourselves with the hope of finding letters at every great town we come near, and have now sent to Mountabour, a fine spacious town in which the 3rd regiment have the good luck to have six companies quartered. If there is nothing there, we shall try another chance to-morrow, when Durand, Lord Robert, Berkeley, and myself propose to pay Coblenz, the residence of the Elector of Triers, a visit, and intend making a jolly day of it. I can't much brag of our present quarters, but being near two such great towns, we are sure of provisions enough.

If the Duke enquires any more about my writing, pray ask my sister to tell him that I hope his Royal Highness has received the weekly returns that I have sent him. "The posse has broke in upon me, so that its impossible I can say any more than that you are never out of my thoughts." 3 pp.

## LIEUT.-COL. CHARLES RUSSELL to HIS WIFE.

1743, April 14. Horhen.—My Lord Stair's secretary has sent me yours of March 18, for which I am much obliged to Mr. Ramsden, not on account of its coming free, but securely. As Lord Stairs can now seldom or never be far from us I shall be made happy by getting all your letters. His Lordship came yesterday to Neuweid. When the rest of our army moves forward, we shall have to make room for them and shall march on five or six days further, to between Francfort and Mayence; with the river Main in our front and the Rhine on our right, and in a very fine country, where we shall remain till we encamp. We could not go to Coblentz on Monday as it snowed all day, but the next day we went, which proved rainy, and with it ended, I believe, our winter. It has been more like December than April, but yesterday and to-day have been midsummer ones. The country here is extremely romantic; mountains all round us, many of them covered with snow, but their sides and the valleys well cultivated and with a great deal of woodland, which, with the view of the Rhine and the Mozelle, adds greatly to our prospect. The latter runs into the former at Coblentz and so gives that town its name, meaning the confluence of the two rivers. The town is by much the finest I have seen since I left Brussels. On our way to it we pass a place called Vallendor, where I saw Major Honeywood and your acquaintance Jo. Child, who are quartered there with four troops of dragoons. From thence we have "a most delightful ride, viewing the mountains of each side the Rhine and seeing seven or eight towns dispersed among them. Then the road leads us quite round a fine castle,\* very well fortified on the summit of a hill, the bottom of which is a fine house where the Elector of Triers resides, and is just vis-a-vis Coblentz." We cross the river by a *pons volans*, kept at the Elector's expense, with only a small toll, from which we are exempted. "This bridge is finely adorned and is a very pretty piece of machinery, is conveyed over by being fastened with a long chain to five or six boats which lie at anchor constantly in the middle of the river, so that by the force of the stream, which is very strong, and the help of a great rudder, it is, in the space of eight or ten minutes, forced over a very broad river, as wide as the Thames at Westminster Bridge."

This is but a poor village and at first our men could get no meat, so we sent a cart to Coblentz, and bought almost an ox, which we divided amongst them, and which, though very fine meat, did not stand them in so much as twopence halfpenny a pound English. The malt liquor is very good, but I cant brag of the wine, there being nothing but thin Mozelle and Rhenish to be had.

I hear that Lord Rothes has got the troop of horse grenadiers and Frampton his Lordship's regiment, so I suppose we shall have Folliot in his room, and that the Duke of Marlborough will command our brigade. 7 pp.

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\* Ehrenbreitstein.

## LIEUT.-COL. CHARLES RUSSELL to HIS WIFE.

1743, April 18. Werges, five leagues beyond Limpurg.—I posted my last to you in Coblentz, and when I got back to my quarters, found orders for marching next morning. I was quartered yesterday near Limpurg upon the Laun [Limburg on the Lahn]. This morning I came through the town, near to which, in a fine situation, is a house belonging to the Prince of Orange, who has four old maiden aunts living there. He is expected himself next month.

We have to-day marched through a very fine country, rather too hilly, but with good roads and great variety of agreeable views and landscapes. The chief objection to the country is the lack of pastures and meadow lands, of which there are very few, and I have not seen a bit of mutton since I left Aix-la-Chapelle.

"The greatest difficulty we meet with in our village quarters is not finding a creature that can understand one word but German. If by chance a person can speak French, I rejoice as much as if they spoke English. Now and then my Latin helps us out, which one would be surprised to find spoke by some of the meanest sort of people."

I wish with all my heart you would try to keep up your spirits better. Surely seeing what a flow I have ought to help to raise yours. I assure you I was never in better health, and we hear we shall be cantoned in a very fine country, and being near Francfort, can want for nothing.

I suppose we shall now soon have some more officers coming to us, as the Parliament is to rise this week and the K[in]g to go to H[anove]r. We hear that General Clayton has arrived at Lord Stair's, at Neuweid. 5½ pp.

## THE SAME to THE SAME.

1743, April 22. Eschborn.—This morning we marched to this village, which is within five English miles of Francfort on the Main. It is a poor place, but being so near a great town, where, we are told, we may be supplied with everything almost as well as in London, we and our men shall all fare well. Colonel Hemington, Durand and Lord Robert are with me, at a little chateau deserted by the landlord, which is the usual way and only too natural when troops are upon the march so near.

I believe we shall only stay a few days and then remove a day or two's march more, to make room for the troops behind us; shall then proceed no further till we encamp, which I believe will be in less than a month's time. "To-morrow I propose going to see Francfort, from whence the Emperor has thought proper to retire; has left the Empress there, who, I'm told, goes every Sunday publicly to chapel. Perhaps I may get a sight of her. I can't but say I pity her much and don't think her crown can sit easy upon her."

I have been forced to buy another horse, a very fine one, which cost me but twenty ducats. I have now six, all in very

good order, not having had the least accident to either horse or cart during the whole march, though they have had pretty good trials, over rocks and mountains. My own servant and myself have kept very well, but my cook and three or four of my men have been very ill with fevers; "two of 'em I have brought in my own covered cart for these last two or three days, and what with white wine whey and good broth, I have nursed 'em up and got 'em pretty well recovered."

I have just heard that Jack Robinson and A'Court have arrived at our Brigadier's quarters, and have brought me no less than five letters; happiness enough to last me some days. [Private affairs.] 5½ pp.

LIEUT.-COL. CHARLES RUSSELL TO HIS WIFE.

1748, April 28. Eschborn.—I told you in my last how happy I was made with your five letters. I went that same day to Francfort, "which was the last day of a fair that had been held there for three weeks; it was a good deal in the nature of our Bartholemew fairs . . . I have not seen since I left England anything so like our metropolis; fine large streets and tolerably built, people in general extremely civil and glad to see the English, more populous a great deal than any town I've met with lately, and an appearance of trade much beyond my expectation. The situation indeed must greatly contribute towards it, being upon a fine river called the Main, which runs into the Rhine at Mayence and so to Holland. . . Lord Robert Manners and Berkeley went yesterday without me to see Walgrave and the grenadiers, who are quartered within half a mile of the town, in a place called the Drury Lane of Francfort, and such a description of debauchery they give of it that in my life I never heard the like." The young people are quite wild and mad with the place, but the more grave and thoughtful declare they never heard of more abandoned wickedness. How this may unfit our men for martial service, if any should be, one can easily guess.

I was pleased with the order sent to Bengal for appointing Cole governor and Sir F[rancis] R[ussell] to be continued chief of Coss[imbuzar].

My Lord Stair is expected to-day at his quarters at Hockts or some such name, within three miles of this place. How soon we shall encamp I cant yet tell, but fancy not this fortnight at least.

I am rejoiced at your brother's scheme for parting with Sandwich. He will now know what he has to live upon, besides saving the expenses of the Kentish estate. I think he has "some reason to hug himself and thank his stars that he is no longer in a regiment that could have five vacant companies and not one regular preferment in it." 5½ pp.

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

1748, May 2. Eschborn.—You cant imagine what extremes we have had in the weather, at first so cold that we needed to keep good fires, and now so hot that we can scarce sleep at

night. "I have been at Francfort two or three times; have seen the Empress and her daughter at chapel, to which they go publicly every day, but with her maids of honour and her small attendance make but a very poor figure. 'Tis really a fine town, but everything so dear, especially since we came into its neighbourhood, and so many necessities one fancies one wants when we see 'em, that my money will draw short sooner than I expected. . . . This fine weather, the troops coming up to join us, and the expectation of the King's and Duke's near approach, will make you think we shant be long before we encamp. 'Twas expected we should have received orders for it this week, but believe it cant be, for want of wood and straw, till the beginning of next." I am glad of the delay, as my man has had fever, but with care, kitchen physic, and having our surgeon always with me, he is likely to do very well again, and I hope will be able to take the field with me. He is in the pastor's house, who is a protestant, as is the whole village, and he a good sort of man; lent me his church yesterday, where I had divine service performed by the chaplain of the second regiment, who came the day before to offer me to officiate in the absence of our chaplain, and a very good congregation we had. To-morrow I go to General Ligonier's quarters in Francfort to sit at a general court-martial. "Officers come thick and threefold now daily, and bring accounts of preferments, especially this day that Frampton has a regiment and that Ingoldesby is coming to command this battalion, which was what I expected; and how generous the Duke has been to him; that Bos[cawen] is coming with the command of a company, which must have been very agreeable to your brother, had he been here, and all the preferments going out of our regiment you may believe has made our officers very happy, and gives great encouragement in time of service." 5 pp.

LIEUT.-COL. CHARLES RUSSELL to HIS WIFE.

1748, May 7. From the Camp near Hoechst.—Yesterday morning, at twelve hours' notice, the brigade of Guards marched to this place, which is within half a mile of Lord Stair's quarters at Hoechst. We came to our ground about eleven o'clock, and were all encamped before one. Our tents are pitched upon ploughed ground, but the weather is so hot that it is hard and dry enough. The river Main is within two hundred yards of us, and the country about is very pleasant, but not a tree near us to give us any shade. I never knew such heat at the beginning of May; there is no comfort but in drinking Rhenish. These two days I've dined in camp with Lord Ancram, Lord Robert Manners, Walgrave and Berkeley. This is our mess, but we shall add Col. Conway when he comes and perhaps Bos[cawen]. I have left poor Nat, with a good woman nurse, at my last quarters, wishing to have him quite well before he comes into camp. It is thought that all our horse will not be here for three weeks or a month yet, and how much longer we shall stay I cannot tell. "The

Queen of Hungary has begun her campaign with great success, having totally defeated five or six thousand Bavarians; the French, under the command of Broglie, refusing to give them assistance, but, when he was sent to, said he had no orders, but retired with his troops." I am, thank God, well, but not in such spirits as if I had had more of your letters. 3 pp.

LIEUT.-COL. CHARLES RUSSELL to HIS WIFE.

1748, May 10. From the Camp near Höchst.—The day after I last wrote I was made surprisingly happy, for going to wait on Lord Stair, I was invited to dine, and an hour before dinner, Dick Littleton brought me a packet with four of your letters, so that I now have not missed one up to the 26th of April. Only one could I read there, and then sat down with twenty-six people to an exceeding fine dinner, but no more than what his Lordship has daily. It was something new to eat hot victuals, but my greatest feast, I can assure you, was in my pocket. "The head quarters is finely situated, being a very good house close to the Main, and from it a very agreeable view of our camp, which is to consist of the right wing of the English army, the left extending itself from Höchst almost to Francfort, which is to be when they are all come up. About five of our English [miles?] from their left, part of the Hanoverians are encamped, and the Austrians about the same distance on our right. The next thing I believe we shall do will be to cross the Main in a bridge of boats which is now building, and encamp the whole of our army in one line, just on the opposite side where we are, and further this deponent says not, nor do I believe does anybody else here know. The Duke of Marlborough now commands our brigade, and whether Framp-ton will have one here I don't know, but can scarce think he will."

Parslow tells me how good and obliging you have been to his wife, and came to me full of compliments. I am sorry for poor Worsley. Hutton is lucky at last, and his merit claims it. I pity poor Lady Talbot much; Fred has surely shown too much indolence in all her affairs. I am obliged to him for the tickets, and hope my dear babes will prove lucky.

My mess-mates and I go on very agreeably, cold meat and one good substantial dish of it, which we have daily, being very wholesome, and with our good appetites very toothsome. I am glad Billy Russell is recovered, and rejoice that Fanny is not likely to go in haste to Stockholm. I shall post York, Winn and Alston to-morrow, as lieutenants in our battalion. The latter arrived here this evening with Col. George Stanhope. I have placed Berkeley to my company, at his own request. 4½ pp.

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1748, May 16. Höchst.—I have had a feverish attack, brought on by cold, but to show you that my case has not been

bad, I have neither been blooded, blistered nor purged, and am now quite well again, though I have not recovered my strength. I am in very good lodgings in this town, and dont intend to lie in camp for three or four days yet, or perhaps longer, this hot weather. 2 pp.

LIEUT.-COL. CHARLES RUSSELL to HIS WIFE.

1748, May 18. Höchst.—You will easily see that I am better by my manner of writing, and I can assure you that I yesterday ate a whole chicken, that I sleep well every night and that I recover my health and spirits daily. Boscawen and Berkeley breakfasted with me this morning, and I mean to ride out to-morrow, but shall not quit my lodging for some time, and when I do shall leave Nat in it. He is back, and well again, but has had a bad time of it. Bos[cawen] is well and in great spirits, but thinks and wishes already for the meeting of the Parliament. Berkeley, as I told you, I have appointed to my company. We seem as real old friends to one another, and when I was ill in camp he was quite a nurse to me.

I must ask you to enquire about two men of my company, Henry Holmes and James Harding, who were discharged from the hospital at Ghent as incurable and unfit for service, so I sent them their discharges. Will you get Captain Mitchell or some friend to enquire after them at the agent's and get them into the College for me?

"I shall be obliged to subsist 'em till they are got in, and they wont endeavour it by applying to anybody themselves, because the agent will supply 'em at my expense, which they would choose rather than the College." Our agent is very careless, in short he does not know his business, and has over-paid men forty shillings before this, putting it to my account. The horse, that is the Blues, are just come, and late Pembroke's are within a day's march, so I shall see Merriden soon, although he will be encamped quite on our left, at some distance. 5 pp.

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1748, May 21. Hoechst.—This is the third letter I have written to you this week to tell you how well I am, and now I have a mind to let you a little more into the cause of my indisposition. "The day I came into camp I indiscreetly dined without my wig, only my handkerchief about my head, which gave me cold, for which I hope you'll forgive me." By the help of Lord's Stair's physician, Dr. Pringle, a very good sort of man, I got a comfortable lodging here. He would neither prescribe nor take a fee, a little unusual for the profession, but he has daily attended me, and with difficulty I have forced two fees upon him. I shall not go back to camp until we have passed the Main, which will probably be to-morrow or the day after. The bridge is ready and the ground on the other side of the river is being marked out. I am able to march, but as I should command, the little hurry might not be good for me.



Capt. Rich and one or two other invalids have lodgings in the town. Rich has been to see me several times and I dined at his quarters yesterday and shall continue to do so. The grenadier officers who have marched with him from Ghent say it was impossible for anyone to have behaved better than he has done, never failing to oblige everyone to the utmost of his power, so that his last unhappy affair with Vane may have been of infinite service to him. 5 pp.

LIEUT.-COL. CHARLES RUSSELL TO HIS WIFE.

1748, May 23. Hoechst.—“I have but just now received yours of the 3rd, 6th, 10th and 13th of this month, and that nasty Merriden could tell me yesterday he had received one of the 13th two or three days ago; however I don't complain, but think myself extremely happy to receive four this day, do indeed enjoy myself beyond expression . . . sitting tete-a-tete with my dearest love, first hearing her and now talking in my turn, and telling you in the first place how well I am, but that I did not think proper to undergo the fatigue and heat of this day's decamping and marching across the Main.”

I have just heard that my tent is pitched and that my horses went over as quietly as if they had been used to it. Merriden marched into camp on Saturday, and in the evening he and Lightfoot came to see me. He looks the picture of health, and is very happy at having heard from his sister that there is a peace on the tapis and that he would certainly be at home again by November.

In my opinion this is by no means to be depended on, though “if it is certain that the Dutch will march twenty thousand to join us, we shall then have so much the superiority that I should think the French must submit. We have daily great numbers of deserters come to us, not less than eight or nine at a time. We had nine this evening came, besides two French hussars. This day all the British foot crossed the Main and encamped, to-morrow the dragoons follow us, and the next day all the Hanoverians encamp and join us. The horse, who are all come up, remain on this side of the river, I believe as long as Lord Stair stays here.” I have not seen the Ramsdens, but hear they are both well. If Vane comes through Flanders, he will find it very tedious. Lord Loudon only left London on the 14th, stayed two days in Holland, and yet arrived here yesterday. He it was who brought me all your letters.

I don't care to leave my lodgings for two or three days yet, they are so pleasant. Within fifty yards is a delightful garden, with all varieties of flowers, and a terrace close to the river-side commanding a beautiful view of the river, our camp on the other side, and a fine wood in front of our line.

Tuesday morning, the 24th. From my window, I have just been watching the Hanoverian troops marching to their place on the left of our camp. We want rain most miserably,

for otherwise we shall be smothered with dust. We shall make so fine an appearance when the foot and dragoons are all encamped that there will be no end of people coming from Francfort to see us. The weather is hot, but I don't find it worse than it was at Hounslow Heath. Ingoldsby is not here yet and is said to be waiting for his baggage. I assure you his coming is no disappointment to me, for I always imagined that as soon as Frampton was provided for and left us, a field officer would be sent over.

It would be ungrateful of me not to tell you how good you have been to send me so much money. Unless some accident happens, I shall want no more for three or four months.

"It is said that we shall march further in less than a fortnight, and that the French are not above thirty-five thousand, so that as we shall be so much superior in numbers, 'tis thought they will retire."

I hope you will go into the country this hot weather. Captain Rich entertains me every evening with music; he plays finely on the German flute, and has another, and sometimes a bass viol, to accompany him.  $7\frac{1}{2}$  pp.

LIEUT.-COL. CHARLES RUSSELL TO HIS WIFE.

1748, May 27. Höchst.—I said all my say last time, and have nothing left to tell you but that, thank God, I continue very well. I had intended to go into camp to-morrow, but a pleasant jaunt to Francfort will delay me a day or two.

We had some rain last night, the first for a month, and are hoping for more, for this has not laid the dust. I shall greatly miss my evening's entertainment here, that is, going to a summer house in the pleasant garden I told you about, and there sitting drinking tea, and "continually entertained with a moving landscape on the other side of the water, being opposite to that part of the camp where the Hanoverian infantry are, and who have dressed all their tents, the men as well as the officers, and also all round the pickets where their horses stand, with large green boughs, which has a very good effect to the eye and very convenient this hot weather to them. It has such an appearance of so many arbours that we call it a representation of Vauxhall. After the evening gun has fired and the tattoo beat through the whole line then there is music playing, which still resembles it more. I fear our battalion has not followed so good an example, as well as some more of the English, but we have taken care our horses have shade enough. As for our men, I really believe they think so much of moving again that they have not thought it worth while. We are in expectation of the Hessians soon and six thousand more Hanoverians, but as the latter will not be here these three weeks, we can't stir till then, and as I do take for granted we shall at the same time see his Majesty with them, it may make our stay somewhat longer."

Merriden is in full pay now, a captain of theirs having died at Brussels. He and Lightfoot and all the horse are encamped where we were, on this side the river. 3 pp.

LIEUT.-COL. CHARLES RUSSELL to HIS WIFE.

1748, May 29. Hochst.—I went to Francfort yesterday, dined with the Ramsdens, bought a few necessaries and returned home in the cool of the evening all by the river side. I must say it is a delightful country. The Guards yesterday marched and encamped about a league further on, in a much more convenient piece of ground and near the river, so that necessaries can come by water. Capt. Rich and I set out in two or three hours and my baggage is waiting to be packed, so I cannot answer your letter till I am in camp.

Our weather is cooler, as it always is with a west wind. 2 pp.

*Addressed* "Mrs. Russell junr., at Checquers, *per* Tring bag. Hertfordshire."

FANNY RUSSELL to her brother, [LIEUT.-] COL. CHARLES RUSSELL, of the First Regiment of Guards.

1748, May 31. St. James.—My sister has left town, and though for my own sake I am extremely sorry, yet for her and the child's sake, I cannot but be glad that they are at Checquers. There seems now great likelihood of peace, for we hear that the French are in great distress and have told the Emperor that they cannot assist him any longer. I find we are to lose Princess Louisa very soon, Mrs. Purcell having orders to have all her wedding clothes ready in six weeks. It is said she is to go to the King at Hanover.

"I want mightily to have it decided if the Bishop of Lubeck is to be the King of Sweden's successor or no. Now I will tell you of a set of weddings that are to be, if I can remember them:—Lord Carlisle to Lord Byron's sister (they was either married yesterday or is to be to-day; her mother married Sir Thomas Hay), Sir Roger Newdigate to Miss Conyers and her brother to Miss Atkins or Miss Vancitron; the great Mr. Booze to Miss Gilbert, that Charles Gore was talked on for; Lord Lichfield to a Miss Smith, with seventy thousand pounds; Lord Burlington's daughter to Lord Hervey's eldest son. Lord Torrington, Sir Conyers D'Arcy, cousin Fred and Talbott set out their progress last Thursday for the West, then for the North. Mr. Trevor was to a gone with them, but not being very well, did not go. I believe he will go next week with his two sisters (Mrs. Boscawen and Peggy) to Windsor. Instead of his growing better, he seems to grow worse; am glad they have persuaded him to go to his house again in Grovner Square. I dined with Mrs. H. Frankland last Friday. Her son Fred had been to see Mr. Berkley's three sisters. They have left Hanworth and are come to live in Soho Square and Mrs. Villiers is with them. . . Mr. and Mrs. Burchet has sent two or three

times to beg I would come and dine with them; they are at Hampstead; so last Sunday they sent their coach and I went. He is mighty well, and always in good humour when he is there. I met Col. Durer last Saturday at Lady Harriot Campbell's and he begged I would give his services to you. . . . Sir Thomas and Lady Frankland was here last Thursday. They says she looks big, but I do not perceive it. People differ much about what Mr. Corbier has left; am afraid 'tis but little. Captain Jackson, her brother, and she are to live together. The Groom Porter's death, I hear, will now soon bring that match about of Mr. Archer and Lady Betty Montague. Mr. Sam Stroud is gone to Bath, I hear, to marry General Cope's daughter." Pray give my service to Vane, Berkley, Boscawen and Hildsly, and tell the last I have seen Mrs. Powis, who has a little boy. Mrs. Spence, her mother, was with her. My brother Revett came to town last night. We hear that the Princess of Hesse has been brought to bed of a son. Pray mention Mr. Merriden in your next, as Mrs. Swan has had nothing from him this month. 3 pp.

LIEUT.-COL. CHARLES RUSSELL to HIS WIFE.

1743, June 2. Höchst.—“When I wrote my last, I was fully resolved to go to camp in a few hours after, yet I was taken with such a flux before I had well finished yours, that [it] put me much out of sorts. . . . What added to my distress was that at nine o'clock that very night I had an account brought to me that the whole army was marching to a hill where our brigade of Guards and another lay, and that they were to draw up in a line of battle, expecting to be attacked by the French the next morning. My doctor was with me and another invalid at the time I had this account. The former told me I should be mad if I had the least thoughts of going to 'em; that I had nothing to do but to compose myself and get to my bed, unless I had a mind to throw myself away. This, you may imagine, lay upon my spirits, nor could I sleep all that night. The next morning I heard our people lay upon their arms all that night, and that about four o'clock, Lord Stairs with all the general officers were there, and that his lordship had made as fine a disposition as could possible be; the whole consisting, with the Austrians, Hanoverians and British troops, of about thirty three thousand men under arms. The situation of our ground was so advantageous, with a wood on one side and the river Main on the other, that had the enemy double the number, they could not have succeeded. Our men were in general in great spirits and wished for nothing so much as the approach of the enemy, being sure of conquest. Lord Stair all this time did not believe they would attack us, but from the intelligence he had received of their approaching us and from the accounts he had had from England and Hanover that the French had orders to attack us, made his Lordship be ready to give 'em a warm reception. In the end it proved that the French had also intelligence that we were marched in the night with our whole army across the Main, and

expecting we were approaching them, they likewise drew up in a line of battle and lay upon their arms from seven in the morning till eleven at night, the distance from each army being between three or four leagues, or ten of our English miles. The accounts varied so much about the number of the enemy, but I believe they were not superior to ours. Lord Stair, being sensible how much our people were harassed and fatigued, having lain upon their arms so many hours; and that the enemy seemed to have no intention to approach us, as we could not remain in that situation any longer, he ordered we should all march back and repass the Main, which our whole army did by Monday night and now lie encamped upon the same ground we did before. The French remain likewise on the same spot they were, about four leagues distance from us; however they sent their hussars to pick up what they could find, whom we've seen thirty or forty at a time the other side of the river. They likewise went to the place we left and there took seven of our men, who had gone back to look for something they had left. The hussars stripped 'em of their clothes and what they had and carried 'em to their general, the Duke de Noailles, who ordered all their clothes to be returned, and, in lieu of what other trifles they had lost, ordered 'em a lewis d'or for each man, and sent 'em back to us. A sutler's cart and horse and a man with it was yesterday likewise taken and sent back in the same manner, a piece of politeness that we think extraordinary. But we begin to account for it by believing they would not show us so much humility at any other time, and wishing now to be upon good terms with us, for their condition is bad. We shall have sixteen thousand men join us in a few days, besides the Dutch who are expected, and then we shall be a very superior army indeed. Besides, 'tis a fact that the Austrians have been so successful in Bavaria that the French are retiring from 'em and have repassed the Danube. Lord Carteret is expected on Sunday, and his Majesty and the Duke the middle of next week. We are to remain here or hereabouts till then, and I can't help suspecting some pacific measures on the anvil." There have been reports printed, even in Francfort, that we have had a battle and defeated the French, and no doubt there will be enough of such in England. Vane, Lord Charles Hay, Lord Hume and Barrington all arrived here in time to take their posts in their respective regiments. I am much better, the fact of there having been no engagement in my absence having not a little contributed to my amendment. Boscawen, Berkeley and Vane have been very good to me, and I have found much benefit from taking "bark infused in brandy with some juniper berries mixed with it," which my doctor ordered and which has entirely removed my complaint. No Ingoldsby come yet. Hildesly is just come in and well, but tired enough, like most of them. 7 pp.

H. B[ERKELEY] to [JOHN] REVETT.

1743, June [3-] 14. Camp at Hoechst.—You flatter me exceedingly by the trouble you took about my rank, "when it pleased our great men to judge me incapable of maintaining so exalted a post

as that which Mr. York, Mr. Alston and Mr. Tuffnell succeeded to, but I am vain enough to think never the worse of myself upon this account, and to have this opinion of their favours, that at Whitehall they would be hardly worth accepting of, though the want of them upon the Maine is rather disagreeable." As for yourself, you have spent your youth in trying to make yourself a useful member of society, and if you made no great figure in your profession it was owing to the ill-discernment, or rather iniquity, of those who ought to have placed you in a station equal to your abilities. If we meet again, we will have many another batch of laughter together, "*meantime, ride si sapi* : dont ask at what, but at everything. If the world spits at you, laugh at it; if it fawns on you, laugh; if it does neither, laugh still. You cant be wrong, and 'tis exceeding good for your health.

"You expect, to be sure, a little camp news before we conclude. Majesty is expected in four or five days. We have marched much against the French, and had like to have fought once. The aforesaid troops have fared ill in Bavaria, and are grown so civil to our men that when they take them prisoners they send them home with money in their pockets. . . . My best respects to Mrs. Russell and your family and something tender to Molly, who, you know, begins to be a flame of mine. The Colonel sends his love; has been a little out of order, but is recovered; Bos[cawen] and Vane their best wishes. I have lain four nights together upon my arms, yet am so well and in such spirits that one would swear I had your conversation to enliven me." 4 pp. [Signed: H. B. only, but endorsed: H. Berkley.]

LIEUT.-COL. CHARLES RUSSELL to HIS WIFE.

1748, June 4. Höchst.—"Dont be uneasy to find me still at Höchst. . . I should have gone to camp this day, as I wrote you word in my last, but as we are expected to remove to-morrow and encamp about three leagues beyond Francfort, near Hanaut, (a town belonging to the Prince of Hesse, where his Majesty's headquarters are to be) I thought it very prudent and happy for me to avoid two hot days' march. . . I therefore propose to ride to Francfort at my leisure and lie there the first night, and in camp the next; possibly it may be Monday before we march; it cant well exceed that, because a party of our horse Guards went yesterday to meet the King, who is expected to be at Hanaut next Thursday. The Duke set out before him and stays two days with the Princess of Hesse in his way hither; do suppose we may make some stay before we shall all have been reviewed, but what further progress we shall make, time will shew, for now do imagine Lord Carteret will be our general. The French continue about five leagues distance from us the other side of the water, and by what I can find never intended to attack us but act only on the defensive; do believe they will have orders soon to return to their own frontiers to endeavour to protect them, when they come to know what ill success they have had in Bavaria, an account being come of their having had another

defeat since I wrote you last, that they are certainly retreating out of that country if they can, but that Prince Lobkowitz and Kevenhuller are of each side the Danube ready to intercept and cut off Broghlio with what few he has left. Prince Charles has been principally concerned in all their conquest, whom you'll have no small veneration for. His army was in pursuit of what few of the enemy was left, and he was expected at Ratisbon a few nights ago, from whence we've had our account. Lord Stair expects an answer to-day from him, by a courier which was lately dispatched from hence with the particulars of all that has happened. The Duke of Marl[borou]gh had a letter from a friend in Bavaria, who assured him they could now say they had no enemy to oppose 'em in all that part of the country. All this must bring the French into terms, but what we and our allies will insist upon a little time must shew. . . . We see a few hussars daily, but they come in pursuit of their own deserters, which prevents in some measure their coming to us, though we've two or three almost every day. I've not seen Lord Crawford, but he is here and in great spirits, and so well to go only with one cane."

I hope you found the boy well, which would add to your pleasure in seeing Checquers. I fancy I see Molly there, in the midst of a strawberry bed! 5½ pp.

LIEUT.-COL. CHARLES RUSSELL TO HIS WIFE.

1743, June 7. Hanau.—"I bless God I am pure and well, by having lived comfortably and at my ease at Francfort ever since Sunday last. . . . Intended to have been in camp as yesterday between this place and Francfort, but Lord Stair having had intelligence that the French designed to take possession of a pass where there is a bridge over the Main, at a place called Aschaffenburg, by which means they might have had it in their power to have been somewhat troublesome to us, his lordship therefore ordered the Guards and some regiments of dragoons to march on Saturday night last at twelve o'clock, and though the French were nearer to this place than we and marched with 15,000 to it, yet we, with 90,000 [sic] got there four hours before em, and threw up trenches sufficiently to defend the pass, which, as soon as the French perceived, they retired. Lord Stair sent an express to the King, to inform him of this, who is expected at a palace of the Prince of Hesse's within half a mile of this place. I came by it hither, and it appears to be a fine house and agreeably situated on the river Main." To-morrow I purpose to go to our camp, which is about twelve miles further, near to Aschaffenburg. "The Marshal Noailles was to see the Empress at Francfort on Sunday last, just after I arrived there, and was seen by two or three of our officers. He made but a short stay, and returned to his camp, but our General nicked him in our march." Merriden has gone to meet and escort the King, which will put him into good humour this hot weather. Ingoldsby came to Francfort last night,

but, his baggage not being come up, will not be in camp these three or four days. By great good luck I got room here for ourselves and our horses; General Diemar and many Austrian generals almost filling the houses. Our army is marched to lie between this place and the pass. I've just been walking in a garden belonging to the Prince of Hesse, and bought some artichokes, cucumbers and lettuces to carry to my mess-mates in camp. 8½ pp.

LIEUT.-COL. CHARLES RUSSELL TO HIS WIFE.

1748, June 10. From the Camp near Aschaffenburg upon the Main.—“I wrote to you from Hanau on Tuesday night last, when I told you I proposed being the next day in camp, but alas they were again removed on this side of Aschaffenburg and lay encamped near the bridge, and the whole French army drawn up in line of battle on the other side of the river about two miles distance from us, intending to prevent our going into the country opposite to us. Whether that was our design I can't say. By that time I came up into the town 'twas late, and my baggage not being come up, I got with some difficulty a room and a bed and lay there all Wednesday night. His Majesty and the Duke arrived about a few hours before me, and are in a palace belonging to the Elector of Mentz. To make room for the rest of the army, our brigade was marched about three miles further, so yesterday morning I got to them, and my baggage about an hour after me. A few garden things that I brought with me from Hanau was very welcome to our mess, who had got some dinner for the day in a small village close to our camp, dressed by my cook, and some cold boiled beef. Some of our grenadier officers of the brigade, who was upon duty to protect this village, and his Grace of Marlbro dined with us. I never ate more heartily in my life, which I think was a good beginning, but never saw such poor souls so fatigued as some of our officers are, his Grace of Marl[borou]gh not the least so among 'em, but hope a little rest will soon recover 'em. I believe the French intend only to act upon the defensive, but what we are to do God knows, especially now the King is here, and the rest of our troops expected soon. We lay upon our arms last night till break of day, since which I've had a very good sleep in my bed till eight o'clock, when his Majesty surprised us by coming on a Sunday[sic] along our line. However, I was so alert as to be dressed and at the head of the colours as he came by; and scarce two officers of the regiment besides myself could get there. His Majesty asked me where Colonel Ingoldesby was, if he was come. I told him he came yesterday, which he did very luckily; when the King came back again, we all were there.

“I've a letter from Mrs. Ingoldesby by her servant unknown to him, to desire I would put him in mind of writing, and mention him in my letters to you; you may let her know he is extremely well, but that I can't possibly answer hers; will obey her commands, but could scarce find time to write this, for we



are just a going to remove again, the King not approving of our ground; says we shall encamp in a better place, about a mile or two nearer the town. We don't do duty upon him; his baggage will not be up this fortnight, so don't look upon himself as King here. I have only time to add how extremely well I am, which I thank God for and look upon as a great blessing. I hope we shall have time to dine first, as we have not above a mile or two to remove." 3 pp.

FANNY RUSSELL to her brother, [LIEUT.] COL. CHARLES RUSSELL

1748, June 10. St. James.—I am sorry to hear that you expect to go on further, for I think you are too near the French as it is and by all accounts they have been great cowards in not having fallen upon the English all this time. I hope they will retire soon, that you all may come home, but cannot help being in a fright at the King's going to the army so much sooner than he intended, and before his baggage and attendants can get there. I saw Lady Betty Germain last Saturday at Lady Harriot Campbells, and she told me that Mr. Berkley had had fever but was better. I saw the Duchess of Montrose there too, who said her mama wondered that she had never heard from Lord Robert Manners. You will probably have the King and Duke before this gets to you. I dare say the Duke was very happy in seeing the Princess of Hesse. I called on Sir Thomas and Lady Frankland on Monday, on my way home from Mrs. Adams'. He has taken Lord Cooper's house in George Street, over against Mrs. Corbier's, for 150*l.* a year without the stables, and has let that which he is now in to Mr. Eggleton, of the City. Lady Talbot goes into her new house next Monday. Mr. Trevor has gone with Dr. Trevor to his living at Hemingford and Worsley with them. My mistress set out last Monday night at twelve o'clock to go a-hunting and came home at eleven next morning, having had a good chase. I had much rather she did it than I. I am glad my sister is not in town, for I have been almost crazed with the flying reports of a smart skirmish between the English and French; but Lady Rothes has had a letter from her lord in which he says that the English lay under arms for thirty hours, but the French sneaked away, so that nothing was done. I hear Jemmy Ramsden has got Mr. Corbier's place of the wine license.

Lord Talbot has let his house in town furnished, to Mr. Booze, who is to marry Miss Gilbert, for 400*l.* a year. Lord Carlile was married last Wednesday. 3 pp.

LIEUT.-COL. CHARLES RUSSELL to HIS WIFE.

1748, June 12, Sunday. From the King's quarters at Aschaffenburg.—I had the happiness yesterday of receiving two of yours and one from my sister. Just after I wrote my last, on Friday, we moved our camp, but although we had only two little miles to go and began about six in the evening, it was near two in the morning before we got to our ground, owing to the

number of troops before us and the narrow pass. Most of the baggage was stopped, but "Nat and my people had contrived so well that I found my tent pitched, my bed made, and nothing for me to do but to go into it and sleep for seven hours, which I did most comfortably. Berkeley and Boscawen had the same good fate, but very few besides . . . We are now encamped so near this town as to have the honour of doing duty on his Majesty, and as it was my turn as eldest of the first regiment, am now upon guard; dined next room to the King, who had ten people at his table; my subalterns at a second table in the same room where I did, none under the rank of a lieutenant-colonel being invited where I was, such being the German fashion; but so bad a dinner I never saw, all owing to the King's baggage not being come up, nor any of his people but Col. Herbert, Mr. Finch and Ranby, who came on Friday night, and the Duke of Richmond, Lords Delawar, Holderness and Har[cour]t today. What gave me the most joy was to have another letter from my dearest soul whilst I was at the King's levee. . . The King is just gone to ride along the line, and the Duke with him. They made it so late that I thought I should not have been able to say what I've done; in short I can tell you nothing but that we have many deserters, and kill and take some hussars who always are in pursuit of 'em. The French army march and countermarch to the right and left, over against us, and we follow their example." Pray let me know more about Harding and Holmes. 8½ pp.

LIEUT.-COL. CHARLES RUSSELL TO HIS WIFE.

1748, June 15, Wednesday. From the Camp near the King's head-quarters at Aschaffenburg.—My last was scarce worth your acceptance, for Ranby and Col. Herbert were in the room all the time and I hardly knew what I wrote, but am resolved to omit no opportunity of scribbling away and telling you how well I am. "I thank God I sleep well and have a very coming stomach, so much that when I came off guard on Monday, believing my mess would provide ill in my absence, I was glad to accept of an invitation at my Lord Stairs, who really lives like a prince; and my messmates had scarce any dinner and no bread." Provisions are very scarce here, bread especially, and I have to set a man to watch at the bakers for the opening of the ovens, in order to get any. "Our mess is rather too numerous, but as we are all honest fellows, we can none of us part. It consists of Lord Ancram, Lord Robert Manners, Conway, Boscawen, Walgrave, Berkeley, Vane, Fitzroy and myself. We dine always in Walgrave's tent, being a large one with a boot to it; we never have a tablecloth, but each carries a napkin of his own. . . Can assure you we have, whenever we can rest in a place, a good soup and 'boulée' with a fowl or two sometimes in it, and some roast mutton or beef every day. This has been only since I came among 'em that we live so well; hope 'twill last. We are marched a good deal further than where our magazines were

appointed, which in some measure has caused our distress, for flour is very scarce, and as to forage for our horses, we have had none, only what little grass we could cut, and the privilege of that is scarce allowed us, I mean us foot officers, though if our horses are starved we can be of no service. The Horse have but scanty allowance, but we are promised that there will soon be enough." I have had two of my servants ill, but they are now recovering; "I've also taken a soldier's son from being almost starved, have clothed him, and Nat takes care of victuals for him, and being a smart boy of about eleven years old, find him extremely useful, being never from my tent but when sent of errands, which are not a few. We have deserters come in great plenty, though the hussars are flying about to prevent 'em. The river, from so much dry weather, is fordable in so many places that the hussars pester and plague us much, by stopping what provision they can coming from Francfort and Hanau, but care is now taken to prevent it by troops being posted all the way to guard it.

"How long we shall remain in this uncertain condition I cant say. The enemy make a very agreeable prospect on the other side of the river, their army being extended from right to left a great distance and taking up a great tract of ground. We have certainly prevented hitherto their detaching any number of men to the assistance of Broghlio, who is, with a flying army reduced to only fifteen thousand, endeavouring all he can to make the quickest retreat to save those few, as Marshal Kevenhuller has sent word yesterday, who is doing what he can to cut off his retreat with an army he has of above fifty thousand. Great news from Italy is come within these two days of ten thousand of the Spaniards being all defeated and cut to pieces, but the Austrian General, Count Traun, is killed, a man of great character and much esteemed. The Spaniards have now no troops left in Italy, which is well for us, but great happiness to the Queen of Hungary, who has now no enemy to oppose but what are over against us; do suppose she may send some to us, which, if she does, we may then really humble France."

Our weather is now very cool, there having been great showers of rain. Poor Lord Ancram has had a fever, and is now laid up with rheumatism; Berkeley has got a flux, much worse than I had, and your friend Durand has got the gout, and goes to the sutler's to dinner, limping with a great gouty shoe. Vane (who says nothing will hurt him) and the rest of your friends are quite well. "I forgot to tell you how pleased you would have been to have heard Lord Crawford talk of Lady Robinson at Vienna, who has gained the heart of every soul she knows and is a vast favourite with the Queen. I dined with his lordship two days together, at court and Lord Stairs, and you would be surprised to see how well he is. Our men are much diverted with the scampering about of the hussars. Some we've taken and some have deserted, but if we had some of the Hungarian hussars, which they could very well spare, these would be kept much in awe by 'em, they being far superior in everything to

the French ; and we have expected some a great while, but dont find any are likely to come."

My blessing to my dear babies. I wish I could partake of some strawberries with Molly. Lady Carteret died last week at Hanover. 5½ pp.

FANNY RUSSELL to her brother, [LIEUT.] COL. CHARLES RUSSELL.

1748, June 17. St. James.—. . "You cannot think how it obliges my mistress, the accounts that my sister is so good as to write me out of your letters, and especially about the last transaction, for though we had heard a little by different people 'twas nothing in comparison to what you writ." I feel assured there will be a battle before there is any peace, and though I am extremely glad my sister thinks that they would not let the King go to the army if anything was to be done, I cannot share her opinion. Captain Hudson has been inquiring if you have mentioned Col. Hemington. Mr. and Mrs. Holman and the two Lightfoots were here last night.

"Poor Princess Carolina was very much frightened last Wednesday. As she and Princess Louisa had been out in the chaise, just as Princess Carolina was got out, Mr. Cook, a mad-man, took hold of her hand so fast that she thought he would a broke her arm, and four men was not able to get him off, till the coachman with the butt-end of his whip (*sic*) so that stunned him. This man has 1,500*l.* a year in Suffolk, and a mighty good-looking man." Poor Miss Spencer is dead. Jemmy goes to Mr. Spencer next week to Altrop. I fancy he will not be much at Checquers this summer.

It is a very sad thing about poor Mr. Trevor, for I greatly fear that he is mad. About five weeks ago he took Di. F[rankland] and his two sisters to my cousin Dick's, and at the same time Lord Talbot was at Mr. Tryons with Mally and Jack Shirley, and wrote a very civil letter to Di. inviting them all to go and drink a syllabub upon Norborn Hill, and that if they did not come he should call her and the two sisters a name which he hates. He did not say *prude*, but it seems he meant it, and Mr. Trevor was so affronted that he gave Worsley a challenge to carry to his lordship. Worsley did not take it, but, when Trevor had cooled his heels for some time by the Serpentine river, went and told him that he could not find Lord Talbot, upon which Trevor went to his lordship's house, and was with difficulty got away by Fred Frankland. After this, Lord Talbot himself sent a challenge, but was persuaded, for Di's sake, not to go on with it, and was so good as to meet the rest at Spring Garden and beg Trevor's pardon, which he certainly had no occasion to do.

In a day or two Trevor went with Dick to Headly, where he did nothing but dance and sing and write challenges all day long, and frightened Dick so much that they sent for his cousin, Dr. Trevor, to come and take care of him, who took him back to Hemingford, Worsley going with them, and afterwards to Scarborough and York. He soon came back to town however, and

sent Lord Talbot another challenge, but since that, the Duke of Newcastle and his friends take care not to have him go about, and he has now returned to Hemmingford to the Doctor, who is desired to see that care is taken of him. 8½ pp.

LIEUT.-COL. CHARLES RUSSELL TO HIS WIFE.

1743, June 18, Saturday. From the Camp between Hanau and Francfort.—“I have only to say that I am well; that as a soldier and a man of honour I must tell you the brigade of Guards had the misfortune not to be in the field of battle\* on Thursday last. When our whole army marched from Aschaffenburg very early in the morning, we on the left brought up the rear of the army, which with four battalions of Hannoverian Guards and some of their horse were commanded by Baron Ilton, an Han[overia]n general, who to preserve us from a battery of cannon (planted by the French and played upon us to intercept us from the right of our army) caused us to wheel off to the right to the top of a hill, from whence we might have gone round and joined our army, but instead of that he ordered us to halt, and kept us only to be spectators of what and where we ought to have been principals. The French with their choicest troops had passed the Main about two miles from Aschaffenburg, to the number of about thirty thousand, and we had not above twenty-four thousand. They began with cannonading us with eighteen pounders, which did us great mischief, before ever our cannon could be brought to play upon them. They then came through a wood upon us and we attacked them with our foot with great bravery; they had the advantage of the ground, but yet our British infantry made em retreat and with so many huzzas every time that in a few hours they were obliged with precipitation to repass the river over two bridges that they laid. Our dragoons also behaved very gallantly; in short we gained a victory, and killed and took many of their best troops with twelve pieces of cannon, but lost many of our officers. The King commanded, and is well; the Duke is shot through the calf of his leg, but is well; poor General Clayton is killed and much lamented, and our poor friend Merriden is also killed, and Ned Draper, an acquaintance of your brothers. Lightfoot is well. Major Honeywood, five wounds, twice shot through his body, but yet hopes of his life; Major Brereton killed, and every officer wounded in the regiment late General Honeywood's, but Jo: Child, who was untouched but had three horses shot under him.

“We've gained a great advantage by being able by these means to come hither, which the French intended to have prevented, we being in distress for provision and forage, and also have now joined the Hessians and Hannoverians, so are far superior now to them, whom if we could beat with a less number of troops, there is no fear but we shall succeed for the future if they should any more attack us; but having seen no more of

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\* The battle of Dettingen, June 16-27.

them since, believe they are sick of it. Though I have laid in a soldier's tent only for these three nights, was never better. . . . I've wrote this in the open air, my tent not having been pitched these three days ; but will be this night, and encamped in a line with near fifty thousand troops." 3½ pp.

LIEUT.-COL. CHARLES RUSSELL TO HIS WIFE.

1748, June 19. From the Camp near Hanau upon the Main. —“Though I wrote to you but yesterday, lest that should miscarry I'm resolved to tell you once more that I am well ; believe you will hear a great deal and may see the particulars in the Gazette relating to the engagement we have so lately had with the French, yet I persuade myself you will be better pleased to see it under my hand ; that when I wrote to you from our camp near Aschaffenburg last Wednesday, I little thought what was so soon to happen, but immediately after, we received orders to strike our tents, lie upon our arms that night and marched the next morning at four o'clock, being Thursday the 16th instant, O.S. As we, the brigade of Guards, were on the left of all, we were appointed as a rear guard to the whole army, and when we had marched about a mile and a half we were joined with the Hanoverian Guards and part of their horse, which was about six in the morning, at which time his Majesty rode up to us and received us. He then left us under the command of General Ilton, an Hanoverian General, and so rode away with a proper escort to the right of the army.

“No sooner had we marched above half a mile further, but a battery of cannon played upon us to intercept us from the main army, upon which General Ilton had orders sent him to wheel to the right to be covered from the fire of the cannon, so that we marched up a hill on the top of which we halted and was separated by this means from our army about two miles, and nothing but woods between us. From thence we could see what I am now faintly going to describe, that about twelve o'clock the French begun playing several batteries of cannon at our forces from the other side of the water, which annoyed us a little ; upon our marching a little forward our forces perceived the French army had passed the Main near a little village called Dittengen, and was advancing up to us through a wood, cannonading us all the time, upon which a very smart engagement ensued. Lord Carteret was in a coach and six not far from the field, and in no small anxiety, you may imagine. The French, by the best accounts we can learn, was come over with the greatest part of their army, and was not far short of being double in number to what we had in the field, had in short all their *mason du roy* and all their best infantry, leaving nothing but their militia (which they had lately raised) on the other side of the water to guard their camp. Their scheme was so well laid, and so sure were they of success, that they had sent the Emperor to Francfort the day before the battle ; but however, by the blessing of God

and the great bravery of our English infantry, which is hardly to be paralleled, we made them retreat, and at last so precipitately that great numbers were drowned. His Majesty was in the field of battle the whole time and behaved very gallantly, went himself and placed a battery of Hanoverian cannon, which was of utmost service and did great execution. The Duke also charged with General Clayton in the first line in the warmest part of the action, riding about animating the men with great bravery and resolution, at which time he received a wound in his leg, but is likely to do very well. The whole cry was, 'where were the Guards, what shall we do without 'em, why are they not sent for'; in short we came, but had it been one hour sooner, before they had begun to retire, we must have made a complete victory, by pushing 'em with our fresh troops, which must have [so] added to their panic that scarce any of their men could have escaped; must have been forced into the river, or made prisoners of war. As it is, the advantage we have reaped is so great that the flower of their army is certainly destroyed; scarce any of their *mason du roy* has escaped being cut to pieces or made prisoners of war; and the number of their drowned is so great, that with the wounded, killed and drowned, it is said it amounts to between six and seven thousand, and the most we've lost don't exceed fifteen hundred, the wounded included. The Dragoons had great share in the action, particularly late Honeywoods, there not being above one squadron left of the regiment out of three. The Horse Guards and Grenadiers also behaved well, but our other corps of horse have not acquired so much fame in this engagement. The officers in general are greatly applauded, I mean of the English. The Hannoverian had scarce any share at all in it, but some of the Austrians behaved well, only one of their battalions made an unfortunate mistake, by firing upon our troops several times. Both the King and the Duke are thoroughly sensible of all the honour of the day being owing to the English. His Grace of Marl[borough], who commanded our brigade, but was commanded, went in haste forgive the Han[overia]n general, for the moment we came into the field of battle, expecting to be of some service, the enemy was all flown; such a sight I never saw as the number of dead bodies all round us, among which we lay all that night without our tents. Many prisoners of distinction we saw that were wounded and taken, and carried 'em water and other necessaries, for which they expressed great gratitude. I fear I wrote you a strange account yesterday, was then in a great hurry, being just ordered to remove our ground to where we now are; could not write before, for it rained without ceasing from the end of the battle twenty four hours, which was all Thursday night and all Friday, nor was I under cover the whole time but in a soldier's tent at night, and eighteen hours a horse back all Friday till ten at night, but a good rest all last night in my own bed has quite refreshed me, and many more I find I'm likely to have. Major Brereton is alive and well, who I mentioned dead yesterday. I can't help pitying poor Mrs. Swan."

*Postscript.* Duke of Richmond and Lord Har[cour]t were with the King the whole time: the latter with his Grace of Marl[borou]gh. Mr. Carteret and George Stanhope has been sitting in our tent with us from dinner all this evening. 5½ pp.

LIEUT.-COL. CHARLES RUSSELL TO HIS WIFE.

1748, June 22, Wednesday. From our camp near Hanau.—  
 “I cant help being in great concern for you till you have received my two last letters, for by all accounts from England by the several private letters, I find everybody is in the utmost anxiety for their friends from the consequence of an engagement with the French, being what was expected to be heard of by every mail from hence. Both my letters I sent by the way of Holland for expedition; am afraid you would think the time too tedious between hearing of an express being arrived of a battle and before you could hear from me, none of us being able to write to our friends so soon as we imagine the King could send away an account of it. Our only hope was that the same express would mention the Guards not being in the engagement; how that would gain credit I don't know, but hope my letters had a quick passage that you might be made easy. You and I, that have the same way of thinking, must believe that Providence had a hand and assisted us in our late engagement, so to repine at our not being there must surely be wrong, but otherwise 'tis natural to imagine, had we come into the field of battle but one hour sooner, which was just before they had begun their retreat, we doubtless might have had it in our power easily to cut off their pass over the bridge, so have either pushed 'em all into the river or made 'em prisoners of war. On the other hand, when one considers the well concerted scheme of the Marshal Noailles, who had ordered a body of men to pass at a bridge on the left where we had lain encamped in order to cut off the rear-guard of the army of which we had the principal care—but we had marched as it happened too early for 'em and so frustrated that part of it—at the same time placing batteries of cannon and moving them all along the side of the river opposite to which the right of our army was obliged to march, playing them all the time upon our troops; they also bringing over such a number of all their best troops, so that nothing but an appearance of our being totally destroyed seemed to be the result of their General's scheme; to stay where we had been must have been absolutely starving us, and the reinforcement of Hessians and Hannoverians and four more of our own regiments from England being intercepted from us, there being no way to join 'em excepting the marching the very way we did, for to avoid the enemy was impossible; our only *faux pas* was not having notice soon enough to prevent such a body of troops passing, but as the case was, that the Marshal's scheme had so far taken effect that we seemed to be hemmed in a cleft stick, nothing but the unparalleled behaviour of our infantry and the hand of God could have saved us; the latter they own it to be. I wish Worsley was with you to hear how



'twas possible to think that all the grenadiers of their army were joined with their foot Guards and actually turned tail: that the Musquetaires, which consisted all of gentlemen of the first families of France, who are known to be brave, were almost all slain or wounded, as well as the greatest part of their *mason du roy*; that we have a report that the Marshal stopped the Emperor, who was going to Francfort, and told him if he would stay but an hour he would deliver the king of England into his hands, a fine gasconade. Lord Harcourt breakfasted in my tent yesterday morning, who confirms a piece of news that the Emperor has sent to our King, to offer him to be under his protection and to come into what terms he shall think proper. We are, I thank God, now encamped where our men and we have great plenty of all kind of provisions and now are finely refreshed after the great fatigue we have all undergone, lying three nights together upon the ground, two of which were extremely wet, and no straw; and yet I thank God I never was better in my life; bread and brandy was my food, and the men absolutely for near forty-eight hours had nothing but gin to subsist upon. We had but few officers killed considering the great cannonading. Poor General Clayton survived the first charge, where he had been in the thickest of the fire, and told the other general officers that he always said that they might ever depend upon the English foot; poor man, 'twas just at the conclusion of the affair that he met with his fate by a musket shot. As for poor Merriden, he was half dead before he begun to charge, seemed to foretell what was to happen to him; his excessive pale looks made his lieutenant ask him to drink a dram and cheer up, which he refused, nor could he be brought scarce to speak a word. He called to a favourite quarter-master and gave him thirty ducats to take care of, which if he dropped was to be his own; he had near eighty pounds more in his pockets, which were all stript. In short the regiment behaved very ill and did not follow their officers, so that upon the latter's being obliged to retire, having none of their men to charge with them, they all suffered so [much]. Merriden received his shot in the back of his [torn] and dropped at once. Poor Ned Draper received one in his back and out at his belly, lived two hours, but would have his joke, by saying, if he lived to go to England he never would own but that the ball went the reverse way. Captain Smith and Major Car both were much wounded, but are now thought to be out of danger. They confess with great concern the ill behaviour of their men. The Blues did still much worse. Major Honeywood's behaviour was gallant beyond expression, and thank God 'tis thought he will recover. Of the foot there has been but seven officers killed and twelve wounded; one hundred and forty three privates killed and three hundred and nine wounded. Of the horse and dragoons I have yet had no certain account. To our great shame be it spoken, we left the field of battle the next day and the village where our sick and wounded lay, without taking proper care to bring 'em with us; so that when we came hither, the French seized upon 'em as prisoners of war, and lucky for 'em took

care of 'em, which was more than we had done, and what had not the appearance, of our side, of being victorious. The enemy are encamped behind a wood opposite to us, and part of their army are filing off they say towards the Rhine; the rest I suppose will follow. I have had no letter since the 3rd, hope soon to hear that you and my dear babes are well." 5½ pp.

FANNY RUSSELL to her sister [in law, MRS. RUSSELL].

1743, June 23.—A messenger has brought my mistress a letter from her brother. He writes that "thank God the King was very well and that they had heartily beat the French. The foot Guards was not there: that he was there, as a major-general, and had got a slight wound in his left leg, which obliged him to be carried off; he was very sorry to be hindered seeing the whole action; that the French had crossed the Main and attacked us first. This action was at a place called Detting, between Hanau and Aschaffenburg; it happened last Thursday, and two hours after the battle was over, the Hessians came, which gave the English great spirits to have the army so much strengthened, though they were not wanted. Now, as I tell my dear sister every thing I know, I hope in God she will make herself as easy as possible. . . My mistress was very good, and called to tell me the Guards were not in that action before she said one word to any one body. She has had this messenger with her again this morning to ask him all the questions she could. He told her he was in a wood, just by where all this happened, with Lord Carteret and Ranby. That the King was at this action, with Lord Stair and Duke D'remburg on each side of him, and Duke D'remburg had a bullet shot at his breast. Lord Albermarl had his horse shot under him, but got no hurt. As, thank God, we have got the better, 'tis believed that now 'twill soon be made an end of. I heartily pray God it may. The messenger said there was but three of our officers killed, General Clayton, young Honywood, and poor Merriden. . . We have taken eight pieces of cannon and a standard, one of the oldest the French have." I am writing to Mrs. Boscawen to tell her that her husband is safe, and have sent to Mrs. Holman and Mrs. Parslow.

"I hear Lord Fytchwilliams has left his son Jack thirty thousand pounds, and ten pounds to another son." 2 pp.

FANNY RUSSELL to [LIEUT.-] COL. CHARLES RUSSELL.

1743, June 24. St. James.—I cannot tell you the pleasure it gave me when my mistress told me that the foot Guards were not in the action at Detting, but I own that I dread the next messenger, not knowing what news he may bring. [*The next part of the letter is almost a repetition of that to his wife.*] Poor Mrs. Swan sent to me yesterday to ask for news of her brother, and her man heard in the court below that Mr. Merriden was killed, but I begged him only to tell his mistress that no particulars had

come. No one says a word of either Felton Hervey, Campbell or Fytchwilliams. Monsieur Hop was asked yesterday, in the drawing room, if he thought the Dutch troops would get to the army by next summer. My mistress has given me leave to go some Saturday to Checquers (when she goes a hunting) and stay till Tuesday, which will be charming. Since I began this, Col. Swan has been here to ask about poor Merriden. "He got Lady Hinchbrook to hear of his death last night." [sic] Johnny G[reenhill] and Billy R[ussell] called here this morning, in their [way] to the Cowslads, it being a holiday. Jack has got into the fifth form. My cousin Mills is dead at Hillingden. I dine to-day at Lady Lees. 3 pp.

LIEUT.-COL. RUSSELL TO HIS WIFE.

1748, June 26, Sunday. From the camp at Hanau.—Yesterday I was made happy by four of your letters, brought by the King's messenger. "I intended to have taken a little more time to have retired to my tent, and thus indulged my self talking to my dearest soul and answering as much as I could what you told me yesterday, but have been so well employed for these last two hours that I'm sensible you will be pleased I was so prevented. I am but just come from the head of our regiment, where we have had divine service, and have been returning thanks for our late victory, which though far from being a complete one, yet must be allowed as a signal instance of providence and of great mercies bestowed upon us. I had also the pleasure of seeing every officer in our whole battalion except one who joined in this public prayer and thanksgiving. The order was for the whole line to sing *Te Deum* as this day and in the evening we are to have a *feu de joie*.

"The French lie encamped at some little distance over against us and extend themselves towards Francfort, but they have entrenched themselves so much all the way, which is a strong instance how much they dread us and shews how little there is any appearance of their attacking us any more, at least for the present; and whilst this river is between us, 'twill be no easy thing for us to attack them, especially whilst they watch us so narrowly and give so good a look out, which it highly becomes them to do. As for us, I don't find we had the least notice of their passing the river, though 'twas done within a league of us, at the time they laid so good a scheme; and nothing but the hand of Providence could have saved us, if you knew all, though the second cause must be ascribed to the bravery of our foot, and one or two regiments of Hanoverians and Austrians. The latter are so fond of our men that they never meet one but clap him on his back and cry *brave home*. The behaviour of all our horse officers was commendable, but the private men, especially of that regiment called the Blues, was scandalous; one general officer had ordered some platoons of his regiment to present and was going to fire upon the latter cavalry, but in consideration of the officers of that corps prevented it. By all accounts the enemy

have not lost less than six thousand; out of four hundred of their musquetaires, who are all gentlemen and have servants and horses each to attend 'em, but eighty has escaped unhurt, besides a great slaughter among their *mason du roy*, who were those that exposed themselves so much to our fire. By our returns which are now come in, the English have had killed and wounded eight hundred and forty eight, Hannoverians, five hundred and twenty three, Austrians, nine hundred and ten, private total, two thousand two hundred and eighty one, besides officers about one hundred killed and wounded.

"Lord Stair exposed himself during the whole action with great bravery and conduct, and what was remarkable, neither he nor his seven aide-de-camps were the least hurt. Poor Brigadier Hurst, who distinguished himself remarkably, received a wound in his foot, which I fear will disable him for this campaign, and I can assure you his Royal Highness's wound, being quite through the fleshy part of his leg, though I hope he has now no fever attends him, yet I believe will make him incapable of any further service these two or three months at least. Poor Mr. Wyndam I'm told had his horse shot under him, as well as Fitzwilliams, and lucky for Harvey that he'll have no occasion to attend, if anything more was to happen. Duke of Richmond and Lord H[arcour]t and Lord H[older]ness were with the King the whole time; a younger brother of Sir T. Hoby's, a cornet in Sir Robert Rich's, behaved so gallantly, that though he was cut to pieces, saved his standard, it being found wrapped up within side of his coat. Young Horsey's standard was also forced from him, but he bravely recovered it, by riding up and shooting the man that took it."

I fear I have been too tedious in my accounts, though I have omitted many particulars. Fanny has sent me a most melancholy account of poor Mr. Trevor, who I fear is not recoverable. Boscawen appears to know nothing of it. Lord Ancram is still laid up with rheumatism. Ingoldsby is well and has written twice since he came. Jack Robinson and all you ask news of are well. Poor Merriden's things were sold yesterday for double what they cost. 5½ pp.

LIEUT.-COL. RUSSELL TO HIS WIFE.

1743, June 28. From the camp near Hanau.—Our life here is all extremes, either harassed and fatigued or else idle and little to do, as is our present case. The variety of reports and conjectures is endless. Broglie's flying army is thought to be coming to join Noailles, and if so, Prince Charles wont be long after him, whose glorious army of 70,000 men, flushed with conquest, must succeed wherever he goes. All this, I think must end in peace with this campaign. "Our able and mighty minister,\* who attends our great Captain,† is fully employed, and as we hear, is no less than sixteen hours out of the twenty-

\*Lord Carteret.

†The King.

four busy with pen, ink and paper. Schemes of pacification must doubtless be the result of his present labours. Time only must determine what will be the effect." It is a great misfortune that our Captain shows such partiality to his own people, which our men of spirit can never bear. We are forced to submit, but the independents by no means will. Lord H[arcour]t leaves for England to-morrow, and Jack Mor[daun]t, 'tis said will do the same, for some maltreatment he has met with, "all which greatly disconcerts our minister, who must have a difficult task to play. I cant help thinking how much the certain General will be in your favour, who certainly was a means of our not being the last two hours concerned in the late engagement. His Majesty says since we are so uneasy we were unconcerned, we shall the next time have our belly-full. Our Colonel\* I'm sorry to say was thought yesterday to be in some danger, his wound being attended with a fever, and his body being gross makes it go but ill with him; his Papa, they say, was in tears for him yesterday morning. . . I am very much obliged to your brother for getting me the two men into the Hospital; should have thanked him for it in my last, which I wrote to you a Sunday, the 26th, and mentioned the *feu-de-joie* we were to have that evening, which was a fine one. The Captain rode by us before it began, never spoke to one of the English, but to every one of his own."

We have continual showers, which makes the weather extremely pleasant. Nothing can be more delightful than the country all about us, were it only not so far from our dear sweet island. Provisions are plentiful and good and I think I eat more heartily than I ever did in my life. To-day we are to have a table-cloth for the first time, as we have company to dinner. Our mess is very jolly, especially in an evening, when we all meet, but part again before twelve. Vane desires to be remembered to you. Jack Robinson, Durand, Hildesley and Ingoldsby are all well. The latter has promised me to write again in two or three days, which pray send word to Madame, who he tells me is at Ditton. "Lord Harcourt, I find, says as he was disappointed in not being made an aide-de-camp to the King, as there were five or six lately made. It is not worth his while to stay, so all his military expectations must now be laid aside. . . . Capt. Walgrave is made captain-lieutenant in the 3rd regiment; Lightfoot will be made a lieutenant and Collier is to be a cornet in their regiment, which your brother will be glad to know. The Duke is much better to-day and has had a good night." 5 pp.

LIEUT.-COL. RUSSELL to HIS WIFE.

1743, June 29. From the camp near Hanau.—Lord Harcourt has promised to send this safely to you. "We all shall have a loss in his going, and much more so if his example is followed, which 'tis expected will be if the same treatment is

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\* The Duke of Cumberland.

continued. The Captain snubbed his lordship before company for inviting so many English to dine at his table and not asking more Han[overia]ns. Jack Mord[aun]t has also been ill-used by one of the H[anoveria]ns having the preference of holding the C[aptai]n's stirrup when he was equerry in waiting; he therefore has asked leave to resign, but to stay as a volunteer this campaign; the first was granted, but the latter not. In short, so impolitic a head was scarce ever known, and his treatment of the people of the island almost insupportable, scarce lending an ear to any other advice or counsel but his own natives; and as for our tr[oo]ps, he seems to hold us in great contempt. 'Tis true we are brave, he says, but he would give up a little of that for us to have the discipline of his, when at the same time 'tis a known fact that their cavalry refused to march when orders were sent them by an aide-de-camp of our chief marshal, and though they had twenty squadrons in the field of battle, not one of them once charged. A few of their foot did, and behaved well. The very enemy own that we were very favourable to 'em; that had we made a proper use of the advantage we had gained, we might have destroyed the greatest part of 'em, by pursuing 'em. 'Twas what they dreaded, and the consequence they say must have been a dreadful slaughter. Our chief marshal would have done it, but scarce one of his orders were complied with, nothing but an H[anoveria]n ear was listened to or regarded, so that though we have been victorious, destroyed great numbers of 'em and those of their best troops, and have been able to join the forces we are now with, yet we left them the field of battle to come to take possession of the next morning, to bury our dead for us—which they say they did, but excepted the men with whiskers, who are H[anoveria]ns; also left our wounded to the number of near four hundred to their mercy; all which Lord St[ai]r would have prevented, but the counsel of the H[anoveria]ns prevailed against him. The Cap[tai]n, to give him his due, behaved with as much bravery as was possible, and said he believed now, when it was over, that he could not be killed. Duke D'Arenberg, who has received a dangerous wound, before that rode up to him and begged of him not to expose his person in the manner he did; that he was liable to be surrounded by the enemy and taken prisoner. He answered, 'what do you think I came here for? to be a poltroon?' In short, excepting three or four of our generals, the rest of 'em were of little service; that our men and their regimental officers gained the day; not in the manner of Hyde Park discipline, but our foot almost kneeled down by whole ranks, and so fired upon 'em a constant running fire, making almost every ball take place; but for ten or twelve minutes 'twas doubtful which should succeed, as they overpowered us so much, and the bravery of their *mason du roy* coming upon us eight or nine ranks deep; yet our troops were not seen to retreat, but to bend back only, I mean our foot, and that only whilst they fresh loaded; then of their own accord marched boldly up to 'em, gave 'em such a smash with loud huzzas every time they saw them retire, that then they were at

once put to flight; that had our horse been of any service, and those of our mercenaries, we should, as it was, [have] made a much greater slaughter. Our three fine regiments of horse have indeed lost their character for this time. The H[orse] G[uards] and Grenadiers behaved well, by standing their ground and not running away. Sauring, Wallis and Cholmondley were wounded, as also Le Meloniese and Major Johnson; the former will do well, but the last is in danger, his leg being shot off. Alcroft of late Pembroke's, and Campbell, Clayton's aide-de-camp, were killed; these I mention because your brother knew 'em." Lord Harcourt waits for my letter, so I must say *adieu*.  
*8½ pp.*

FANNY RUSSELL to [LIEUT.-]COL. CHARLES RUSSELL.

1748, July 1.—My sister has just sent me an account of what you have written to her. You cannot think how pleased my mistress has been with it, it being much the best she has seen. How I long for all this ugly fighting to be over. I don't expect you to answer my letters, but I beg, for God's sake, that, if there should be another battle, you will send me three words to say how you do. Last Sunday poor Mrs. Swan had some little hope that the news of Merriden's death might not be true, as she heard that Col. Madden had written to Lord Pembroke and had not mentioned it, but my mistress had told me how much concerned Lady Pembroke was at his death. The Lightfoots were with me yesterday, and also Miss Boscawen, the maid of honour, Lady Talbot, Di. Frankland, and Mrs. Adams and her daughters. The Adams are not to go to Barington till Lady Talbot is settled there. I have heard from Mrs. Knight, very happy that the Guards were not in the action.

"I hear the Blues are sadly blamed. They say the King was forced to stand sword in hand, and rallied them three times; that they did great mischief by going back and trampling upon the foot that was behind them. As the Duke wrote to my mistress the day after he was wounded, she was very uneasy not to have a letter from him by the messenger that came on Tuesday night. He brought a letter to Mrs. Dearing from Mr. Ranby, in which he says the Duke is in as good a way as can be expected from so large a wound. My mistress was and is very uneasy about him, for now they have told her that Ranby says, though the bone is not touched, he is afraid one of the tendons is, and if so he will be always a little lame. . . . If Princess Louisa goes any time in August, I believe Mrs. Purcell will go with her, and be left at Loo, with Princess Royal. . . . I hear the soldiers of the foot Guards was so hasty to get to the battle that they went a great many before their officers could be ready to go with them. Thank God 'twas over before you got there. . . . Windome, I hear, had his horse shot under him. Lightfoot writes word they have now plenty of provisions and cheap.

I was extreme glad to hear it ; it must be since the battle, for I hear that before the battle they could scarce get a dinner for the King, and if so what must the poor officers and soldiers do ? " Mr. Trevor is still at Glynd. 3 pp.

LIEUT.-COL. RUSSELL TO HIS WIFE.

1748, July 2. From the camp near Hanau.—I begin to fancy that the accounts I have sent you of our late battle were not so good as I could have wished, but "the whole was so confused an affair of our side, so little order or regularity kept, nay, in short, no one order of any one kind given out to any one commanding officer of any of our troops as to charging or attacking, or what they were to do. I thought the horse only was destitute of any one general to give 'em orders, but by what I can find, the infantry make the same complaint. Our generals rode about and exposed themselves, may be very properly said, without giving any sort of orders or directions, so that nothing but the bravery of one side and the cowardice and misbehaviour of the enemy's infantry gained us what advantage we had ; and had we not been the most favourable people in the world, they must have suffered much worse, nay scarce any would have escaped that had that day passed the river. And to shew a continuance of our great politeness and kindness to them, in return to their mighty ill behaviour and cruel treatment of cannonading us so unmercifully so many hours as they did before the battle, we, I say, in return, have suffered them to go off the ground unmolested and undisturbed, which the rear of their army did yesterday morning by six o'clock, when we might as easily have cut off that part of them by crossing the river the day before yesterday, which Lord Stair fain would have done. I dined and sat next to his lordship at his own table, who told me, if he had been but permitted to have done it, he was well persuaded he could have given a very good account of what troops of theirs marched away but yesterday, without risking but a very inconsiderable loss on our side. . . . Our minister we take for granted is hard at work for pacific measures, and I do suppose is our present General. Whether we are to return to Flanders or stay and join Prince Charles, we can't tell. That the French are gone towards the Rhine to pass it and meet Broghlio to secure their own frontiers is pretty plain ; some say Prince Charles is gone to make a diversion into Lorain, but a little time will soon discover all this, which in a post or two more I shall be able to inform you. The Duke is much better, but his Papa as national as ever ; studies and only does everything to disoblige those he should not ; he has made it up with Mordaunt, who now stays here." 4 pp.

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

1748, July 5. From the Camp near Hanau.—I find from my sister's letter that she was so good as to inform you that the Guards were not engaged, as soon as the news of the battle



arrived in England, and that she also sent to Mrs. Parslow and Mrs. Boscawen, for which their husbands are exceedingly obliged. You cant imagine what mischief I have made between Mrs. Parslow and him; she has wrote him such a letter with reproaches for not having heard from him for some little distance of time, when she says Mrs. Russell could receive five or six letters in that time; however he had a good excuse, as no doubt she knows by now. Our late near neighbours have stolen away and have now passed the Rhine. Great numbers of deserters have come from them, twenty-five hussars the day before yesterday, besides foot without end. I find we are likely to stay here another two or three weeks, until his Majesty goes to Hanover to meet the Prince of Denmark, when we shall probably march towards Flanders, remain there for the winter and then return to England. "I think our great backwardness in not pursuing and making the most of the advantage we had gained shews how unwilling we are to enter into a war with France; but surely the more we had distressed them, the better terms we might have had. From all accounts we have heard 'tis incredible to tell you how great was the panic that had seized the French the night of the battle; both that night and a day or two afterwards, they could not make their men lie in their camp, who instead of it kept skulking about in hedges and in vast woods that were near them, and all for fear of our pursuing and attacking them. They really say, and with an air of truth, that the killed, wounded, drowned, and what are incapable for the service of this campaign, can't be less than ten thousand of the French. His R[oyal] H[ighness] is much better and is in fine spirits. I wish I could remember to tell you all the good speeches of our noble Captain upon this late occasion. 'William, I'm glad you behaved so well, you acted like my son; if you do well, I shall not be sorry for your wound.' He is now made a lieutenant-general. Lord de l' W[ar]r was asked, 'have you received any letters from England of the rejoicings upon the account of the late victory?' 'Yes, sir.' 'I believe I shall be almost as popular as Ad[mira]l V[erno]n.' Many more of this nature divert us much. He goes to-morrow to see our late field of battle; I suppose to correct against another time any omission he might there be guilty of in the disposition that was there made. Marshal Niepergh, the Austrian general, behaved very gallantly at the head of his troops, who is a very able and experienced general; he said in his life he never saw such a firing as came that day from the English infantry. There was a good deal of money and many watches picked up by our people, servants, boors, and others who fell to plundering; the most shocking part of all was the numbers that were plundered and stripped before their servants got up to 'em, and even too many before they were dead; poor General Clayton was stripped and plundered, as well as poor Merriden, and Major Honeywood was the same, though not dead, and who now is thought to be out of all danger. Merriden's fate was hard, had escaped all the cannonading, and likewise the first charge, but was taken off by a musket shot in

his head, which entered just in the little open [*sic*] of the skull-cap, which was made but very lately according to a new whim of Lord Pembroke's. Major Carr's life was saved by his skull cap, which was cut and hacked, and received many bruises. Poor Lord Crawford had a narrow escape by a ball that would have nicked him in the same place wh[ere] he received his former wound, but that his pistol saved him, which was split into many pieces. Our camp is now tolerably pleasant, having lately had a great many fine showers, so that it has not been the least too hot, and we have a fine river in our front and in our rear the most delightful pleasant woods one could wish to ride in, with great variety of lawns within 'em, in the most parkish manner I ever saw; in short I never saw such in England that was not enclosed, fine oak, beech and firs being the only trees; all in the domain of Prince William of Hesse, who has a fine house near us, where he and our Prince of Hesse, his son, at present reside. I can't but think how happy Fanny will be to have leave to lie three nights at Checquers. I long to hear a successful account of your Missenden tenants, and that they may become purchasers; but fear their going to see houses at Richmond will prevent their coming to you. I can't but think how well your brother judged in not coming over here. I could not have had patience to have seen Walgrave and every young fellow put over his head, even in time of service, which would have been the case. Your brother is very good to be so fond of little Johnny, but I hope Molly's nose is not out of joint." 5½ pp.

FANNY RUSSELL to [LIEUT.-] COL. CHARLES RUSSELL.

1748, July 8. St. James.—You cannot think what pleasure my sister's letters give me, in telling me that you are well, after your great deliverance. "I cannot help calling it so, for by all accounts they had laid their scheme so well that had it not been entirely the hand of God you must all have been destroyed, and I shall love General Ilton as long as I live, for making the Guards halt upon the hill. If the Emperor makes peace with the Queen of Hungary, I hope the French will be so good as to go home, and then what business have we but to come home too. . . . My mistress wants mightily to know how her Papa spends his time, so if you could learn by Lord Harcourt and write word, you need not name names, and you would oblige her mightily. She is very uneasy about her brother. I fancy the wound is much worse than you think it is, and by the accounts that came last Wednesday by the messenger, last Monday sennight the King and everybody there about him was in a great fright, for his fever was returned, with shivering. They gave him bark, and they hoped he was better. Lord Willminton\* is dead and they cannot find a will. They have looked all over his house in town and at Chiswick and cannot find any. If there is none, t'will be a charming thing for the lady Comptons, and I am very glad of it, for I hear that his fortune will be divided into eight shares: the Duke of Dorset will have one, and Lord

\* Spencer Compton, 2nd son of 3rd Earl of Northampton, Prime Minister.

Northampton and his brothers and sisters the other shares. . . Fan: Meadows was here yesterday, and did not disown her sister's going to be married to Tommy R[amsde]n." I told her I wanted sadly to thank him for his kindness about your letters, and prayed her to ask him to drink tea here next Thursday with her and her sister. She tells me her own match cannot be for some years; I suppose not while his mother is alive. Last Thursday I had the two Lightfoots, Mr. and Mrs. Holman, Sir Thomas Frankland, his wife and her sister, Billy Mellish and his wife, and in fact twenty-one at one time in my room. Lady Frankland is certainly with child. Sir Thomas talks of going into his new house in a fortnight. Her sister only came up about their law suit and goes back next Monday, taking Carlo with her. I believe we shall lose Princess Louisa next month. It is not yet settled whether she takes Dives, Dearing or Swinton with her. Pray tell Lord Crawford that I had a letter from Lady Susan the other day, who is grown quite another creature, loves home, and is mighty fond of her child and a very good manager. Now that Mr. Schuzts has his own time, he can never stay above a fortnight or three weeks at that charming place, Shotover. 8 pp.

LIEUT.-COL. RUSSELL TO HIS WIFE.

1748, July 10, Sunday. From the camp at Hanau.—As the French have all passed the Rhine, and I fancy will no more in haste come into Germany, our game at present seems to be at an end. What their designs are now I cannot tell, or whether we shall enter into a French war or not, though I can give a good guess. The ministers are hard at work at Francfort, and a little time will show whether cessation of arms, congresses or preliminary articles will be the result.

We have had nothing but rain and wind here lately, and I imagine you have had the same sort of weather, which I hope has at any rate had the good effect of making water more plentiful than usual at Missenden. If Kitty's friends have but good taste "how I shall think myself indebted to that agreeable and sprightly damsel, and shall so often wish it in my power to do her as good a turn by finding out some person with as good a taste to prevent her leading apes in hell.\* Poor Mrs. Mills, I hear, fell a sacrifice to that darling creature her good mother was so good to introduce her to; though, poor soul, I fear of late years she had cause enough to have recourse to anything that would give her the least comfort. . . . The Duke mends every day, and will, I daresay, recover as soon as the nature of the wound will admit of. We are in hopes, as he has now seen some service, and what a farce there is in so much high [? Hyde] park discipline, that he will in some measure have a contempt for the superfluous part of the

\* " 'Tis an old proverb, and you know it well,  
That women, dying maids, lead apes in hell."—*The London Prodigal*.  
See note in the *Wentworth Papers*, ed. Cartwright, p. 285.

latter, and must own that we are not very sorry for his having been lately tied by the leg, as he is now likely to do well again, since it has been some relief to us." Boscawen and I feel rather unhappy that the post has come in, and every body has got their letters excepting us, who must wait until the messenger comes from the Duke of Newcastle's office. I believe Ramsden thinks this the safest way, but wish he would send them by the army post. I never saw anyone so unhappy at being away from home as Boscawen is, and he has less reason than any others, being sure of his return home in November, against the meeting of Parliament. He was really very ill two days before the battle and had to be brought away in a chaise, "in which he lay in the wood near the engagement; was next to Lord Car[tere]'s coach, who had a great guard with him, and talked with his lordship sometime; says he never saw so much anxiety in any body's countenance in his whole life, who had indeed great cause for it, for had any accident happened to his Majesty, and our troops failed of the success we had, as we should have had no place for refuge, and would have suffered much more in all respects than our enemy has done, what then must have become of our minister?"

Lord Ancram has continued so ill with rheumatism and a fever on his spirits, that the King has ordered him away, and he is gone to Aix-la-Chapelle. Jack Boscawen has just come to our tent, "and so welcome a guest I never saw, with smiles in his countenance and a packet of letters from my dearest soul. . . . George Boscawen is also happy. I shall make much of Jack, you may be sure, and glad am I that I had before got a good dinner for him. Lord Carteret is working hard to get the King to Hanover. Prince Charles' hussars has taken all Broghlio's baggage in his retreat and made great havoc among his troops, who they say are strangely dispersed." 5½ pp.

#### LIEUT.-COL. RUSSELL TO HIS WIFE.

1743, July 13. From the camp near Hanau.—I could wish that the accounts I sent you of the late action had been less confused, but I assure you the truth was so little known amongst ourselves that one could scarce depend on anything one heard. Such was the disorder from the situation of the ground (not being sufficient for our troops to draw up in order), the unexpectedness of the engagement, and the little disquietude in the minds of those who had never before seen service, that few were able to describe anything but what happened close to them. "Some reflections upon the non-behaviour of some of our commanders is not proper to insert, except the great God of War, whom you can't fail of knowing, thought the fire so great that he thought fit to retire, and was not seen for some hours, till all was over. As for the Blue regiment of horse, they fairly one and all faced to the right about and never stood their ground. Late Pembroke's pretty near followed their example. Though there was not one man nor horse of that corps hurt by the great cannonading, yet when they should have attacked the enemy's

horse, they failed, but suffered their officers to charge without 'em, which in some measure occasioned that slaughter among 'em. The other regiment of horse, called the Blacks, behaved the least ill, but bad enough, and would not closely follow their officers. Their lieutenant-colonel was shot through the thigh, Captain Stewart and Cornet Cholmondley very much wounded, but all likely to recover, which Ranby, who I saw last night, told me. Had these fine regiments, to appearance only I must now say, but done their duty, what a slaughter there must have been among their cavalry; but our foot did their business for 'em. As for them, they may properly be said to be routed and beat by the enemy's horse, but in the pursuit, what use might our horse [have] been of. I must make one observation, that the few wounds our broadswords did make among the French which Ranby had the dressing of was real slaughtering, and what wounds our people received in general from their cavalry were only scratches, their musquetaires being chiefly young men and boys, so that where we had the superiority in strength and weight of cavalry, there we shamefully failed; but our foot, who did engage with some old troops and regiments that had seen service, there, from our spirit and bravery only, with loud huzzas upon first seeing 'em before our men fired, and then, you may believe, with some louder huzzas after we made 'em face about, was what we gloriously gained the victory by. About three battalions of Hanoverians and as many or rather more Austrian foot were in this line with ours who behaved so well upon this occasion.

"The Duke continues to mend, and is out of all danger. Lord Carteret, they say now, will keep the King here as long as he can, I suppose till 'tis time to take his troops to Hanover with him and for us to return into Flanders. Prince Charles and Kevenhuller, they say, is expected at Hanau every day, I do imagine to consult what is to be done, but they'll not be able to draw our minister in to protract the war. I dined at Lord Stair's the day before yesterday, who seems pretty well assured that we shall see no more of the French this year."

Lord Holderness dined with us yesterday. We have lost poor Walgrave, who is preferred to the 3rd regiment. Lord Ancram has gone to Aix-la-Chapelle, but has lent us his tent, "and also his *batterie de cuisine*; I know 'tis spelt wrong, but 'tis of great use to us. We smoke, drink Rhenish, and sing the Mallard almost every night, which keeps up our spirits," but unless some summer returns before we leave Germany we shall have a very bad opinion of the climate.

The French have sent in great form to the Elector of Mentz to let him know that they have now evacuated the Empire, and intend to disturb it no more.

Poor Merriden was not much regretted here, but as for Ned Draper, everyone lamented him. "We were mighty hot one while to have most of our general officers made knights bannerets, a week after the action, but the ancient custom used to be only in the field of battle, and that after some particular

remarkable action. Since that they were to be made Knights of the Bath; Hurst refused it, who did behave gallantly, and I hope will recover of his wound, but 'tis better, I think, for the rest, that it is dropped." 5 pp.

FANNY RUSSELL to [LIEUT.-] COL. CHARLES RUSSELL.

1748, July 15. St. James.—Your kind letter gave my mistress great pleasure, for she was very miserable, not having heard of her brother for six or seven days. It is very odd that so many idle people as are with him cannot write oftener. Directly afterwards she received a letter from him. "It seems he was so ill for two days that they did not think he would a lived. He says that that was the sixteenth day since his leg was opened, and that he suffered a great deal, but hoped he should get up in a week. He told her that he suffered so much that he often wished he was dead, and often tried to put on a cheerful face, very much against his will. . . . I am very sorry Lord Harcourt is coming away; 'twill make a great noise, both his and Mr. Mordaunt's coming. The first, I hear, desired to be aide-de-camp to the King, and the latter, I hear, had a dispute with the King's German equerry. Am sorry for it, but I am extreme glad the French are gone away. 'Tis just what I wanted, and if sweet, dear Prince Charles will but be so good as to beat the French without us, I shall love him extremely. His army is so very great, that he does not want any assistance, so that if he can but get the better of Broghlios and Noailles, they must desire a peace. All I dread is that we shall be drawn into a French war."

I had invited Mr. Ramsden to drink tea and play whist with some ladies yesterday, but Miss Evelyn came and said he was sorry he could not come, for he was married yesterday morning to Miss Nanny Meadows at Somerset Chapel. I hear that they are to live with Sir Philip and my lady for the present.

Poor Mr. Trevor has certainly done something, for his man is gone with a surgeon to him, either at Northampton or Dunstable. Some say that as he was going down to Wales with his two youngest sisters, he jumped out of the coach, ran into a cornfield and cut his throat; others that he has fought a duel and was very much wounded. I am pretty sure it could not be with Lord Talbot, for he is in town. It was a great pity his friends did not take better care of him. The Duke has sent my mistress a true account of all the killed and wounded, and there is but fifteen officers killed and thirty-nine wounded. 3 pp.

LIEUT.-COL. RUSSELL to HIS WIFE.

1748, July 17, Sunday. From the camp near Hanau.—"I am just come from Court, where I have been purely to see Prince Charles of Lorain and Marshal Kevenhuller. They came on Friday evening, and yesterday the King entertained them with the review of our whole army, which they could no less than be

pleased with ; but as I wanted to have my curiosity more satisfied I in return took a thorough review of them. The Prince is tall and has a very good person, has a long face and much pitted with the small pox, and of course has many likenesses, such as late Lord James Cavendish, some say Lady Herriot Campbell, but he is far better than either and I think has a resemblance of late Duke Hamilton ; but I could not help at the same time admiring Kevenhuller, by whose means and the great hand of Providence the first turn was given to the affairs of her Hungarian Majesty. His stature is rather low, but a good look and a fine piercing eye, very much denoting the able man he has since proved himself to be. There is with them a fine young man about nineteen years old called the Prince of Esterhasi, in the habit of a hussar, and is colonel of a regiment of hussars ; he had a relation with him, a lad of seventeen years of age only, who late did a very remarkable action : his captain, with about sixty or seventy hussars, attacked above two hundred of the French, who lately had the guard of some baggage and who intrenched themselves behind waggons and other carriages ; but the captain was very soon slain, upon which this lad commanded and rode up to his men and asked them if they would follow his advice and stand by him, which they promised to do. He then ordered 'em to dismount and marched them on foot close up to the enemy, demanding them to surrender themselves prisoners, at which they held him in great contempt, and only laughed at him ; he then attacked 'em so bravely that there were scarce any left but what were cut to pieces, and all the baggage taken. The Prince and the Marshal return to-morrow to their army, which lies between the Neckar and the Rhine, but whether they will pursue the French or march into Lorain, I can't as yet tell, but don't hear, nor do I believe it likely, that we shall join in any further military schemes with them. If the French evacuate the Empire, which Mr. Villars, who is here but has lately resided at Mentz, told us that they had declared so to do, to that Elector, I say if that should be the case, whatever Power should then march into France must declare war against that nation, all hostilities having ceased between the Emperor and the Queen of Hungary. That Her Majesty will scarce alone be able to carry on a war against France is certain, and that we cannot join with her without the Dutch, and they I believe will by no means be drawn in the scrape ; so I leave you to judge if the sword now is not likely to be sheathed. I think 'tis high time to thank you for yours dated the 3rd, which I received just before I sealed my last, and hope you have now pretty well recovered your spirits. I must now answer for your friends which you have so lately enquired after. As for Berkeley, he was recovered, till lying in the wet all the night after the battle gave him such a cold and so disordered him that he was forced to be brought in his cart to Hanau, where he stayed in a lodging for about a week, then got well and came to us and has since been the rake of our mess. Durand soon got well of his gout and continues so. Lord Ancram is still much out of order at Aix la Chappelle. As for your friend

Vane, he holds tolerably well and nothing hurts him whilst he keeps sober; but can't bear drinking, which he is forced to avoid by not coming to us of a night. He begs to be remembered to you all and bids me say he would write to your brother if I did not write so often and send you all the news, but I tell him that's a poor excuse and 'tis only his idleness. Berkeley hopes soon to hear from your brother. The Duke is now so well that he has been allowed to get out of his bed, and has sat up for these three days past, and continues mending daily and in high spirits. Colonel Madden and Jack Bos[cawen]n dined with us in camp to-day, and has given me an account of Plaistow which I did not know before; that he had behaved very gallantly in the day of battle, that he had received many wounds, some over the head and all by the sword only, but none very dangerous; that he is now in the hospital, but likely to be well very soon. He must have been of the number of those very few of the horse that stood their ground; had there been many Plaistows, there would not have been so many Frenchmen now living. As for Brown and Evans, your brother's recruits, they are both well; the former is bawman to one of the subs of that company. Major Carr and Captain Sauring are recovered of their wounds, but Captain Smith has been in great danger, though I hope now he will recover. As for Major Honeywood, out of nine wounds five are healed, and there is but one of the four remaining that there is any danger from, and that is so near the brain that till there is a perfect cure there is no answering that his life is safe, but very great hopes. He remembers that he was not only stripped but that an Austrian soldier came up to him and stabbed him twice with a bayonet, and was going to fire upon him, but that he had strength enough to call out he was Anglois, which saved his life.

Our weather here, though upon such a continent, is as uncertain, and has been so for this last fortnight, as ever I knew it in England. I own I dreaded we should have had much more heat than I find we have had, which has made it altogether pleasanter than I expected. [I] dare say we shall now have none to complain of, as the days begin to shorten so perceiably (*sic*). Bos[cawen] and I dined a Friday at the Greencloth, at a magnificent table, but the German twelve o'clock hour did not suit with us, so that we never fare better than at our mess. Bos[cawen] tells me Tom Ramsden is certainly married, and that Fanny will be so very soon, Sir Phillip having been prevailed on to come down with two thousand to each, which was all was required." 5 pp.

LIEUT.-COL. RUSSELL TO HIS WIFE.

1743, July 21. From the camp near Hanau.—I begin to think it long since I heard from that dear delightful place, Checquers. No situation that I have seen comes near to it, and it makes me happy to think that the dear babies are there. I can often fancy I see them tumbling up and down the hills.



I should like to know whether you think any of my letters have been opened. I am satisfied that some of yours have been, and the Duke's Campbell tells me that one from his wife, though enclosed in the Duke's own packet, certainly was, therefore one must be careful what one writes. I dined on Tuesday at the Greencloth with Harvey and Campbell and also Lady Townsend's son, who is here as a sort of volunteer, acting as a supernumary aide-de-camp to Lord Dunmore, and behaved with a good deal of spirit at the battle. Campbell and he breakfasted with me yesterday morning, and he asked after all his friends in Duke Street, including Jack Horner. He takes much after his mother and has a good deal of humour; "his remarks on the day of battle are very droll." He does not like the army, is determined not to be of the profession, and says his father sent him only that he may get a commission, and so not need an allowance. Prince Charles did not leave us till Monday evening. The Duke of Richmond, Lord Bury and Mr. Carteret are gone with him to see his army, which it is said the Austrians with us are to join, for which I should be sorry, as they are good troops. They talk of our moving next week for want of forage, and I should be glad to be drawing nearer our winter quarters before the short days and rainy weather come. There is a little boy here of two years old, Sergeant Sabine's son, who often puts me in mind of my own. He came with his mother in Capt. Parslow's cart and was a good deal in the cannonading. She is a sort of house-keeper to Parslow's mess, and the boy runs in and out of his tent, and knows everybody. The Prince of Hesse's garden is within a hundred yards of our front. The parterre is like our old style of gardening, with evergreens and borders, and there is a terrace bordering the Main, which is here about as broad as the Thames at Richmond. I was walking there in the moonlight last night, which you may imagine was very pleasant after the hot day. 3 pp.

FANNY RUSSELL to [LIEUT.-]COL. CHARLES RUSSELL.

1743, July 22. St. James.—Lord Harcourt has arrived and been with Princess Caro. My mistress had gone, and Lady Albemarle with her, to dine with the Duchess of Newcastle at Clarmount, but was very happy, as Lord Harcourt went there to dinner also, and made her very easy about the Duke. Everybody is mighty glad that Lord Harcourt has not quitted, and I think Mordaunt would have done much wiser (as none of the King's English horses were there) if he had kept out of the way; for I think you wrote that the Guards were not to do duty upon the King till his baggage, &c., came, so, as I take it, he was meanwhile there as Elector of Hanover, not as King, and so to be attended by his Hanover people. I fancy things are not going well with Campbell, for he told me that if the Duke had two aides-de-camp, he had the promise of being one; I believe he will quit being equerry when he comes home.

I had a letter from Peggy Trevor the other day (who is with Mrs. Boscawen at Windsor) saying that she was very miserable about her brother, who was ill of a fever. The true story seems to be that when they got beyond Northampton, he sent his sisters on in the coach, and he would follow them alone in a chaise, "so like two great fools they left him," and by and by, the driver stopping to ask about the roads, found poor Trevor making wounds on himself with a pair of scissors. He prayed the coachman to kill him, as he was the most miserable man on earth; however the man got help, and Dr. Trevor and Hawkins the surgeon were sent for, and now he has been brought up to his eldest sister's house in Sackville Street.

Lord Harcourt tells us that the Duke was so ill that for twenty-four hours they had all the reason in the world to fear mortification, and that his leg would have to be taken off. They say Ranby has done great cures with the bark, not only by the Duke, but the other officers. I met the Duchess of Rutland and Montrose at Lady Harriot Cambell's last Tuesday. The Duchess of Rutland said you were very obliging to name her son in your letters. We hope soon to know if the King goes to Hanover. "I approve mightily of the King's making General Ilton confectioner to the foot Guards just before the battle, though the Duke of Marlborough didn't." 3½ pp.

LIEUT.-COL. RUSSELL TO HIS WIFE.

1748, July 23, Saturday. From the camp near Hanau.—To all appearance we shall have little or nothing more to do this year. Prince Charles was to march yesterday towards Alsatia, the Austrians are to start shortly, presumably to join him, and it is said that we are to move on Friday or Saturday, but only to Hochst or somewhere near Mentz, where we shall receive our new clothing, and, I take it, shall remain encamped till we hear what progress Prince Charles has made. What we shall do next I cannot tell, but am strongly of opinion that we must winter in Flanders.

"Lord Holderness, Mr. Villers and a young Silesian Baron, who has been in England and loves us much, dine with us. I give 'em, I'll assure you, only our own dinner, excepting the addition of one of my table-cloths. I hear they are coming, so must defer my present happiness till another time.

"Sunday morning. Our guests are so well pleased with a camp life that they threaten to visit us often. They did not sit long after dinner, but chose to see a cricket-match, which some of our officers play almost every evening. Mr. Villers desired his service to both your brothers. Speed called upon us in the evening. He always enquires after you all. I ought in justice to him to have mentioned him before. He behaved himself particularly well in the day of battle in playing off the first battery, which did great execution, and not only so, but his advice was asked and followed, and his judgment thought to be so

right that he was of great service, so that Lord Stairs, and everybody that thinks merit ought to be rewarded, will do what they can that he may be preferred. He has given in a memorial and I hope 'twill succeed.

"You cant imagine how poor Trevor's affair concerns me, for just before I received my sister's last letter I heard that some officers in the 2nd regiment had heard he had stabbed himself with a pair of scissors in several places, and was thought to be in danger of his life; and the account Fanny sends me has only this difference, that as he was going into Wales with two of his sisters, he all on a sudden jumped out of the coach and cut his throat, but does not say whether he has effectually done it or not. My concern is the greater upon our Boscawen's account, who is doatingly fond of his wife, from friendship as well as love. He does not as yet know that Trevor has been so disordered; has often said he believed he would never be the man he was till he had got him another wife again, 'twas the only life that could make him happy. This Boscawen has often repeated, so you may be sure we have done all we can to keep it from him; but what now makes him miserable is that yesterday, when he should have received letters from Mrs. Boscawen, by the same messenger that brought mine, he has been so unhappy as not to have one; and in the condition she is in, makes me fear she is not well; and if she knows, which I suppose can't be concealed from her, the misfortune of her brother, it may be of ill consequence to her, and the thoughts of its being in the blood may make him very unhappy.

"I am just now come from church, and have asked our chaplain to dine with us; as for our commandant, he takes no notice of him nor our church, having been there but once since we've had any; and though our pastor is no ways an agreeable man, yet the showing him a civility and countenancing him before the men is what I think very right.

"Pray let my sister know how much I am obliged to her for two letters; would certainly answer 'em if she was anywhere but at the place she is, and where seldom any letters are directed to but are opened here, so could send her no sort of accounts from this place with any safety or what would be imprudent to do. She has been desired from her friend to have an account how her Papa spends his time. You may let her know that he rises early and comes out dressed to his levee, always booted, before ten o'clock, where he talks to the grandees, sometimes retires for half an hour with his Premier, then returns to his company till twelve o'clock, at which time he constantly dines, and has ten people to sit down with him, all, or the major part, consisting of his own natives, or is displeased. After dinner he sleeps till six, then comes out, talks his native language to his own favourites, sometimes looking into a room where there are four or five of our friends, his domestics, at cards; he amuses himself a little with them, then returns, conversing in the same language as before, till ten at night, then retires and goes early to bed."

We are very happy in the healthy situation of our camp, very few of our men and scarce any of our officers being ill, whereas on the right of our army, they have violent fluxes and the hospital is thronged with our sick. "I am sorry poor Lady Talbot should be so embroiled; think it scandalous behaviour in him that should be her friend; had poor Trevor had a friend with him I believe his misfortune might have been prevented."

The following is, I believe, a tolerably authentic account of the enemy.

"Etat des tues et blesses au bataille de Dittingen.

Officiers-Generaux		tues et blesses.	
Lieutenant Generaux	5	2	
Mareschaux de Camp	2	4	
Brigadiers	7	6	
			26
Officiers, mason ( <i>sic</i> ) du roy	-	-	27
Cavalerie, mason du roy	-	-	871
Officers aux gardes Francoise	-	-	56
Sergent	-	-	36
Soldats	-	-	515
			1029 ( <i>sic</i> )
Officiers des autres regiments	-	-	327
Soldats	-	-	2748
			4104
Perte dans le riviere	-	-	3623
Desertez	-	-	6400
			14127
Malades laissez	-	-	2400
Tambour Major de l'armee tues	-	-	
7 pp.	Total		16527 "

#### LIEUT.-COL. RUSSELL to HIS WIFE.

1743, July 27. From the camp near Hanau.—We expect to march at the beginning of next week. "The brigade of Guards will be the last, because we are to take care of the King and his baggage. 'Tis said his Majesty will have his quarters at a chateau not far from Mayence or Mentz, that we shall either pass the Rhine and encamp some where near it, either the other side or this. The Duke of Richmond, &c. are returned from Prince Charles' army, from whence fifteen hundred hussars had been detached, had passed the Rhine by swimming over it and ordered to go into Alsatia to ravage, destroy and lay waste, and dont doubt but they will make the best use of their time. The Prince was expected to pass the Rhine with his army yesterday and to-day and follow his hussars as soon as he could. I believe if we amuse the French by keeping a body of their troops to

observe our motions 'twill be the most Prince Charles will expect, for he seems pretty well assured, with what forces he has, to give a good account of what he shall undertake . . . but as to the D[ute]h joining us, and our entering into a French war, is what I cant believe till I see it." I shall be sorry to leave this ground, for no camp could have a finer situation; a fine wood in our rear, a most beautiful river in front, the soil so sandy that even after severe rains we can walk in our slippers, and an agreeable prospect of hills covered with wood to complete our view.

Collier dined with us yesterday. I daresay your brother will like to know how he got his cornetcy. "He is very intimate with Mr. Car[tere]t, and his father asked the King for it, who always was averse to giving any quarter-master a commission, which was his objection; but being answered, his son had so much teased him about it, being for his particular friend, he could not refuse his request; at which his Majesty asked how his son could keep such company, was answered that he had also been as much surprised at that, and upon questioning him upon it, was told he was a gentleman and of a good family, had always done his duty and behaved extremely well and was esteemed and beloved by every officer that knew him, whereupon the King soon consented to his preferment.

"The Duke is a great deal better and begins to see company, as I was told yesterday. Brigadiers Pulteney, Onslow, Ponsiby and Hurst are made Major-Generals. General Honeywood and Lieutenant-Generals Campbell, Legonier and Cope are to have red ribbons, and whose regalia, they tell me, are sent for."

I am longing for the next mail, hoping to hear a better account of poor Trevor; I am surprised no one of the family has written to poor Boscawen, who is constantly asked about it by some wrong-headed creature or other, suspects something very bad, and wonders he has no letter.

I hope Billy Russell and Johnny Greenhill are well. Pray give my love to them. You will soon be expecting the East India letters. An extract from them is all I desire.

We have just received orders to march on Saturday. 5 pp.

FANNY RUSSELL to [LIEUT.-]COL. CHARLES RUSSELL.

1743, July 29. St. James.—Mrs. Harry Frankland has been in town for a few days with Mrs. Onslow, who has had a letter from her husband, telling her of his promotion and that Prince Charles was to leave next day. Lady Talbot goes to Barrington shortly and Di. Frankland with her. The two Miss Adams will join them there after they have been at Checquers. The Ramsdens have bought a house in Whitehall. Mr. Trevor is much better, and I hear Dr. Wilmot advises his going abroad. Sir Thomas Frankland has had a letter from his nephew, Tommy Frankland, saying that he hopes to get his station at Boston, since his brother Harry has no thoughts of coming to England, and announcing his marriage to a young lady of eighteen, a very pretty woman.

Poor Lady Mary Osborn died last Saturday, just a week after the birth of a fine little boy. Poor Mrs. Lee is also dead. Dr. Lee has got his 9,000*l.* in a very little time. To-morrow I am going with Lady Effingham to dine with Sir William and Lady Yonge at Petersham.

"I had a long letter two or three days ago from Lady Harford, to beg I would contradict a false report that was spread all over the town . . . of the ill-behaviour of her Lord's regiment, and that Col. Beake intends to get a letter from Lord Stair in their vindication, and that it should be printed.

"I doubt 'tis quite sure my mistress's marrying the Prince Royal of Sweden. The town says he is in love with Princess Mary of Hess, and yet he is to marry her." 3 *pp.*

#### LIEUT.-COL. RUSSELL TO HIS WIFE.

1748, July 31, Sunday. From our camp near Rodelhem.—We marched from Hanau yesterday, and encamped two miles beyond Francfort, near Rodelhem [Rodelheim] which is the King's quarters. His Majesty stays till Tuesday, when we shall march to Wisbad [Wiesbaden] not far short of the Rhine, which we shall cross on Wednesday or Thursday. The Austrians under Marshal Neiperg have already got over the bridges and are to remain to guard our passage. Whether the French will oppose us (who will have two thousand hussars and four thousand more English with us) or whether they will obstruct Prince Charles in his scheme, only time will show. The Duke is so well as to come here with the King; poor Colonel Peers is dead of his wounds, Major Johnson will be able to go to England next week, and Major Honeywood is at Francfort and quite out of danger. General Hurst is in no danger and has gone to Mayence, but will not be recovered of the wound in his foot for some time. Poor Captain Smith has had a relapse and his life is now despaired of.

Lord Holderness has been to ask us all to sup with him and to bring us word that the King will come to see us this evening, which I fear must shorten this letter. "The King commands and I obey. He has just walked by us at the front of our brigade, and returned through our street of officers, and looked in high good humour. . . . Three letters just brought to my tent by Mr. Huxley, of the Secretary's office. O happy me!"

3 *pp.*

#### THE SAME TO THE SAME.

1748, August 4. From our camp, close to the King's quarters at Bibrick [Biebrich].—Your last letter came from London to me in five days; do but think how expeditious that was. I told you before that the King was to go to Wisbad, but there being a much more convenient palace found for him, belonging to the Prince of Nassau Usingen, we marched last Tuesday twenty-four English miles through a most delightful country, and are

encamped within a quarter of a mile of his Majesty's quarters "The Palace makes a much better appearance than any I have yet seen in Germany. After the death of the present possessor 'tis said 'twill come to our Prince of Orange. It is situated upon the Rhine, within three English miles of Mayence. The rest of our army made two days march of that which we came in one, but the Guards could always do more than any other troops; they bore it extremely well. . . . The King came by us on our march, looked in high good humour upon us, and the Duke followed in a chaise, and I think I never saw him look better." Lord Crawford and the horse Guards are encamped with us, and the rest of the army within a mile or two, except the Austrians, who are on the other side of the Rhine and several regiments of Hungarian hussars near them. A bridge of boats is laid ready for us, but we shall not cross until our new clothing is distributed, which was brought yesterday by the Highland regiment and other troops from England. "We really now are a most formidable army and might do a great deal if the higher powers thought proper, but as they are the best judges and whom it mostly concerns, I leave it to them. As for any enemy, we have none near us, for the French are gone after Prince Charles, who I hope and dare say will give a good account of 'em." Our mess hoped to have had a jolly day at Mayence yesterday and to have seen the Elector's palace, but not being able to get into a public house, we had to come back to dine in camp. "Such encomiums of the King's palace I never before heard; propose to-morrow to go dine there and see it. Lord Holderness entertained us at his last very handsomely, but that was a beggarly place." 8½ pp.

FANNY RUSSELL to [LIEUT.-] COL. CHARLES RUSSELL.

1748, August 5. St. James.—I am very sorry to hear that you are all going after the French. My mistress has a letter from her brother, saying that he is extremely lame but means to follow the army, though he is sadly afraid he shall not be able to be at another battle if there is one. Ranby says he has done all he can to persuade the King and Duke that the latter ought to come home and go to the Bath, but they both seem utterly against it. I hope, if there is anything more done, the King will not put himself in so much danger as he did before. Admiral Hagger and my aunt are expected in town for a few days. The Duchess of Ancaster has gone to the Cowslades. Lord Hervey is extremely ill. "I hear Mr. Sheffield has lost his cause in having Buckingham House. I am very sorry for it; 'twill be a great pleasure to Lord Hervey. . . . I went last Monday with Sir Thomas and my lady and Di. to Ranelagh Garden. There was a great deal of company there, and Lord Eusten, who is in town and goes about everywhere, and is very glad if anyone will take notice of it. Lord Litchfield was in company with us most part of the time we was at Ranelagh, and talked a great deal to Di." 8 pp.

## LIEUT.-COL. RUSSELL TO HIS WIFE.

1748, August 6 and 7. From the camp near Bibrick.—We are having very uncertain weather, and I fear it may fare ill with our men, of whom many have been down lately with the flux, chiefly from eating green fruit. Our situation here is very fine, though you might perhaps think the Rhine too tremendous, from its depth, width, and rapidity. If the islands were removed, I believe it would be above a mile across where our bridges are laid, but the two islands greatly lessen the expense and number of the boats.

“Yesterday I went to Court, dined at the Greencloth, and saw the Elector of Mentz have an audience of his Majesty, who received him with great politesse and much grace. His Electoral Highness has a very Germanic person, is an ecclesiastic, whose finery in dress could not exceed what he wore, which was a light grey coat embroidered with black, and an exceeding fine cross hanging before him, set in diamonds and emeralds. The Duke was there, who is so well [as] to appear every day at Court, but has the help of a cane and one crutch; I wish he ever has quite the right use of his leg again. The palace which his Majesty is in has two fine long rooms in the nature of galleries, adorned much but ill-furnished, and only fit for a summer habitation, with a fine large dome between, in which the King dines, supported with marble columns with brass pedestals and capitals, marble pyramids being between each column and marble statues in niches behind them; the roof all painted in mosaic work. This room has a tolerable good effect, but looks upon a very poor garden on one side, with evergreens and orange trees, but on the other side has a fine view of the Rhine and the opposite country. You seem surprised at our number of deserters and what we do with 'em; they have only passes given to each of 'em by Lord Stair, and are then sent about their business with some money besides to every one. As to what intelligence Fuller has had, can assure you he is in general misinformed: that the enemy were thirty-thousand that had passed over to us is certain; that the Austrians behaved well is also true; that except one of their battalions which fired only once by platoons, they all fired as irregular as we did; that the English infantry behaved like heroes, and as they were the major part in the action, to them the honour of the day was due; that they were under no command by way of Hide Park firing, but that the whole three ranks made a running fire of their own accord, and at the same time with great judgment and skill, stooping all as low as they could, making almost every ball take place, is true; that the enemy, when expecting our fire, dropped down, which our men perceiving, waited till they got up before they would fire, as a confirmation of their coolness as well as bravery, is very certain; that the French fired in the same manner, I mean like running fires, without waiting for words of command, and that Lord Stair did often say he had seen many a battle and never saw the infantry engage in any other manner is as true; that both poor



Clayton and Neiperg commended greatly the behaviour of the English infantry; that had all our troops been in the engagement, they would not have exceeded thirty thousand, that the rear of our army was not there, is pretty well known, nor did great numbers of our troops engage who were there, especially scarce any of our horse and but few dragoons, and excepting two or three battalions of Hanoverians, none of their troops; so leave you to judge if our honest John Trots did not do the business, assisted by some of the Austrian foot and [a] Hanoverian battery, the latter of which certainly did great execution."

Sunday morning. I find that we are to remove on Wednesday, some of our troops passing the Rhine on Tuesday, and the last on Thursday. The King is to have his quarters in the Carthusian Convent, about half a mile from Mayence, in a fine high situation, so we shall have dry ground for our brigade to encamp on. We daily expect to hear what Prince Charles has done, and wish he may have crossed the Rhine without great loss.

I was glad to hear of Hutton's and Herrings' preferment, and hope they will live to be great ornaments of our Church.

I took a pipe extraordinary last night, upon your advice, which is not the first time I have found benefit from your wholesome doctrine; and can assure you that though our ground was last night almost all in a float, I never was better in my life.

Tell Miss Kemp that her master looks very well, and her friends Felton and Campbell also. We sat together at the Green-cloth, and drank all your healths. 5½ pp.

LIEUT.-COL. RUSSELL to HIS WIFE.

1749, August 10. From the camp near Biberick.—Just as I was sitting down to write, Lord Holderness came in and said he was come to dinner, and stayed so long that I have only time to tell you that I am extremely well and the weather very fine. Our decamping is put off until to-morrow. Although we only pass the Rhine and march in all four miles, yet we make such a long affair of it that it will take the whole day. The King goes to-morrow after dinner to his convent. He has had a slight cold, but is better. The Duke has been a horseback and reviewed us, but Ranby complains that he uses his leg too much, and says a little rest and common patience would ensure it being as well as ever "but youth and his great personage cannot be prevailed on." Prince Charles is near Strasbourg, where the river is so wide and rapid that I fear he may find great difficulty in crossing it, especially as the French with a very few forces may prevent him. We do not know whether he has accomplished it yet or no.

Jack Robinson and all his friends are well; "poor Ingoldsby tormenting himself all yesterday morning with writing an epistle to his deary, as he himself literally told me."

The French are at least a hundred and fifty miles away. 3 pp.

## LIEUT.-COL. RUSSELL TO HIS WIFE.

1748, August 14. From the camp near Mayence.—We came here last Thursday, where we are about half a mile from Mayence, and the same from the King's quarters, on a fine rising hill fronting the river Main where it joins the Rhine, and with a beautiful prospect of the two rivers and the hilly country on the other side, interspersed with towns and villages. Under other circumstances how very agreeable it would be to have so many different country houses, so finely situated for the most part, and to stay at each of them during the summer season.

We have a great advantage in the King's being with us, as we march apart from the rest of the army, and can go to his quarters as often as we please.

We went yesterday to Mayence, "where there was nothing extraordinary to be seen but the church and the Elector's palace, which are tolerable good buildings. The town itself is but indifferent, but the fortifications and outlines are very fine and strong, . . . They talk of our making a few days march up the Rhine, towards Worms and Spire; that our next country house will be near Oppenheim, about eleven English miles distant from hence. . . . Whether we shall like that villa well enough to make any stay or not I can't tell; whether we shall go further, and so make a tour through France in our way to Flanders, I can't say neither, but you know it is always more agreeable to return a different way to what one came, which makes one see more of a country; but whether there is not a set of gentlemen that are met at Aix-la-Chapelle to frustrate our designs and put a stop to our progress if any such we had in our thoughts, time must soon discover; but private letters from those parts inform us that one Monsieur Fen[to]n and one Mr. Vil[lie]rs, who secretly stole away from us, are there met, and many more ordinaries and extraordinaries are soon to jug together with them. What will be the result of so much good company meeting together, we must wait in patience for."

I am glad my sister is not likely to go to Sweden, and that she has been at Checquers. I dare say she made Billy happy by carrying him with her. It was very good of your brother to invite him down. I am sorry she mentions Capt. Frankland being married, and that my lady expects every day to lie in, which I hoped would prove a mistake.

I think you have got a good tenant for Cox's house, and that you have managed extremely well, as you always do in whatever you undertake. 4 pp.

## THE SAME TO THE SAME.

1748, August 17, Wednesday. From our camp at Oppenheim.—We marched yesterday to this place and are encamped within a hundred and fifty yards of the King's quarters at a little town called Oppenheim, which was formerly fortified, but great

part of it was burnt by the French and lies in a ruinous condition. It is on the Rhine, with a rich valley about half a mile wide running along the river side, where we are encamped. Behind us is a ridge of steep hills covered with vineyards, whose aspect and soil are so good that the Rhenish wine here is the best we have had yet. Marshal Noailles' name is written over the King's quarters, he having resided there when he retreated with his army from over against Hanau and passed the Rhine here on his way towards Landau, where great part of his army now lies. About twenty thousand only are attending Prince Charles' motions, who has not yet been able to cross the Rhine. I suppose our design in marching hither was to favour his passage over, but how it will answer I wont presume to say. To-morrow we march another ten miles, to within a league of Worms, a town upon the Rhine belonging to the Elector Palatine, where it is said we are to remain until the Dutch, now reported to be within five days' march, join us. Whether the French will retire or meet us, time will show, but if we should come near them after the Dutch have joined us, whose troops are extremely good, I dont doubt but we shall give a good account of them.

"You cant imagine how often I peruse the accounts you give of my dear babes; nobody but those that have 'em can know the joy they give." 8½ pp.

FANNY RUSSELL to [LIEUT.-] COL. CHARLES RUSSELL.

1748, August 19. St. James.—I have had three pleasant days at Checquers, which is indeed in great beauty. Jack is grown a charming boy, and my brother Revett is extremely fond of him; but Molly must be my favourite still.

My mistress would not let anyone lie in the room whilst I was away, and seemed very glad to have me back. Poor Lady Delarain's little boy of six or seven has died of fever. Mr. Windome will be in great affliction, for 'tis his only child, and it will almost break the poor old grandmother's heart, for he had never been out of her sight, until the fortnight he was at school.

The report of poor Mr. Trevor cutting his throat was not true, but he attempted to fling himself out of the window. He is so much worse that he has been taken to Chelsea. Captain Hudson begs that you will name Col. Hemington sometimes in your letter. "He told me that Col. Peer's regiment was given to Hursk, and that his lay between Ingoldsby and Colonel Herbert." The Lightfoots have had a letter from their brother Bob, who tells them that Tommy Frankland was come there with his wife, and that she could sing and play, and was quite an accomplished young lady. The Lords of the Admiralty have written a letter of thanks to my cousin Dick for his good services and offered him a forty gun ship, or to name what station he would like and he should have it. I know he wants a station at Boston sadly. His letter to Sir Thomas was very much liked at Checquers, as I knew it would be. 2½ pp.

## LIEUT.-COL. RUSSELL TO HIS WIFE.

1748, August 20, Sunday morning, 7 o'clock. From our Camp at Worms.—I am just now told that the Hollands post goes out in an hour's time, and so have jumped out of bed, determined that you shall have a letter, if but ten lines. We left Oppenheim on Thursday, and had a two days' march to this place, where we are encamped on the same ground that the French were, within half a mile of Worms, a fine, large Imperial town, very good quarters for the King, and with plenty of provision. We are but two days' march from Spire, the last town in Germany, whence the French forces, numbering about fifteen hundred men, have retired to Landau, where great part of their army lies. As that is a strong garrison in Alsatia, their own country, I believe we shall think twice before we proceed, for the Dutch, when they come, may judge it not convenient to enter France and begin a French war. Another letter from our messmate at Aix tells us that Fen[to]n, Vill[ie]rs, Prince William of Hesse, &c., are in strong conference, so you may be easy, although we are only about thirty miles from the enemy. We have some two thousand hussars with us, who have brought in a hundred and fifty prisoners of the French dragoons. "The great Colonel Mensel, who came to us about a fortnight ago, who is Colonel of one of those Hungarian hussar regiments, has been detached with three or four hundred of his people into Lorain, has raised contributions and made sad havoc, committing some cruelties with a few of his Croats that were with him, according to their custom. He has within these two days sent an express to us that if we would send him the two regiments that are with us, he would engage to enter France and give a good account of himself; but he has been denied his request and is ordered to return to our army. A volunteer from us went with him, and has given us such an account of the barbarity in cold blood of some of these Croats, that I should almost believe there would some judgment befall if we were to employ such in our service, unless the utmost necessity required it. . . . A French deserter is just come in, and tells us that they have only ten thousand men in Landau, and that they are preparing to defend themselves, lest we should besiege them, but alas we have no tools for that work." He says they have ten thousand men four miles further away, and that all the rest of their army is attending Prince Charles. 3½ pp.

## THE SAME TO THE SAME.

1748, August 23, Tuesday. From our camp at Worms.—We are likely to stay here till the arrival of the Dutch, and if their progress is slow, our measures will probably be the same. They say it will be a week before they join us and then they must rest two or three days, so, in the interim, many messengers will pass between Aix-la-Chapelle and this place, and then perhaps we may march to Spire, "and if our enemy is not then to be seen

'twill be evident they will be out of Germany, for which purpose we came hither. If we shall advance any further and enter France I shall then be out of my politics. . . . Prince Charles has not yet passed the Rhine, nor do I believe he will be able to do it, as it is the business of the French to do their utmost to prevent it. If he should be able to succeed, the consequence would be fatal to the French, for as he has about twenty thousand hussars, Croats and Pandours, with him, they will play the devil wherever they go, and I am told the people at Paris are under the utmost consternation lest he should be able to gain a passage over the river. Colonel Mensel, whom I mentioned to you in my last, has since committed great devastations with the handful of men he has had with him, by burning magazines &c. and raising many contributions; has often been out of breath with the slaughter he has made by his own hands, whenever he met with any parties of the enemy; this account I had from one who was an eye-witness to it. This very man I sat next to at dinner at the Green-cloth at Biberick the day before he set out on his expedition; he was in a hussar's dress, and his looks were answerable to his late performances, and put me a good deal in mind of what, in his person, I always conjectured Charles XII. of Sweden to be." The two regiments of hussars with us keep a good look out, always advanced in front of our army, and one party of a hundred and fifty has completely routed three hundred dragoons near Landau, taking eighty-four prisoners, with their horses. In short, the French are so intimidated that I believe we should beat them wherever we should fairly meet them.

Pray thank Fanny for her last letter, though it was a very melancholy one, being chiefly filled with poor Trevor's last misfortune, which you foretold would happen when he got to his new house and was left to himself. Poor Boscawen is very unhappy about it, upon Mrs. Boscawen's account.

You have been very good in sending me the abstracts of the India letters. I could not help being concerned for our friends at Cossimbuzar, and thought some ill fate was always to attend poor Sir Francis, and prevent his ever again seeing his native country in any circumstances worth his coming, but hope from my lady's last letter that it is all over, and no danger to be feared from those Morottos [Mahrattas] any more.

I suppose in your next I shall hear of Lady Frankland having a boy or a girl; must confess I hope it wont live. I'm told of more prizes that Capt. Frankland has taken; that he had a present of a piece of plate made him with the thanks of the merchants trading to Carolina for the great service he has done in protecting their trade. I hope poor Harry is well. I saw a letter yesterday from Fred to Captain Speed, written in high spirits. The Adams' intelligence of Major Honeywood is not true, for he has long been out of all danger and is nearly ready to take the field again.

I have not yet been to see the King's quarters, but hear he has a very good house, and propose dining there to-morrow. 7 pp.

## LIEUT.-COL. RUSSELL TO HIS WIFE.

1743, August 26, Friday. From our camp at Worms.—“I wrote you a letter on Tuesday last of a tolerable length; having then said all my say, I fear this will be a very short one, nothing having happened of any consequence excepting one piece of news that I believe will a good deal surprise you, as well as the rest of the people in England, which is that we have lost our general; in short, that Lord Stair on Wednesday last thought proper to wait on his Majesty and resign his commission as Field Marshal and Commander in chief of his Majesty's forces in Germany. The reasons for his so doing at this juncture, and before the end of the campaign, are what I must leave to other people, and was I in the secret, perhaps might be judged very improper for me to communicate in this manner. His Lordship has presented a memorial to his Majesty, the contents of which I take for granted will be known in England even before his arrival.

“He leaves the army on Monday or Tuesday next, and goes with his family in a vessel all down the Rhine, and so, all by water, to Rotterdam, and makes some stay in Holland in his way to England.

“I don't hear the French are any nearer to us than at Landau, and that they are entrenched there, as we hear, up to their noses under the cannon of that garrison. If that be the case I dare say we shall have but little more to say to 'em, though perhaps we may march one day more to Frankinthal, which is seven miles further; nay, even to Spires. . . . A very little time must determine when we shall incline towards our winter quarters, which can be nowhere but in Flanders.” Our weather is extremely pleasant, with a fine sun but fresh air all day, and now with a glorious moon at night. The flux among our men is greatly abated. The first column of Dutch, it is said, will pass the Main to-morrow, but when they will all be able to join and march with us I cannot say. “I hope in two or three days to have another packet from my dearest life. I know none so happy as Boscawen and I when those agreeable messengers come to the office.” 3 pp.

## THE SAME TO THE SAME.

1743, August 26, Friday. From our camp at Worms.—“I wrote you a letter on Tuesday last of a tolerable length; having then emptied my budget, fear this will be but a short one, there being but one piece of news to tell you that has happened since, which I dare say will a little surprise you, and that is we have lost our general; in short, Lord Stair has for some time past thought himself extremely ill-used; greatly neglected, seldom consulted, and when so, his schemes rejected and disapproved of, so that on Wednesday last he thought proper to wait on his Majesty and resign his command as Field Marshal. He delivered at the same time a memorial, setting forth his reasons for his present conduct at this juncture, before

the end of the campaign. I'm told it is so prettily worded and so well expressed that I dare say 'twill excite everybody's curiosity to peruse it. I don't know of anybody that has yet got a copy of it, but take it for granted 'twill be made public in England. His Lordship leaves the army in two or three days and goes through Holland in his way for England. A general concernment seemed to appear in the face of most people yesterday at Court upon this occasion. I will venture to say he is a man of great honour, strictly honest and a noble spirit, a fine capacity which nobody can question; but how far able as a general I won't take upon me to say, yet believe no one will succeed him here but what will come far short of him." [The next part of the letter is a repetition of what is said in the preceding one.]

"August 28.—The above you will find a duplicate of almost what I sent you in my last letter by the post and of the same date. You may see 'twas wrote just upon Lord Stair's resigning, and I intended then to have sent it, but was told every letter would be opened and so wrote another, proposing to have this conveyed by a private hand, as you'll see I have here mentioned some particulars relating to Lord Stair that I thought would be better not to be seen." Col. Stanhope has promised to take charge of it. He and Littleton go with Lord Stair tomorrow. "Our march this way has been much against the will of our minister, so take for granted he will not suffer us to advance any further or take any steps against the French, who will not molest us, but will act only defensively. What we do now is only to cause a diversion in favour of Prince Charles, to draw the enemy from him." 3½ pp.

FANNY RUSSELL to [LIEUT.-] COL. CHARLES RUSSELL.

1743, August 26.—My mistress hears from her brother that you were all going after the French, and were to fall on them whilst Prince Charles crossed the Rhine. I was in great hopes that he would have fallen on them and quite demolished them before the Allies came up.

Lord Hervey's will has made a great noise, and I think he has finished his charming character by it. Lady Hervey has made the best of wives and mothers, yet he leaves her nothing but her jointure, which she must have; and has ordered his eldest son, immediately after his death, to carry away his eldest unmarried daughter to Mrs. Horner, and the rest of his children he has left away from his wife to the care of his eldest son, though the two youngest girls are not above five or six years old. Lady Hervey's jointure is but 300*l.* a year, so it is to be hoped Lord Bristol will add to it, for this Lord Hervey has 300*l.* a year that her mother left him. Most people seem pleased that Mr. Harry Pelham has Lord Willminton's place, rather than Lord Bath.

Lady Bell Finch has been thrown in the hunting field and it is a mercy she was not killed, for her horse both dragged

her and kicked her. There have been no races in Burford for forty years, but now the Duke of Beauford has got up a subscription and they are to be next week. Sir Thomas tells me that Fred was at Thirkleby, and the Archbishop and all his people, and that he had been with the Archbishop at the visitation.

"My mistress and her youngest sister [Princess Louisa] went last night to Bartholemew Fair; did not come home till one this morning, and then went and supped at Lady Ann's, and stayed till two. Lady Harriot and Lady Ann went with them, and the Duke of Grafton, Lord Lydford, General Churchill and Mr. Will Finch. . . . The Princess of Wales, I hear, is to lie in in November. She and the Prince was at Bartholemew Fair. . . . Sir James Grey's eldest sister is going to be married, I hear, to a Mr. Honeywood of Kent, and his youngest sister going to be maid of honour to Princess Royal in the room of Miss Forrester, who has quitted."

Pray tell Felton of his brother's pretty will. He will not approve of my lady's being used so ill. I think his niece Mary is behaving very badly not to stay with her mother.

Mr. Gumley has died in Bengal, leaving his wife in great distress, "so I have made a match between [her] and Mr. Holmes." 3 pp.

#### LIEUT.-COL. RUSSELL to HIS WIFE.

1743, August 31, Wednesday. From our camp at Worms. —You see we are staying here longer than we expected, and I don't believe we shall remove till we go towards our winter quarters. We have a new bridge laid across the Rhine for the Dutch, one column of whom arrived yesterday and are encamped over against us, the rest being expected on Friday or Saturday. Some say they will return without crossing the river at all, it being thought there will be nothing for us to do, either here or elsewhere. I waited on Lord Stair on Sunday to take my leave. He starts to-morrow. The same day I dined at Court, where there was nothing but joy at the news that Prince Charles had passed the Rhine. "This had not long been buzzed about but it proved he had only passed better than three parts of the river, and was in possession of an island with a great body of men, and that we hourly was to expect to hear he had passed with the greatest part of his army; but alas, the next account was that Prince Waldeck had got over with five companies of grenadiers and some Croats, who had taken several forts and redoubts, but for want of being supported with more men, which they say was occasioned by a fog intervening, poor Waldeck met with a rebuff; his grenadiers, consisting of five hundred, were all put to the sword, and the enemy, bringing down more men and batteries of large guns, has obliged poor Prince Charles to quit his island, and [he] has of course failed in his attempt of passing at that place. Whether he'll be able to succeed in any other town I make some doubt; am certain he'll find it a very



difficult task and which must be attended with a very great loss. In this attempt the French have lost as many men as the Austrians. The Duke is now almost recovered of his lameness, was in high spirits on Sunday, and seemed to be in great hopes we should have another brush, as he called it, with the French; however, *that* he has longed for a great while, but begins now to fear he shall be disappointed. He vouchsafed to speak to me that morning, and asked me when I heard from England and supposed I had letters very often. Yesterday the King gave Hurst's regiment to Col. Skelton of the 3rd regiment, by which last promotion the commissions have gone quite through that corps. By this, Walgrave has now a company and Kingsley succeeds him. Stanhope is not a little pleased to go for England, having been tired with being aide-de-camp, but for the others, who are forced to come to lie in camp and have lost a good table, such as Lord Robert Bertie and Lord Cathcart, they are to be pitied, Lord Stair being a real loss to them. 3 pp.

LIEUT.-COL. RUSSELL TO HIS WIFE.

1748, September 3, Saturday. From our camp near Worms.—It is expected that the Dutch will all be here in two or three days, but as they have been so tardy in joining us, and we so long here in an inactive state, we shall probably do nothing more this year, and though not a word is said of our moving, we are pretty sure to decamp in ten or twelve days. "Letters from Aix still are full of the great negotiators that are there met to drink the waters; that (late) Lord Bolingbroke is among 'em for the recovery of his health. I hope our friends there will be upon their guard, lest the waters should have too great an effect, and make him surpass all our understandings. Not a word is mentioned when his Majesty intends to leave us. Next to him, Sir Philip Honeywood is our commander in chief, but in settling, stating and signing all accounts relating to our army, it is done by a triumverate; the forenamed being one, then Lord Dunmore and Sir James Campbell. These three succeed Lord Stair in all points of business. Some have said that General Wade is to come to us, but that gains no credit, so that for this year, his Lordship will be succeeded by no one." Poor Boscawen has had another fever, but is now much better. He has gone into lodgings at Worms. Take no notice of this to my sister, lest it should reach Mrs. Boscawen's ears. 3 pp.

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

[1748, September 7.] From our camp at Worms.—Just after I had sent my last letter to the post, the messenger arrived, and made me happy with four of yours. "I enquired after Plaistow soon after I received yours, and Jack Boscawen told me he died about a month ago; was recovered of his wounds, but fell ill of a fever and bloody flux, which

carried him soon off. We had also buried poor Trevor . . . but your last accounts, I find, have brought him to life again, yet by what my sister says of him I don't know whether 'tis not better to wish him dead than alive. I find you are all very impatient to know what we are doing. I can say nothing for ourselves, but hear the French are strongly intrenched and have been in some expectation of us, but if Prince Charles does not succeed we shall advance no further, and if he does, we can gain no advantage by forcing the French lines, as they have fortified towns beyond them, which will always stop us from making any further progress, and we have no artillery with us, so that to any reasonable understanding, 'tis impossible we can do aught but incline our march towards the lower countries. The people about the Captain seem very sick of Germany, and none more so than poor Felton.

"You differ much in politics from us by your supposing a French war is inevitable; we think quite differently here, and imagine the contesting powers will be glad to make up matters this winter, except her Hungarian Majesty, and she will be obliged to submit."

Why is Fanny so desirous to have the Lubeck match go on? She surely would not remain there, but would, I suppose, make a short stay and so have her quietus and return home. Poor Windham is very melancholy for the loss of his son. "Major Lambert's death must be a great concern to Miss Kemp, as the widow and young ladies must be in some distress. Gumley's death I had just before heard from his brother, who is with us. I am glad poor Billy Russell is so happy among you; dare say that air will recover his hectic disposition as it did mine, and made me the happiest of men." I have got some agate marbles for poor little Jack; as to his going to town, I should certainly leave that and everything else relating to the children entirely to you, but if you would have my opinion, I think he had better stay in the country all next winter; and although you would miss him, I know you would give up anything for his good, and besides, Molly would be happier, and be the finer lady without him.

You need not be uneasy about Fuller, for I did not mention his name to anybody. Lady Lee was very good to come to see you. Boscawen is much better, and the happiest man I know, for he has got a letter from Lord Carteret with the King's leave to go to England to recover his health, and set out this morning in a post-chaise for Helvoet. "It now begins to be buzzed about that his Majesty will leave us in a week or ten days, though at the same time 'tis said that the army will march in two or three days as far as Frankinshall. Our brigade of Guards, with the horse ditto, are now within six English miles of it, but the rest of the army are at least ten or twelve distant from thence, so that we shall not move, the King remaining where he is." 5 pp. [*Undated and endorsed by Mrs. Russell, "August 23rd," but clearly the letter spoken of below.*]

## LIEUT.-COL. RUSSELL TO HIS WIFE.

1748, September 10. Worms.—I am much ashamed that my last, which should have been dated the 7th, had no date at all. In it I told you of my happiness in receiving four of your letters at once, and since that I have had two more. I am sorry I gave you hopes of our returning towards Flanders sooner than I now find we shall do. It was then believed that the King would leave in about ten days, but I dined at Court next day "and found though his Majesty was pressed to name a time for our going to winter quarters he would not do it, and the Danish envoy went but on Thursday last with proper powers to demand the Princess Louisa, who he is to go with to Hanover, where the nuptials are to be performed, and where they cant well arrive till the latter end of next month." It is true his Majesty may go sooner to meet them, and I believe he will, as the English generals are anxious to get both horses and men safely into winter quarters. "The Austrian commanders, who want us by all means to be engaged in a French war, stick at nothing to prevail upon the King to advance and attack the French lines, let the consequence be what it will, but as succeeding in that would nor could be of no advantage to us, nor anything that we can do here, so I can never think but that we shall return from hence in a fortnight or three weeks at furthest. . . . Fanny has sent me a strange account of Mrs. Jennings telling her that Sir Francis Russell was afraid of the Morrotos, and run away to Calcutta, and had there liked to have been suspended for it by the Governor and Council, and so was by them sent back, and that his sudden leaving of Cossimbuzar in that apparent fright was owing to his lady. I sent you word in my last that Plaistow was dead, but know nothing of Oakley. . . . There was a skirmish happened a few days since by some of our Hungarian hussars. About three hundred in number went and attacked a foraging party of the enemy of little more than that number, killed a hundred on the spot, and took a hundred prisoners, about eighty of whose horses were to be sold this day at Worms, and they also took and brought away with them forty waggon loads of forage. The Dutch are all arrived, but have not nor know not when they will pass the Rhine."

I am glad Sir Francis Dashwood happened to be at home when you went to see West Wickham. Tell Miss Kemp that I dined with her friends Campbell, Felton and Mr. Windham, who desired to be remembered to her. They are very well lodged in a fine palace, but are quite weary of it, and have not the common patience we have, for which I was very angry with them.

Jack Boscawen has just sent for his brother's letters. How happy are those who are in parliament, and will see dear England in November! 4 pp.

## LIEUT.-COL. RUSSELL TO HIS WIFE.

1748, September 12, Monday night. From our camp at Worms.—Colonel Douglass was sent last Saturday with an express to Prince Charles, and until he returns we shall know nothing, but a grand council was held that day in which I believe it was determined that we should soon move towards our winter quarters, Brussels being designed for the horse and Ghent for the foot. To which of the two our brigade will go I cannot say. Poor Prince Charles, I fear, will not succeed in his attempt unless he makes a winter campaign of it, and that would go hard with his troops, although they can bear it better than any other. The French have a number of good garrison towns in Alsatia and upon the Rhine, so that their men will be safe enough, and a few in comparison will be sufficient to prevent Prince Charles' passage.

Col. Ingoldsby wonders that his letters should be so long in reaching his wife, but he scarcely writes above once a month and then with great reluctance. I suppose in my next I shall hear of an heir to the Frankland family.

Tuesday evening. From the King's guard at Worms.—An account came this morning to the King that the French have retired from near Landau to some stronger lines six leagues further back, whereupon his Majesty has given orders for the army to march to-morrow towards Frankinthal, and next day to Spires, where we shall encamp for a few days, but as the French lines are a little too strong to undertake, you may be easy that we shall advance no further. I am just going, with my officers, to sup with Lord Holderness. 3½ pp.

## THE SAME TO THE SAME.

1748, September 17, Saturday. From our camp near Spires.—The day after I last wrote we marched to Frankinthal, only six English miles; on the 15th, nine miles further, to a village called Mutterstadt, where the King lay in exceedingly bad quarters, and on the 16th, nine miles more, to where we are now encamped. The weather has not been finer the whole summer, but indeed we have been very lucky ever since the day after the battle, never once having had rain on our march. The heat is sometimes disagreeable, but it is not half so bad as wet. "His Majesty has been very happy these last three days' march, being now perfectly well in health and marching at the head of one of the columns of our army each day, and halting and taking a repast of cold provisions, with which his mules are constantly laden, and everybody about him partaking. Our Colonel was also in great delight when I was last upon duty, he being the lieutenant-general of the day, and received the orders from the King, which he gave out to the respective officers for our last march. The joy I saw in his countenance, and the vast business he was then so much taken up with, could not help

putting me in mind when I used to see him diverted (which seemed to me as but the other day) with little ———, brother to the lady that is or has been lately with you. The Dutch have now passed the Rhine, and will join our army as this day. We have as yet received no orders for marching further, but perhaps if this fine weather lasts, we may advance a few leagues more up the Rhine, till we get to the borders of Alsatia, which belongs, I suppose you know, to the French. If we should go further, I shall be out in my politics. As for the French, they have left all their lines, and are marched towards that part of their army that is preventing Prince Charles passing the Rhine." I forgot to tell you, in answer to your question, that Nat is very well, and continues to behave beyond my expectations. 3 pp.

LIEUT.-COL. RUSSELL to HIS WIFE.

1748, September 21, Wednesday. From our camp at Spires.— I have just heard that Prince Charles is coming our way, and that we are to lay a bridge over the Rhine for him a little below us; also that when he and his army have crossed into Lorraine, the King will leave us, and that we shall go into winter quarters, but instead of returning to Flanders it seems now decreed that we shall stay in Germany, and cantoon dear Francfort. I own the thoughts of this at first vexed me much, but if it disconcerts the measures of the French, "who could never have believed we should stay with our army here all winter, and Prince Charles at the same time making a winter campaign in France," and so is a means of making them listen to terms, it may give us hopes of returning to England much sooner than we expected. Meanwhile we shall put ourselves here in the best posture of defence in case of an attack. "I must own it to be a cruel and long separation from my dearest soul and my sweet little babies, when at the same time I have no appearance of gaining any advantage for their service," but, as I say, if our winter's cantonment hastens an accommodation I shall indeed be happy, and cannot for the present be too thankful that I enjoy such good health. The fine season is ripening the grapes here so much that they begin to be extremely good, and, they say, very wholesome to eat. "What I mentioned to you about Aix-la-Chapelle was certainly true, but take it for granted the French would by no means come into our terms. Mr. Villers has been returned above this fortnight; Lord Ancram has had positive orders from the King to go for England upon account of his health, so has left Aix about a week. The Duke of Marlborough has had an ugly wrench in his back, by his horse's taking a leap over a ditch whilst he was looking another way. It has confined him at Worms, which thoroughly mortifies him, poor man, and what is worse, he may not be well a long time. The King has sent him orders to go for England, which he wont do, but will be brought hither in a litter as soon as he is able. . . . Yesterday I dined with Lord Crawford, who lives

more like a general officer than any we have. We often sup with Lord Holderness, and have hitherto passed our evenings very cheerfully in camp; continue smoking to keep out all infection and make us warm. Fanny has sent me a long and dismal account of poor Trevor, that he is at last happily released from his misery." If Mr. Price comes to see the children you may ask him to go and see Missenden. He may like it well enough to become a purchaser. *5½ pp.*

LIEUT.-COL. RUSSELL to HIS WIFE.

1748, September 28, Friday. From the King's guard at Spires.—I have leisure to say three words whilst I am on duty, and will finish to-morrow. I see none but smiling countenances at Court to-day, as the King has sent many of his horses and all his mules away for Hanover and will almost certainly leave us next week. "Two days ago we sent a detachment of two thousand five hundred men to the first lines, nearest to Landau, which the French had deserted, and employed two thousand of the peasants to level them. This work his Majesty went yesterday to view, and returned greatly pleased. The work will be completed this day and make a paragraph in the newspapers, and at the same time will conclude the operations of this campaign, so that I take it for granted Prince Charles will scarce be able to cross the Rhine this year, but will harass the enemy as long as he can in attempting it. As for us, I wish I could say what will be our fate, but appearances seemed this day greatly in our favour that we should soon return to Flanders. I wont quite flatter myself with the thoughts of it, but have one that ought to be a substantial reason in my favour, which is that 'twill cost the Government of England 400,000*l.* more in the foraging and providing bread for the troops here than it would in Flanders." It has been said and with some authority, that the Duke would stay with us in Germany, so much so that Mr. Windham got leave to go for England, and Felton Harvey is set out to-day for Aix-la-Chapelle to send Mrs. Harvey to Hanover, returning to go himself with the Duke, who is to attend the King thither, and then meaning to bring his wife back with him, in case his Royal Highness should stay; but I now hope they will all go together from Hanover to England. The Duke of Marlborough started for home yesterday; he is something better, but not much. Lord Robert Manners has been out of order this last fortnight. For two months he has suffered from violent headaches, but would not regard them, and at last was seized with a sort of paralytic disorder. He has in great measure recovered from this, but now the pain in his head has returned and I fear he will not soon be well. Do not take any notice of this. Our mess is reduced a good deal, "but we never want company to make our evenings pass away in a very jolly way and yet soberly. Vane is upon guard with me and desires to be remembered to his friends at Checquers. We always dine at the Greencloth upon guard and

sup with Lord Holderness, as Lord of the Bedchamber, who has sent for the rest of our mess to meet me this evening. There is seldom a day but he calls upon us at camp, and is like one of our mess. There is one Monsieur Hardenbergh, aide-de-camp to the King as Elector of Hanover, a very agreeable sort of man, who always sups with us at Lord Holderness's; he desires I would make his compliments to Monsieur Bilderbeck, which I desire you would write my sister word of. . . . I don't fear but by the blessing of God that I shall do very well this winter: if we are to have a march to Flanders, though it will be a very long one, our spirits will be all so raised that *that* alone will be a means of admitting no one difficulty to be raised, but cheerfully to go through all; and if we should remain here in Germany, our march will be but short, which pray God in his infinite mercy to prevent, and send us all so much nearer to our long wished for home."

*Postscript.* "The King has this day put off his military garb and has wore for the first time a brown coat. His coaches he has also ordered away all but two; so that when once he takes it into his head, he will be, I hope, in as great a hurry as one could wish him to be." Saturday, September 24. 4½ pp.

LIEUT.-COL. RUSSELL TO HIS WIFE.

1743, September 27, Tuesday night. From the camp at Spires.—"I wrote to you last Saturday from the King's guard, and then gave you some hopes of our going this winter for Flanders. The next day, Mr. Berkeley, myself and two or three more went to see Manheim, which is about twelve English miles from hence, is the present capital town in the Palatinate, is situated on the Rhine, but on the other side, and is a very strong fortification, whose works are well worth seeing. This town is famed for being neatly built and always clean, and whose streets are all in a line, but the most remarkable of all is the Palace, where the Elector now makes his winter's residence. It is but a modern building, very magnificent in its appearance, and has indeed a great many very fine, well-proportioned rooms, but not extremely well furnished and worse finished, and paintings and pictures intolerably bad: however, has a theatre in it for operas, built, fitted up and ornamented in most elegant taste, which has indeed a very agreeable effect. The size of it is something larger than the little theatre in the Haymarket. We stayed at Manheim that night, and took post-chaises yesterday morning to go twelve miles further to see Heidelberg, which is situated upon the Neckar and was formerly the capital of the Palatinate, till the year [16]88, when the whole town was burnt and destroyed by the French, and with it a very spacious magnificent palace for the most part bombarded and burnt, the ruins of which are worth going a great way to see. In short, 'twas a castle built [*sic*] by an Elector Palatine that married the daughter of our King James the First. Some part of it remains entire, with some of it Ionick and some in the Corinthian style.

The gardens that belong to it are a good deal confined, from the situation of the hills that surround it, though the building is yet upon a great eminence, but what there is of a garden is delightful beyond my description, with a wood that forms a fine natural amphitheatre and some stately sycamores that make a charming shady walk, near to which is a terrace that commands the Neckar, the whole town, that is very spacious and better built than any I have seen in Germany, a ridge of hills all covered with wood and planted with vineyards down to the bottom, and at the same time a prospect of a great extent. But I should be unpardonable if I should omit naming the great tun, which is kept in a great vault under this castle, among many other trifling smaller vessels containing only about four hundred barrels more or less; but for this great one, it is twenty four foot diameter, thirty-two long, and contains eight hundred and twenty-five English hogsheads and twelve gallons. We were so well pleased with the place and the romantic situation of it that our only concern was that we were straightened in time and so soon obliged to return to Mannheim, where we had left our horses, that we made a short dinner there, and so returned last night to camp, and was here made happy with the agreeable news that we are soon to march hence for Flanders." I hope to-morrow to hear that the time is fixed, the King seldom naming above twenty-four hours notice for his own departure. I find from my sister's letter that the Princess Louisa was to set out soon, so the King will not be long before he meets her. I dare say that Stanhope's accounts will have made you easy that nothing more will be done this year, and as for Prince Charles, I suspect he can make no further progress either, this campaign.

Wednesday, the 28th. "I am just now informed that the orders are out at Court for our marching on Friday next; that his Majesty will go with us as far as Biberick, and that he will then leave the army and make the best of his way for Hanover, that we shall from that time encamp no more but cantoon all the way for Flanders. The Guards will be at Brussels." 4 pp.

LIEUT.-COL. RUSSELL TO HIS WIFE.

1748, October 2, Sunday. From our camp at Worms.—We marched from Spires on Friday, but the whole army marching together in four columns makes our progress slow, and we have only come seven miles a day though we marched at four o'clock in the morning. The wheel carriages were sent on before, and only I and one other officer in our regiment had a horse to carry our tents, and even we were without beds, "so we pigged in a good many of us in our two tents well filled with straw, and slept very well. We did not want much dressing in the morning, so were soon ready to march. . . . I thank God I was never better in my life, nothing agreeing so well with me as this sort



of exercise and keeping such early hours. I have got up about three o'clock, breakfasted half an hour after, eat another when we came to our ground and got a good dinner about one; smoked our pipes and so laid down about eight o'clock or sooner. To-night our mess is to sup with Lord Holderness, with whom we always fare well, and to-morrow, being halting day, occasions our baggage to be with us, so that we shall lie in our beds this night and as long as we please to-morrow morning. Tuesday we shall march again and hope to cross the Rhine in four days more, which will bring us to Biberick, where we shall take leave of the King. We shall then proceed to Newett [Neuwied] over the mountains and there cross the Rhine again, and so return the same way to Flanders as we came." I am glad to hear that Boscawen is safely arrived. 3 pp.

LIEUT.-COL. RUSSELL TO HIS WIFE.

1748, October 6, Thursday. From our camp near Mayence.— We stayed a day longer at Worms than we expected but made amends by taking only two days in our march here. We have now fine nipping frosty weather, but what with a stove in my tent and burning brandy at night I keep as comfortably warm as is proper in camp, and never dine in any town, though it is much warmer and more cheerful to be near a fire, in order to inure myself to the cold. The King left us yesterday morning at Oppenheim, crossing the Rhine on a flying bridge and so proceeding for Hanover. The Duke followed him this morning, attended by Mr. Harvey, Campbell, Fitzwilliams and Windham being gone for England. The Prince of Hesse went with his Royal Highness, who is to stop at Hesse Cassel to see his sister on his way to Hanover. Our bridge of boats will not be ready before Saturday, when we shall cross to Biberick, but must there wait two or three days, as two divisions of our English army are to march off first. We then encamp all the way on that side of the Rhine to Newett, there cross again and thence cantoon to Brussels.

I was much diverted with the matrimonial progress your brother had made, and hope it may in every respect answer towards his present and future happiness. As regards what you just lightly touch upon, "I must first inform you how good his Royal Highness was, to leave repeated orders with Colonel Ingoldsby to permit no one of our battalion to go for England unless members of parliament and those whom from necessity [of] their health will require it," notwithstanding which, two nights before the Duke left us, I mustered up resolution, desired an audience of him, and told him that my business in England so much regarded the welfare of my family, I having now a chance to sell my estate in Bucks to a good purchaser, a gentleman just home from India, that I prayed his favour in giving me leave after we reached winter quarters. He gave me no denial, but hoped I would think better of it at the end of the march, and that perhaps I

might not then have that urgent business. I must now leave it to you to get my sister to work with her mistress to write or speak to him about it, so that General Foliot might write in his name to our General Honeywood for leave and enclose it to me. Felton Harvey has promised to speak for me whilst he is at Hanover.

*Postscript.* Col. Conway has left us and Lord Robert Manners also, the latter upon account of his health.  $4\frac{1}{2}$  pp.

LIEUT.-COL. RUSSELL TO HIS WIFE.

1748, October 9, Sunday. From our camp near Mayence.—Our bridge was finished yesterday, and this morning the Dutch will pass over and to-morrow the English forces, when we shall encamp near a very good town called West Baden [Wiesbaden] and there halt till next Saturday, for on Tuesday the dragoons will all march in one division, on Thursday the horse Guards will follow, it being proper to have a day between every division, and on Saturday we shall march, encamping as far as Newett and then cantooning by Maestricht to Brussels, where Mr. Berkeley and I have desired Mr. Speed to take up a house, he leaving to-morrow and calling at Brussels on his way to England. I shall try every possible means to get leave, and am satisfied that if Fanny's mistress would speak to Foliot, who is our lieutenant-colonel, and desire him to write in her name to General Honeywood, it would do. There will be sixteen officers of our regiment left, that don't think of going to England, which any reasonable person will think sufficient to stay with our battalion in winter quarters. Our mess begins to look very solitary, only Fitzroy, Berkeley and myself being left, and the first will, I suppose, soon leave us. Lord Holderness is a great loss, but he left me a remembrance, promising me and Fitzroy a baggage horse each at a low price, to be sent from Mayence; but alas, instead of the two horses, there arrived his chariot and four, with a civil message that having gone for England, his Lordship sent me two more horses to dispose of if I could and also the chariot, but that if I could not get rid of the latter, I might burn it or do what I would with it. At first I inclined to take it to Brussels that in case of bad weather I might get into it, and perhaps find it useful in quarters, but on reflecting that I did not propose to reside this winter in Brussels, nor intend to be ill on the march, I sold it a pennyworth to Colonel Ingoldsby for thirty guineas, with one pair of horses and the harness. The poor man was very unwilling to give so much, as he thought it, but another person asked for the refusal of it at that price. This thirty guineas, and 25*l.* I have had of Berkeley, will a great deal more than bear my expenses to Brussels.  $4\frac{1}{2}$  pp.

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

1748, October 11, Tuesday. From our camp near West Baden.—Yesterday we marched from Mayence to this place,

having crossed the Rhine at Biberick. We had a very fine morning and luckily got to our ground just before some very heavy rain fell. We are encamped on the side of a hill, with a rich valley before us, on the right of which, very near us, are rising hills lying all like a garden and covered at the top with wood. To our great joy, news has come that we are to cantoon from this place, which has raised my spirits and reconciled me to staying here until Monday, which cannot be avoided, the horse and all our dragoons making three divisions and marching on Thursday, Friday and Saturday, and then halting; then the two brigades of horse and foot guards, under the command of Lord Arlebermarle, making the fourth division, march on Monday next and cantoon it all the way to Brussels, where we shall not arrive before the 9th of November. I cannot be too thankful that we are no longer to lie upon the ground, the worst house or barn in any village at this time of the year being better than a tent, and what may save us a great many men. I went to-day to head-quarters, and talked to my old friend Major Cockayne, who is secretary to our General. He doubts much whether I shall succeed in getting leave, as I was over last year and Gumley not, who is now asking for it, and there would be only Hemington left, besides Ingoldsby, if I was to go; so that nothing but a recommendation from England will be likely to prove successful, which I must leave to you and my sister.

*Postscript.* "If Fanny's mistress dont do this for us she is a b——."

LIEUT.-COL. RUSSELL TO HIS WIFE.

1748, October 14, Friday. From our camp near West Baden.—I never thought a week so long as this, but in two days we march, and then every day will bring me nearer to a happiness which I have never so much as indulged myself to think on until now. Almost all our members of parliament have left us, but Fitzroy is so good as to stay and march with his mess-mates as far as Newett, we being all that are left excepting Vane, who has been ill and not able to lie in camp this last fortnight, but is now better.

I am sending Lord Holderness a bill for the thirty guineas I received for his chariot and pair of horses, and also five guineas for the horse I had of him for our kitchen cart, but which I have taken for myself.

If Foliot cant be prevailed on to enclose a letter to me for Honeywood, and Fanny's mistress is backward in my behalf, I am sure a word from Fred. Frankland to the Secretary at War would do. My lieutenant, Parslow, will stay, and sixteen or seventeen at least of our battalion, with Ingoldsby to command and Col. Hemington under him. I dare say there will be no more colonels left in the second and third battalion that is here. Our dragoons are all gone to-day and our horse move off to-morrow. The field officers

of our battalions now lie out of camp, but I like my tent very well, and Fitzroy, Berkeley and I smoke our pipes, sing catches, and pass the time as cheerfully as the place and wet nights will admit of. 3 pp.

LIEUT.-COL. RUSSELL TO HIS WIFE.

1743, October 17, Monday. Adelsfeck [? Adolfseck].—  
 “This morning we decamped after a very rainy night and marched through a long wood and up a rocky mountain about a league and a half high [sic] and in the thickest fog one would wish to see. This brought us to a view of about twenty other mountains, with little villages and a town at the bottom of 'em, which we were also to descend to, the air being then clear and the sun appearing, which afforded us a diversity of prospects and not unpleasant. The town we marched through was the head quarters, called Swaltzbach [Schwalbach], where Lord Arlebermarle and the brigade of horse lay. It being the fate of the foot to go always in villages, I proceeded with two more companies besides my own about half a league further to this place, with Captain Parslow and Berkeley and honest Fitzroy, who is only a volunteer upon this occasion, he having had leave to go for England from Mayence.” We got here without any accident to our baggage, but were obliged to put all our three beds in one room.

Endlichoffen [? Erlichoffen]. Tuesday, October 18. “This morning we left Adelsfeck and climbed up another hill . . . and after marching above five leagues all upon the hills, and really a very fine country, with plenty of corn growing and great variety of woods and agreeable prospects, we came to a very poor village, with nothing but thatched houses and not even a church in it, and this proved to be our quarters.” However we found two tolerable rooms, had our kitchen cart with us with plenty of wine and provisions, and both we and our men fared very well.

Tosenau, near Nassau upon the Laun. Wednesday and Thursday, October 19 and 20. After a miserable day's march over such rocks and mountains that it was great odds but all our carts and carriages must be demolished, we came safely to this place, although Ingoldsby and several others had their vehicles broken. This is a large town and contains nine companies of our battalion. It is within a league of the head quarters at Nassau, and both places have the most romantic situation I ever saw, and a very tremendous prospect. These towns and the country we have passed through are half the property of the Prince of Orange. To-morrow we march for Horen.

Friday, October 21. From Horen. After a very rainy day and a march which though only ten miles was over hills and mountains, steeper if possible and much worse than any we have had yet, we arrived here by twelve o'clock, and I am in my old quarters, where we halted a week when we first came into Germany. We have had a good hot dinner as a farewell to our

messmate Fitzroy, who has this evening gone to Coblenz and so for England. To-morrow we march at five o'clock and expect to cross the Rhine at Newet at ten and to lie to-morrow night near Andernach.

I am sure that if the Princess were to desire Foliot to write but the least word for leave for me, the thing would be done, and I should like it to be before the Duke's arrival in England. I believe our Commander in chief will consent to anything of that nature from England, but have great reason to fear I should be refused here. I am perfectly well, and as we have now no more mountains to ascend on this side the Rhine I take it the worst is over with us. 6 pp.

LIEUT.-COL. RUSSELL TO HIS WIFE.

1748, October 23, Sunday. Ober Lutzingen.—Our two brigades of Guards, horse and foot, yesterday crossed the Rhine at Newet in two flying bridges, and made a short march on this side the river to Waesinturren [? Weissenthurm]. To-day we have marched by the Rhine-side to within a league of this village and then ascended a pleasant mountain. It is such a miserable place that the only place we could make a shift to be in was the poor parson's, who came out with a pitch-fork to prevent my sergeant from entering. However we persuaded him that if he would consent without giving us any trouble he should fare the better for it, and we are now very good friends. This, though the best, is so wretched a cottage that his only spare room will scarce hold Berkeley's and my field beds, which cant be put up until after we have supped.

If I get leave this winter, you must tell me how much Brussels lace will make you a cap or mob and neckhandkerchief, and what narrow lace you would like for yourself and Molly. 3 pp.

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

1748, October 27. Thursday. L'Undorff.—I wrote to you on Sunday from Ober Lutzingen, where we halted the next day. On Tuesday we proceeded to Carrweiler and yesterday marched here, in fine weather and on the best of roads. To-morrow we shall reach the neighbourhood of Dueren, on Saturday shall be within a day's march of Aix-la-Chapelle, and expect to arrive at Brussels on Wednesday se'ennight, the 9th of next month.

As Foliot may postpone writing to Honeywood for me till our Colonel's arrival in England, and his Royal Highness "being now so outrageously and shockingly military," may very probably start some difficulty about my leave, I have desired Fanny to get her mistress, if possible, to speak to Sir William Young, "who, as secretary of war, if he writes but three lines at her request to Honeywood, I know it will succeed." You must let me know if any table-linen or holland for sheeting will be wanted, and the proper sizes.

*Postscript.* "A ticket by all means for Billy R[ussell] and Miss Faz[akerley], who I hope are well."

## LIEUT.-COL. RUSSELL TO HIS WIFE.

1743, October 30, Sunday. Heisterren.—“This being halting day, you must have an account how I proceed with my friend Berkeley and my own family, which I look upon at present my company to be.” On Friday I marched to a village called Binsfeldt, where my landlord, a good substantial farmer, being able to talk Latin, we conversed much together. I assure you I have found the little remembrance I have left of that tongue a great help upon this march. Yesterday we came through our old acquaintance, Dueren, and I made half an hour's halt that my men might go and see their landlords, who made them all very welcome, as did the family where I was so well quartered, who gave me coffee and offered me anything their house could afford.

We then proceeded hither, which is within four leagues of Aix-la-Chapelle, and to-morrow go to the neighbourhood of that place. Before we halt again, we shall march three days, which will bring us to the plains of Maestricht, and after that have but one halting day more before we get to Brussels. On our idle days, we generally have some one or other of our officers to dine with us, but to-day we shall be alone, although in honour of the day [the King's birthday] we are having a sort of entertainment, viz., a fine Westphalia ham and chickens, a good plum pudding, a chine of mutton of my own killing and a bowl of punch after dinner. Our sergeants and corporals are to have a bowl of the same liquor, and I am entertaining all my company with meat and good drink to celebrate the day and drink his Majesty's health.

We have been favoured during our march with the finest summer weather I ever knew in this month, and if we are lucky for three days more we shall be happy enough, as we shall then get to the pavement.

Vane and Sebright have just come in and the former desires remembrances to all friends at Checquers. 3½ pp.

## THE SAME TO THE SAME.

1743, November 2, Wednesday. Grönsfeldt.—We marched, the day after I last wrote, to Bourcheit [Burtscheid], a good town contiguous to Aix-la-Chapelle, where I had three companies quartered with me. The principal inhabitants are wealthy, their chief trade being a woollen and needle manufactory. The latter, I find, they are famed for, so I laid out a ducat on a packet of them, which will serve you and Molly these many years. I hope you and my sister will have in time enough the letters I wrote from Lundorff, desiring that if possible Sir William Young might be spoken to by the Princess to write to Sir Philip Honeywood, which would be better than waiting for the Duke. I told you before that I had decided not to speak to General Honeywood, being unwilling to have a denial, as would probably be the case, “he

having taken a great aversion to the Guards, not for any reason but that he is so excessive stupid as that the small privileges we have he can by no means bear we should insist upon ; so that ever since we were last at Ghent, I find he has taken it into his thick skull to use us ill." But I have no cause to suppose he has any ill-will to me, and am persuaded that a letter from any person in power in England would have the desired effect.

I left Aix-la-Chapelle yesterday morning, and marched with four companies to a village called Mechlen, near Gulpen. "So miserable a day I've not seen these many months, both for wind and rain, not that one has any cause to complain, but that 'twas painful to one to see the poor wretches march up to the knees in many places in mud and water, the roads were so bad. However I comforted most of mine with a dram of gin each when we got to the end of our march, which we all did safe and well." To-day is fair, but cold and windy. After some bad and difficult roads we have arrived here safely, where we are to halt to-morrow, and then march three days together to Tirlemont, whence you shall hear again. If I get Lady Lee's table linen, am I to pay the duties for it? "My love to Molly, and thank her for providing a house for me, and pancakes for my dinner, and that I have 'em almost every day, and eat her health in them. . . . From the Hague I hear we are to have a peace that 'tis thought 'twill be patched up only for two or three years and then break out into a general war." Houses are excessive dear at Brussels, and Berkeley and I fear we shall not get one under six guineas per month. 8½ pp.

*Addressed :—*"To Mrs. Russell in Duke Street, St. James."

LIEUT.-COL. RUSSELL TO HIS WIFE.

1743, November 7, Monday. Tirlemont.—When I last wrote to you from Gronsfeldt, Ingoldsby, Berkeley and I proposed to dine at Maestricht and see the fine Dutch garrison there the following day. Dine there, it's true, we did, but nothing could we see, for it rained hard the whole time; however we were lucky enough to have it fine next day, when we marched on foot and in great form through Maestricht, and on to some villages beyond Tongres, twenty English miles in all. Next day we reached St. Iron [Tron], which being a large town, held both our brigades of horse and foot well quartered, and yesterday we came to Tirlemont, where we are extremely well provided with everything. As we are now upon a fine pavement I no longer fear any accident to my carriages; their escape hitherto is one of the many great instances of good fortune which I have had since I left my dearest life. To-morrow we go to Louvain and next day to Brussels, where Capt. Speed had promised to take a house for me and Berkeley, but he found them so dear that he did not venture to do so. I have sent Sergeant Sabine forward to find us some place to put our heads in. 3 pp.

## LIEUT.-COL. RUSSELL TO HIS WIFE.

1743, November 11, Friday. Brussels.—“On Wednesday last, being the 9th of November, O.S., and according to my appointment from Westbaden, we marched into this town, concluding with one of the finest days I ever knew, which rather made it a party of pleasure from Louvain than fatigue. Our being obliged to halt before we came into town, to make the men appear as clean and as decent as the nature of such a march would admit of, took up a good deal of time, though it did not appear so to me, for all that while I was so happy as to be employed with four letters from you and two from my sister, which were brought me from this town. . . . My sister was so good as to have given herself a great deal of trouble and me the satisfaction of knowing that her mistress has wrote to her brother, and will do her endeavours to procure me leave. When I had finished my letters, my sergeant, who I had sent before, brought me an account of having got a lodging for Berkeley and I, and stabling for our horses, which was another comfort, so 'twas now time to march into town, which we did in great form, having all the *beau monde* turning out to us and we in our regimentals.” Berkeley and I were invited to dine with three ensigns of ours, Pearson, Sebright and Vernon, who are in a mess, and in one of the prettiest houses in town, all ready furnished and complete. It was taken for them by Pearson, who had leave to go earlier to Brussels, for his health. The other two were often with us on the march and welcome at our table; they are very agreeable young fellows and made us very happy in their new house. Our own lodgings are, God knows, bad enough, though at the rate of five guineas per month; in short, so unhappy was Berkeley, that he got up early yesterday morning and took lodgings for himself in another house, where there is not room for me, being resolved not to be an hour longer in *that* one. He has been helping me to look for rooms, but we have determined to eat at the Hotel de Flandres and I mean to go to-morrow into one of the great hotels, where I pay only so much a night, and remain there till I hear from England about my leave. Yesterday I was made happy by a letter from you and one from my sister. I give you joy of having brought your little family safe up to town. Fanny says that her mistress is sure she will get me leave, but I doubt it, if it is to depend on the Duke. A letter from Sir William Young I know would do, and beg it may be got if his Royal Highness makes the least put-off. Several officers are gone this morning; York only of ours. The elder Ramsden has been to see me and hindered me full an hour, but I could not send him away when he was so good as to come and take leave of me. He has promised to call on you as soon as he can. “He’s a great favourite of mine, and I can’t help being partial to his whole family, in which I know, as in everything else, I’m so happy as to have you in the same way of thinking.” 5 pp.



## LIEUT.-COL. RUSSELL TO HIS WIFE.

1743, November 12, Saturday. Brussels.—“My dearest life, love, soul and only joy, this morning I got leave from Sir Philip Honeywood to go on Thursday next for England.” After I wrote yesterday he issued an order that a return should be made through Lord Arlebermarle, who still commands our two brigades, of all officers gone, or desirous, upon special business, to go for England, and I was told by a friend that if I did not now put in my claim, I might be answered hereafter that it was my own fault not to have asked sooner. Lord Arlebermarle’s answer was that he could not consent, from the instructions he had received from the Duke, but that he wished with all his heart that the general would give me leave. However I saw him this morning and he promised to put my name in the return. I then proceeded to levee the General himself, and he was so jocular and familiar (although I had not leveed him but once before these six months) that I ventured to take him aside and said that I had not meant to trouble him myself, but was in hopes of getting a powerful advocate to intercede for me, and that I had now heard that her Royal Highness would solicit on my behalf. He assured me this would have great weight with him, and finally gave me permission to write to let her Royal Highness know that I had obtained his leave, and consented to my starting next week with Colonel Southby, “so that by the packet from Ostend to-morrow se’en-night I hope to sail, and leave you to guess what a flutter I am in.” 3 pp.

## THE SAME TO THE SAME.

1743, November 16. Brussels.—God willing, I propose leaving this place to-morrow, having just this minute got my leave signed, from Cockayne. If only the wind continues favourable till Sunday, it will not be long before I shall kiss your hands, to which happy time I leave all my budget. 1 p.

## THE SAME TO THE SAME.

1743, November 20, Sunday night. Ostend.—I am sending this by an officer who goes to-morrow to Calais, that you may know that I am not tossing to and fro at sea this windy weather. General Cope, Brigadier Campbell, &c. have taken up one packet; Col. Madden, Jack Boscawen, Jack Robinson, Ramsden Walgrave and two more are with me in one house and have taken up another packet, and all are not a little anxious for an easterly wind. Our packet boat is a very good one, with a good captain and a skilful pilot, therefore by God’s blessing I don’t doubt but to have a good voyage.

*Postscript.* “Col. Waldgrave begs you would send to Arlebermarle Street to Lord Walgrave’s, only to let him know he is here windbound with me.” 2 pp.

## LIEUT.-COL. RUSSELL TO HIS WIFE.

[1743, November 24,] Thursday evening. Rochester.—I was in Canterbury last night, by the help of Mr. Paramour's coach, and hoped to have been with you as soon as this letter, but could not prevail on our coachman to go further than this place to-day, so shall not be in Duke Street till near six o'clock to-morrow, which though only three hours later, seems an age to me. 1 p.

*Endorsed by Mrs. Russell:*—"Rochester, the 24th November, 1743. Was at home the next day at about seven in the evening."

## THE SAME TO THE SAME.

[1744, April 3,] Tuesday noon. Chelmsford.—Has safely arrived at this place, and intends to proceed to Colchester after dinner. 1 p.

## THE SAME TO THE SAME.

[1744, April 3,] Tuesday night. Colchester.—Has reached Colchester, hears that the Harwich packet-boat is under no apprehension of meeting with a French privateer, but fears that their embarking may be delayed by the weather. 1½ pp.

## THE SAME TO THE SAME.

[1744,] April 4, Wednesday. Harwich.—Is safe and well, and expects to sail as soon as the London mail comes in. 1 p.

## THE SAME TO THE SAME.

[1744,] April 4, Wednesday, 7 at night. Harwich.—The mail has not yet come.

Thursday morning. Is delighted to hear that she and the dear babies are well. Assures Molly that he thinks as often of her as she does of him, and wishes Jack to have two plums extraordinary from his Papa every time he says his book well. Their party consists of six and they have a tight battle at whist every night. The Captain has just been in to say that the wind blows fair and that they are to be aboard before one o'clock. 3 pp.

## THE SAME TO THE SAME.

1744, April 6. Friday morning, 10 o'clock. Helvoet Sluice.—Had a fine passage of eighteen hours, and saw nothing of any privateer. Are about to set out for the Brill, on their way to Rotterdam. 1 p.

## THE SAME TO THE SAME.

1744, April 10, Tuesday. Ghent.—We lay at Rotterdam on Friday night and next day viewed the town, which is finely situated for trade, with canals filled with ships almost in every

street. We were in an English house, where I feasted upon waterzutchy [*sic*] and very good provisions and wines. On Sunday we went in a yacht to Moredyke and there took covered waggons to Breda, where we saw the Prince of Orange's house, a very good one, with some grand apartments and fine tapestry in it. Breda is a neat pretty town on the frontiers of Holland, and its fortifications in extreme fine order. Yesterday we travelled in covered waggons to Antwerp, and this evening have arrived here after a very pleasant journey. Middleton (the surgeon) and a friend of his, with our four, were the party. We lay one night in our yacht upon the Scheld, and played at cards all the time we sailed.

Wednesday. I have just been with Lord Robert [Manners] to wait on General Campbell and the rest of our generals. We only saw the first, who has invited us to dine with him on Friday. I am lodging at the *Pom d'or*, and as we shall soon march out of garrison, shall probably continue there. Brigadier Ingoldsby has the next room to me. If Berkeley has not come away before you get this, tell him I have got him a cart and that there will be a bed provided for him. Vane and Parslow and many other officers went to Brussels for Prince Charles' inauguration last Monday, when there were very grand doings. The same ceremony is to be performed here on Monday next, his public entry being on Saturday. At Brussels he took his oath of fidelity to the States of Brabant, that being their capital, and he will repeat it here, Ghent being the capital of Flanders; all which he does as being appointed governor of the Austrian Netherlands.

I'm glad to hear of the floods, which I hope will fill the pond at Missenden. Let me know if Fred. Frankland is or will be a cornet.

*Postscript.* I have seen my family of red-coats this morning "who are all brave and well, and are going to be very spruce in their new clothes against Monday. Nat. is very good and well." 5 pp.

LIEUT.-COL. CHARLES RUSSELL TO HIS WIFE.

1744, April 14, Saturday. Ghent.—The inhabitants and magistrates here are making great preparations for the reception of Prince Charles and his Archduchess, who make their entry this afternoon by the Brussels gate, and through two streets to the "Abbe [Abbey] de St. Pierre's," where they are to reside. "The burghers have insisted upon the privilege of lining the streets through which they pass, so that the military have nothing to do in it but to be under arms, only to be kept out of harm's way. . . : The town is so full with people flocking hither from all parts that there is scarce a lodging to be got." We live a very lounging life here. There is a very bad set of comedians, who have performed but once since I came. Those of our officers who have been at Brussels have come back so full of the joys and charms of that garrison that they are quite melancholy at

being here, but we who have just come from England are determined to do all we can to reconcile ourselves to it. Yesterday I dined at General Campbell's and in the evening went to see Capt. Parslow and his messmate Vane. By our Marshal's orders, we are all to be in readiness to take the field in ten days or a fortnight, but most people think it will not be so soon. 3½ pp.

LIEUT.-COL. CHARLES RUSSELL TO HIS WIFE.

1744, April 20, Wednesday. Ghent.—We have had almost ceaseless rain since Saturday morning, but it has not prevented our fine doings, though it must have damped them a little. Prince Charles made his entry on Saturday but it was a very shabby one, with few attendants, bad equipage, and post-horses to his coach. The next day passed with dining and supping, “but on Monday was the grand day, when Prince Charles was inaugurated as a proxy, representing the Queen of Hungary as Countess of Flanders. In the morning he went to Mass, both to St. Pierre's at the Abbey and to the great church here, called St. Bavo's [St. Bavon's]; about one he went in a grand procession with all the ensigns, standards, and trophies of the different provinces of Flanders preceded by very fine equipages, the coaches and horses being finely ornamented, belonging both to church and state, then came the Prince in but a moderate fine coach attended with one of our regiments of dragoons, called the Scotch Greys, whose fine appearance was no small addition to the cavalcade. In this manner they proceeded to the further end of the Friday market, where there was prepared a very magnificent structure open to the square with grand arcades, above which were painted many emblems relating to the states of this country, and in the middle a very large picture of the Queen of Hungary with a representation of Flanders paying homage to her. Within this building was erected a stage all covered with red cloth, and in the middle a very noble throne and canopy made with crimson velvet embroidered richly with gold, where the Prince ascended, and when he was seated, there were all the states, bishops, abbots and priors stood of each side of the throne, and the laity made a fine appearance with the richness of their clothes. At this time all their laws and statutes were read to him, which he in the name of the Queen ratified and confirmed to 'em, and by oath obliged himself to support 'em in all their ancient just rights and privileges; they also took oaths of allegiance to him. All this was performed in the grand square before all the populace and the buildings all round thronged with people from the top to the bottom of the houses. There was a balcony prepared for the Archduchess for to see it, next door but one to Mr. de la Ruelle's, where I was with all our generals. Honeywood only from Brussels was with us, the rest had seen enough before. I took Lord Rob[ert Manners] with me and got leave for Ingoldsby to be there also. This lasted till four o'clock, then all went to dinner with the Prince to the great Stat House where all us field officers were

invited to partake ; about two hundred in number in one room, and about seven hundred dishes at two courses, but it took up near an hour to take off one and serve up the second course, besides as long for the dessert, which was magnificent beyond expression, a printed book of the description of it being given about to everybody, but all in Flemish ; vast high structures with colonnades and figures composed of sugar paste and barley-sugar with ensigns, trophies, and emblems of this country, and representing the past great acts and virtues, as well as the present, of the House of Austria, with innumerable Latin labels and mottoes as described in the book, being the principal part of the dessert, with music playing all the time, which lasted till near nine o'clock, when we parted. Yesterday morning I went with Lord Robert . . . to the Prince's Court, and among others were presented to His Highness and the Archduchess ; she seems to be an agreeable woman, and has a tolerable good person, does not look quite so well at present, as she is with child. Her dress was plain, but had on some very fine diamonds ; her maids of honour, of which she had three or four, were very plain and had but disagreeable persons. Duchess d'Arenbergh, who is with them, is really a very fine woman of her age, appears to be about forty, but must have been very handsome. In the evening we saw their Highnesses at the play, after which they went to the Friday market to see the fireworks prepared for 'em. I was again at La Ruelle's, from whence I saw as fine an execution of rockets and all the composition of that kind performed as well as the art of man can contrive. . . . I then came home to supper, and the young ones all went after that to the ball which was at the theatre and stayed pretty late."

The Prince and his Archduchess returned this morning to Brussels, to consult about the operations of our campaign, and then he is to proceed to command the army on the Rhine. Duke D'Arenbergh arrived yesterday from England, so that Berkeley, Robinson and our drafts are safely landed at Ostend and will be here to-morrow.

Our deputy quarter masters general have been these two days gone to mark out our camp between Aeth and Mons, and if the French have taken the field, we may march out of garrison next Wednesday, but as the rains may have prevented them, there is a chance that our going may be postponed. We shall know after the great Council at Brussels to-morrow.

"Our good people in England have thought proper to send our British troops here not above a fourth part of the allowance for forage money as they did the year before last, and our brigade is still worse than the rest, for instead of 40*l.* each, which we as lieutenant-colonels received before, are now to have but 10*l.*; that is, instead of eight rations a day, which is for eight horses, we are to have but two, which, if not redressed, will ruin half the officers of the army." Our Marshal has sent over representations of it, thinking us very ill-used, but I fear we shall get no redress. I am sorry for Lady Talbot's distress at Barrington's not having

a company, and not sorry that Lady Exeter feels for the loss she is going to have, for I would always have pride so humbled. I hope young Fred. F[ranklan]d wont be disappointed. 8 pp.

LIEUT.-COL. CHARLES RUSSELL to HIS WIFE.

1744, April 21, Saturday. Ghent.—I was upon duty as field-officer yesterday, and so could not avoid dining with General Hawley, which prevented my beginning my letter, and to-day Colonel and Mrs. Gee have come from Brussels in their way from Maestricht, where they have been to fix their boy at school; and I have to give up most of my day to them. General Campbell has not come from Brussels, so we shall not march next week. Berkeley and Robinson arrived last Thursday, with the drafts in their charge.

I have bought an English horse of Lord Charles Manners for Nat. 3 pp.

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1744, April 24 and 25. Ghent.—Colonel and Mrs. Gee have placed their boy with an acquaintance who is a substantial merchant and has five or six boys of his own. They go to a school in the town, where they learn only French and Dutch. "Do but think of the poor boy left with all strangers and not knowing a word of their language. However, Mrs. Gee said he was so happy with the sight of so many playfellows, that they presently understood one another with signs." He is a fine boy of eight years old, and will soon know both languages, which as he is to be a soldier may be of great use to him. Mrs. Gee and another officer's wife of the same regiment are going to live together at Bruges, but I cannot bring myself to wish you in the same situation. Some people already suspect an inactive campaign, unless there is war between France and Holland, "for without the latter are concerned as principals as well as we, nothing in this part of the world can be done." However, we talk of marching next Monday, and when we do go, are to encamp within a few miles of Brussels.

If Colonel Boscawen has not come away, try to prevail on him to bring over some low, thick wineglasses for our mess, such as your brother had in the camp on Hounslow Heath. Berkeley has gone to Brussels. He believes that Lord Berkeley will certainly marry, but if anything prevents it, it will be her not having the fortune he expects. Lord Robert is also gone to Brussels, but Jack Robinson is kept here by a general court-martial. Lord Robert has had a letter from the Duchess of Rutland in which she says many fine things both of you and me. Ingoldsby came from Brussels last night, and does not think we shall march on Monday, by what he can learn from the great generals. Pray tell Col. Boscawen that the Duke has sent no men either for his company or mine among the drafts, having sent but six men in all. Davis, the surgeon, who came with them, says one man was

meant for us, but was too ill to come. Whilst Prince Charles was here, young Townsend, Mr. O'Brian (Lord Thomond's heir) and young Viner came here from Brussels. The latter is but disagreeable, but the former are two pretty young fellows, and Townsend is very good-natured as well as droll. 5 pp.

LIEUT.-COL. CHARLES RUSSELL TO HIS WIFE.

1744, April 28, Saturday. Ghent.—I am pleased to hear that Billy Russell has got so well through the small-pox, which will be a great joy to them in India. I wish it was so well over with ours. I am also glad that your brother is with you. His real value and friendship for you and the dear little ones is one of the greatest comforts I have. As Mobwell is full, I hope there will be plenty of water again at Missenden, especially if Eyres goes to see it. I long to hear whether he approves of it. You surprise me about Hampden's match, but surely he expects that her rich relations will in time make her fortune more considerable. "As for your news of peace, I do believe 'tis only an empty sound, but yet, as I have already said, till the Dutch are heartily joined with us, and are got as much in the scrape as we, I can never think that we can or shall act vigorously." We march on Tuesday to Alorst, where we were to have encamped, but upon the request of the people, who fear the destruction of their green corn, we are to be cantoned at the villages near. The next day we encamp near Anderlecht, within a league of Brussels, for two or three days, and shall then probably march one day more, and encamp with all the army near a place called Hale, where we shall await the motions of the enemy. "Lord Robert, Berkeley and a whole posse are just come in from Brussels, and lucky for me that I've just done, for they are enough to turn one's head. The King of France, they say, is at Valenciennes, and all the fish at Brussels was bought up for his court. I was told yesterday he only intended to review his armies, first in Flanders, then on the Moselle, and last of all on the Rhine, and so return home." 5 pp.

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

1744, May 1. Sherbach St. Job, near Alorst.—We marched this morning from Ghent, and I am now in this little village with my whole battalion. To-morrow I must be up at three o'clock, in order to march to our encampment near Anderlacht, where we may remain some time. Lord Robert Manners and I have but one room here. Jack Robinson and all friends are well. 2 pp.

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

1744, May 5, Saturday. Anderlech Camp.—We marched here last Wednesday in cool weather, and our battalion is very agreeably encamped on rising ground, "but I could not help thinking

it shocking to destroy such a vast quantity of fine corn, which we not only was obliged to march over, but also to pitch all our tents in the midst of it. The poor larks I also pitied much, whose young fell a sacrifice to us, and whose tuneful pipes remind us early every morning of what they have so lately suffered. But I can assure you the greatest concern I've been in was upon the account of our men, lest they should fall sick, the ground being very damp the first night, but as we luckily had a fine drying day with a warm sun all Thursday, our men's tents were all struck and the straw removed for several hours, which had so good an effect that I hope they will all hold well. . . . The next day after us, the garrison from Bruges all joined us, so that we have now two lines encamped. We are on the right of the infantry in the front line, within a mile of Anderlech, which is about three more from Brussels. . . . The H[anoveria]ns, who are all encamped on the left of us, reach within a little mile of Brussels. All proper orders have been given to prevent any disputes that may arise, which I hope and dare say will be observed to the utmost of our power. All our troops and those in our pay are encamped but those at Brussels, who will remain there till the weather is warmer. All our generals and the Marshal would fain have kept us some days longer in garrison, but Duke D'Arembergh, on the contrary, insisted upon it, who prevailed. The Austrians, I find, wont furnish us with more than one-third of the troops that they had engaged to do, so that our army will not be so strong for want of them and the ungrateful Hessians as we expected, and consequently 'tis thought can only be on the defensive. Yesterday I waited on Marshal Wade, was introduced by General Legonier, had many instructions given me by his Excellency relating to the officers and men under my command, who I puffed of very much on their good behaviour and well-marching into camp, after he had with great warmth expressed so much dissatisfaction on his seeing those troops who came from Bruges the day after us into camp, on whose misconduct he greatly reflected on [*sic*], but what was greatly owing to the violence of the heat of their day, which fatigued them so much more than us: that he hoped we should be an example to the troops, which Mr. Legonier said the Guards always were, and I can assure you, he is much our friend, and a great favourite of mine; is declared General of the infantry, to whom we are to apply to [*sic*] for all we want. I don't [know] any body more beloved and more deserving of it. I must also do our Marshal the justice to say that he seems assiduous to act for the general good. I dined with him yesterday. He lives well, but I can't say any-ways equal to Lord Stair. However, if he is in the whole careful of us, he must gain great applause." He told me that there had been a dispute between the master of the packet-boats at Dover and the Governor of the Post Office in Lombard Street, and that he feared for some time our communication to Ostend would be stopped, so I send this by way of Holland.

"Mr. Legonier came along our line this morning, and has invited me to dine with him to-morrow. 'Twill be some comfort



to have such a friend to stand by one in case of any inadvertent omission, by which I can learn by the Marshal that I am, as well as other commanders of corps, to be answerable for all or any neglects or *faux-pas*, committed not only by myself but those under my command. Therefore do but think how circumspect I must be. Honour, 'tis true, I have and may have more, but God knows but little profit. However, with the blessing of God . . . all these troubles and difficulties may turn out for my advantage." 5½ pp.

LIEUT.-COL. CHARLES RUSSELL to HIS WIFE.

1744, May 9, Wednesday. From our camp near Ash.—“On Monday we were alarmed at Brussels that the French were upon the march towards Ghent; that they had possession of Courtray, which is an open town, and that they encamped on this side of it”; upon which we sent a detachment of dragoons and six companies of grenadiers under General Campbell towards Alorst. A report was spread that the French were actually in Ghent, but this proved otherwise, as General Campbell arrived there yesterday morning. The whole army had orders to follow him next morning, being about thirty thousand, and as we were unluckily the rear, it was nine at night before we got to our ground, which is within three miles of Alorst. Now we hear that the French advanced no further than Courtray, and after plundering the town, retired again, and are now marching towards Mons, so we shall probably shortly return whence we came, and shall then have the advantage of marching in front of the army, which wont be near the fatigue to either officers or men. “If the French had pushed on a forced march to Ghent, it would have cut off our communication from Ostend and intercepted our drafts from England, which would have distressed us not a little . . . We shall, I hear, have to-morrow some few Austrians and ten thousand Dutch to join us, which will be some help, but not a fourth part of what they ought to supply us with. My jolly boys are in great spirits, and came singing to their ground last night, and wish for nothing more than to meet the French, being sure to beat 'em.” 9½ pp.

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1744, May 12, Saturday. From our camp near Assche.—Our camp here is a very pleasant one, on the right of the infantry, and close by the paved road from Ghent to Brussels, “so that we don't want for company, and seem to live in the midst of Pall Mall, with hearing coaches and all sorts of carriages rattling along the stones without end; at the same time a fine fertile country all round us. . . . The Dutch and Austrians are daily joining us, but at present there seems to be but few of 'em. It is said we shall remove from hence on Monday next to a few miles beyond Alost, and so march on to a very strong encampment between Ghent and Oudenarde, called Gavre. . . . We shall there have the Scheld on our front, and another river on

our left, where we shall remain till all our strength have joined us, and then, if we are powerful enough, dont doubt but we shall act, if the enemy shall think fit to receive us, which last I pretty much question. When we shall be at that encampment, the French will be about ten leagues from us, if they remain where they now are. Their King has certainly been with their army, and they say has rode post several times between Lisle and Courtray, but that he is now gone back to Versailles. I am very sorry to be obliged to make an excuse for not saying more to you . . . but I must first tell you that I have wrote a copy of a long letter to the Duke, which I have to write fair, and would have you get my sister to find out how his Royal Highness relishes it, or what he says upon it; being the first time of my having said anything more than enclosing his weekly return. I have likewise just received orders that the Archduchess will come from Brussels to review us between twelve and one o'clock this day, so that some fuss and preparations will be necessary on this account." 3 pp.

[MRS. RUSSELL to her husband, LIEUT.-COL. RUSSELL.]

[1744, May, about the 14th. Duke Street.]—[*First part of the letter wanting.*] Ramsden tells me that he has at present no correspondence with that Van Kock at the Hague, but I do not doubt, through Talbot, to find some one for you to direct to. I hear that Prince Saxe's interruption to the officers is removed, so hope they are all safely up with you. "I find they dont think things will be the worse for the Duke of Freeze's death; the Dutch being ready to give up the towns was thought would occasion the splutter. I hope you will be pleased with a note I had from Fanny since dinner, to tell me when she began to name to her friend your having wrote to her brother she said she knew it before, and that he was mightily pleased, which you may be sure is no small pleasure to me. I am told since I went out to-day that the Duke certainly has at last leave to come to you, and that he only waits till there is a certainty what the King will do, which I find is still very doubtful. It is reported that if he does leave us, the P[elha]ms will certainly throw up. My dearest life, the situation you are in to me is terrible, yet nothing so bad as the not hearing of you. Must thank God you are in health and spirits, and trust to him as our only defender in all dangers. I believe I have not said a word of the dear babies, who are well, and making such a noise in the yard and passage, they have drawn all Lady Shelley's family to look at them. . . . Ramsden assures me there is no truth in the packets not coming as usual, and that it was only occasioned by the wind. My dearest life, take care of yourself, not as your own but mine." 2 pp. [*For the date, see Colonel Russell's letters of May 12th and 19th. This is apparently one of those received by him on the 18th.*]

## LIEUT.-COL. RUSSELL TO HIS WIFE.

1744, May 16, Wednesday. From our camp near Assche.—We are still here, and have had such wet, cold weather that we have had to have recourse to tobacco and a bottle of good wine to keep us warm in the evenings, and gin for the men. I told you in my last that the Archduchess was to review us at twelve o'clock, "but [she] made it half past four, keeping the whole army under arms many hours; and when she came, it was only in a hired coach and four horses drawn with ropes for harness; too poor an appearance did her Highness make for to have the English Guards drop their colours. Our whole army has consisted only of English and Hanoverians till within these few days, and now we have got an addition of about twelve thousand Dutch and Austrians. They tell us we are to have more, but till then, we can do nothing but upon the defensive. What you are all doing in England, God above knows! Sure the French are not threatening you again? No, that can't be; then we should hear of you; you would have wanted our assistance and so of course sent for us; but I wish some deluge has not happened, or sure somebody must have heard from England by the way of Holland." Even our Marshal has not had a line for three weeks. A poor young fellow of mine, one of the Nottingham recruits, who deserted about three months ago, drawn away by an old offender, has just come in from the French, and I must go to the Marshal and try to get his pardon, so cannot write more. 4 pp.

## THE SAME TO THE SAME.

1744, May 18 and 19. Camp near Assche.—I sent my last letter enclosed to Monsieur Pouchond, the King's agent at Utrecht, and this one I have leave to enclose to Monsieur Walters, the King's agent at Rotterdam, so I hope you will duly receive them. We have an English post-master always attending headquarters, and he has gone to Brussels to get all the letters for the camp. To-morrow a detachment consisting of four regiments of foot and some dragoons are to march, I suppose towards Ghent, and we shall follow soon after. "The French King is still at Lisle, and they are going, 'tis thought, to besiege Menin, which is a Dutch garrison, and if the French are in earnest, the Dutch will then be obliged to join us with their whole force. This town can't hold out long, not having above two thousand men in it at most; 'tis said the French have already with twenty thousand men invested it." We have a very good sutler in our regiment, where all our officers, not in messes, dine every day; and to encourage this man we have established a club every Friday night where our whole regiment meets, for we are very sociable, and not a corps in the army lives with more harmony than ours.

Saturday morning. Last night, while I was at the club, the postmaster brought in our letters and made me happy with four from you. I could not help being diverted with one sent to Mr. Vernon, with a list of above twenty

marriages, but I dare say not a third of them true. Berkeley has one which confirms the news of Lord Berkeley's marriage. I find by what you say and by the messenger that nothing but the wind has prevented the packet-boats from sailing, so shall write by Ostend, if the wind is fair, as being the quickest way. I seldom see Ingoldsby, as he belongs to another brigade, but he invited six or seven of us to his quarters last week, and gave us a very pretty dinner. "If command was what I loved, I might have enough of it: hope I shall discharge my duty to the satisfaction of Marshal Wade and General Legoniere and then I shall be contented. The last is our General of our foot, to whom we apply for everything. He is vastly good to us and a great favourite with me. I hope I shall not displease his Royal Highness, but cant help it if I do; fear he'll not like my last letter. Corporal Barker must be subsisted by our agent till he dies, if he lives and is unable to serve. If he could get up to London he might be got into the [Chelsea] College."

Our detachment which was to have marched to-day is countermanded. What we shall do I cant say. Our army is too small to act except on the defensive, "nor will the Austrians, or can they, as it is said, assist us more, and from them we have not exceeding two thousand men. As they have drawn us in to be principals, they now leave us to ourselves. What hussars we should have are kept by Duke D'Arenberg to protect his own house and estate." 5½ pp.

LIEUT.-COL. RUSSELL TO HIS WIFE.

1744, May 23, Wednesday. From the head-quarters at Beirleghem.—On Monday we began our march towards Oudenarde, and yesterday reached a strong encampment near a village called Mariotathem, where our army now lies, with the Scheld on our right flank and the Swalme on our front, within two leagues of Oudenarde and three of Ghent. The Marshal is at a chateau near the village of Beirleghem, where only our first battalion of Guards is encamped to cover his quarters, so that I am not only commandant, but commander in chief of this camp, which is very prettily situated, with plenty of wood and water. We had two very pleasant days for marching, and General Ligoniere, who marches at the head of our battalion, entertains us each day when we halt, with a good cold repast. Yesterday, as soon as we came to our ground, the Marshal's aide-de-camp came and invited us to dinner.

All who came by the last transport are at Bruges, "including seven general officers, Boscawen and all the members of Parliament except Lord Petersham, who took the opportunity of coming away to Ghent with three hundred and fifty horse, who was sent from Bruges almost upon their first arrival there.

"Since that, we have an account that all the rest are detained upon Count Saxe's marching with five thousand men and some few field-pieces, close to the canal, half way between Bruges and

Ghent. The officers, whom we want much, 'tis to be hoped will find an expedient to come round by Holland. As for the two towns you mentioned the French had taken, they are only at present in possession of Courtray, which is an open town, but believe they soon will be masters of Menin, which is but six leagues from us, and the wind setting fair made us yesterday hear a cannonading all day long. 'Tis pity that so pretty a fortified town [should be taken], that had it but four or five thousand men in it would be able to hold out a very long time and give the enemy their belly-full; but as it has only fifteen hundred, 'tis thought it cant hold out many days. However, the Dutch deserve it, since they would not supply it with more men, and as it is one of their barrier towns, garrisoned by their men, 'tis to be hoped they will now be convinced how much the French have been their friends and so join us with a strong reinforcement of troops, with which we might be able to make a figure in the world and treat the common enemy as they deserve. Till then, what forces we have will do well if they can but take care of themselves.

"You desired to know in one of yours about the Archduchess's hand being kissed. I thought I had told you nobody then at Ghent did her that honour.

"Pray, with my service, let Mrs. Fisher know that I'll take all the care I can of Mr. Elliott when he comes, for the sake of smiling Kitty. . . . I shall be very sorry if no care has been taken to prevent Freddy Fr[ankland]'s coming; hope Jeny Mount[enay] will get away soon and go into the North: 'twill be a certain cure." 5 pp.

LIEUT.-COL. RUSSELL TO HIS WIFE.

1744, May 26, Saturday noon. From Gaver on the Scheld.—  
On Thursday evening, I received orders, as the next field officer in the line upon duty, to march next morning with three hundred and fifty foot and sixty horse to take possession of this village, in order to prevent any of the enemy or their hussars from passing the river hereabouts. The enemy not being near us, it happens to be a post of no great danger, only obliging me to be upon my guard and acquaint our Marshal if there should be any appearance of the enemy on the other side, the object being to keep the communication of the river open from Ghent to Oudenarde. Our detachment only stays forty-eight hours, and then I shall be relieved and return to head-quarters. These parties are not always very agreeable, there being never any of the Guards with us, sometimes not an officer of one's acquaintance, and perhaps half of them Hanoverians. As for some time I have been next on the roll for out duty, it has been like a rod hanging over me, but it has really proved quite an agreeable party. "I have two officers of the Blue horse and two or three more of the foot of my acquaintance and only one poor old hardy Hanoverian subaltern of horse, that served the last war, and a good creature, that is with me. He speaks nothing but German, but yet

I understand him, and he is very grateful for the good meals I give him here." We are in a pretty situation, on a rising ground overlooking the flat country. For some distance along the river it is a morass, and the river here is very deep and muddy, with no fords. The house I am in belongs to the parson, and there are not many better parsonages in England, only the poor man tells me he has sent all his best goods to Ghent for fear of the French, who always pillage and plunder much. The poor people are glad to come to us, finding that they are protected and are paid for the provisions they bring, so that both we and our men fare very well, and have everything cheap. A younger brother of Mr. Scott's of Chesham is one of my subs. I have taken a Flemish boy from Ghent, whom I find very useful. He is about thirteen or fourteen, and the best boy I ever knew. He speaks English well, acts as my interpreter as well as my butler, and is ready on all occasions to be at my elbow. This day our quartermaster general and engineers have come and laid two bridges over the river, and two more are to be laid near Oudenarde, but it is doubtful whether we shall cross over. "Menin, they say, is certainly taken, and that the enemy are going to besiege Ispres, another barrier town with a Dutch garrison in it. If that wont make 'em join us with all their force, nothing will. What *we* shall do till then I know not . . . As for the men and drafts coming from Bruges, they had liked to have been taken, but from some intelligence from a hussar officer, they had just time to save themselves by retreating to Bruges. When the enemy perceived they had been discovered, they marched off to their main body, and our people are all come safe to us . . . Your account of the Duke of Marlborough's behaviour to the Duke of Richmond, relating to his daughter, has made much noise here. I had before heard it by means of Col. Bentinck, who is in the Dutch service here. Everybody attributes it to great weakness in his Grace. Your account of the Thirkleby family\* is very extraordinary and somewhat entertaining," for which and all in your agreeable letter (which was brought to me by George Boscawen just before I received orders for this duty) I thank you. I have no greater happiness than in thus talking to you alone, and am glad I have had so much of you before my company came in, who being all very hungry, and it past three o'clock, I must bid you farewell. 7 pp.

LIEUT.-COL. RUSSELL TO HIS WIFE.

1744, May 30, Wednesday. From our Camp at the headquarters at Beirleghem.—I wrote to you last from Gaver, where I had command of a detachment for forty-eight hours. The next day I returned here, and when I had made my report, found Mr. Wright waiting at my tent. He gave me a most agreeable account of you and my babies, and told me a great deal about the Thirkleby family. I have recommended him to his lieutenant-

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\* The Franklands.

colonel, young Howard, and will do him what service I can. I have answered my cousin Fred's letter. My young ensign Elliot came at the same time. I have posted him to my company, and made him dine with us ever since he came, and believe he will be a good lad. He desires his service to his cousin Fisher. Our people are now all come, and we are very strong in officers, but our numbers are too few to act as we ought, unless the Dutch reinforce us, "whose actions at present are unaccountable, to suffer Menin to be taken for want of troops to defend its garrison and to have Ispres follow the same fate, which 'tis thought it will soon do! . . . It is, you may believe, a great happiness to me to find so great and general a satisfaction through our whole battalion amongst our officers, and never was more harmony than there seems to be; which you may suppose I have had no small pleasure in hearing often expressed that they would not change their commandant but with great reluctance. This without vanity I can tell you, though it would be intolerable in me to mention it to anyone else. . . . I wish the Duke could know it, and not from me; for he seems to think Ingoldsby has the chief care, whereas he has very little to do with us, having the care of four marching regiments in his brigade under his command. However, I do nothing of consequence without informing him, if his quarters happen to lie near us; if he disapproves, I don't alter my opinion, and what I think necessary for the service, I persist in making my application to General Ligoniere for it. However, Ingoldsby I cannot nor shall disagree with, and what little he does, which is now and then to enquire how we go on, and reviewing the battalion when I was absent the other day, I am sensible is wholly owing to what he says the Duke said to him before he left England, which was to have an eye to this battalion, for fear, I suppose, I was not capable of it. I can't but say a bad help-meet I should have in him. Poor man, ever since we have been here, he has been much out of order with the gout. . . . I am sorry to find the Duke, as you say, is so mortified about not coming that he will neglect us by that means, for he does not use us well, and when I write to him about business, if he neither answers nor orders mine to be answered, my writing will be to no purpose." As for Corporal Barker, if he can come up to London, I dare say Colonel Dury or Lee will get him into the College for me, but if he is too bad to be removed let him be paid twenty shillings and threepence per month, as long as the poor fellow can hold it.

*Postscript.* Miss Mounteney, I hope, is released by this time, for I find Fred is in much want of her. 7 pp.

LIEUT.-COL. RUSSELL to HIS WIFE.

1744, June 1. Head quarters, Beirleghem.—I do not doubt but that our absence from each other may teach us more than ever the blessing of being together when those happy days arrive. Meanwhile I do my best to keep cheerful, and am in good health and spirits. "Our life is either made up with rather an excess

of fatigue or else too inactive. The latter happens to be our present case, the enemy being at a distance from us, and we only in a defensive state. Were the French nearer, they would not dare to approach us, though inferior to 'em in number, for in our situation, we could give 'em a hearty welcome. We however flatter ourselves with fresh advices from Holland that the Dutch will considerably reinforce us, and put us in a capacity to act as we ought to do. If they don't, I don't see how we can stay long, or have any business on this side of the water. Had we it in our power, I say, we should then behave like Englishmen, and give, I don't in the least doubt, so good an account of our enemy that his most Christian Majesty would soon retire to Paris. Only thirty of our hussars the other day but a little way on the other side of the Scheld, met a party of forty-eight foot, commanded by one captain and a sub. of the French, who at the sight of the hussars, fled, and retired into a neighbouring castle, which the hussars surrounded, and threatened, if they did not capitulate, to put 'em to the sword. They therefore thought fit to surrender, which showed great marks of cowardice; and the affair of Menin they have no great reason to boast of, it being more like a sham siege than anything else, not ten men being killed on both sides with the taking of the town. Ispres, I suppose, they'll have the same reason to brag of, and sound their *Te Deums* thereupon."

Whilst we remain here, the first battalion will continue to cover the Marshal's quarters, which is very lucky for us, as we are on fine verdure; on a rising ground and free from dust, close to the old castle where the head-quarters are. The right of the camp is not much above half a mile away, but we only know it is there by the number of generals one daily sees here. I might constantly dine at head-quarters, but I keep so elegant a table for our mess that we prefer it to any other. In the evening we generally ride by the river, being in no fear of the enemy's hussars, as we have fifteen hundred of our men who would always keep them off, even if we were nearer to each other. Our general officers and the drafts from England had a very narrow escape in their march from Bruges to Ghent, coming within half a mile of three thousand French, lying in wait for them. Fortunately they were stopped by an officer of our hussars, whose information prevented their being all cut to pieces or carried as prisoners into France. Boscawen daily drinks the officer of hussars' health. I have been reading *David Simple*, "which I like well enough, and think there are a great many good reflections to be made from it, and therefore very amusing." To-morrow, General Onslow favours us with his company to dinner, as an old acquaintance of mine. Our mess consists of Lord Robert Manners, Col. Fitz [roy], Boscawen, Berkeley, Alston and myself, Lord Ancram being detained at Ghent with a great boil, such as I had at Hounslow Heath. Lord Robert has a chaise, which will always go in front of our battalion, and which carries a trunk and one valise of mine, in return for which I shall take as much



for my lord in my cart. Our carts we sometimes do not see for a day or two on the march, as they have to follow the train, while we now always march with the line.

Poor Ingoldsby is still very bad. Boscawen tells me that the very last of his acquaintances he saw before leaving London were my Molly and Jacky, and that the former jumped into his arms and sent me many kisses, which I return with a thousand thanks. 7 pp.

LIEUT.-COL. RUSSELL TO HIS WIFE.

1744, June 6, Wednesday. Beirlegthem Camp.—“ . . . There is a report as if his Majesty intended to see us. I must own we wish it, believing he could not think of it without an assurance of such a reinforcement as would make us happy.” Yesterday our mess dined with General Onslow, and were very civilly entertained, though I assure you we fare better at home than perhaps most of the generals. Our expenses are much increased owing to our having more company, and also because liquor is much dearer here than Rhenish wine was in Germany, but we certainly have the fame and credit of keeping a good table. Your glasses help greatly to adorn our sideboard, for which you have our thanks. “I suppose we shant lie idle long, for as soon as the French have taken Ispres, surely they’ll attempt to entertain us; but ’tis said they will not have the possession of that town given ’em up so shamefully as that of Menin, which might have held out ten days, though the garrison was weak. Ispres, though not near sufficiently supplied with men, having two thousand five hundred only, yet by the resolution they have seemed to have taken, they’ll divert the enemy tolerably well before they can be masters of the town. Had the Dutch sent in three or four thousand more men, the French could not take it in a long time without losing more men than they would be willing to spare, whereas they’ll now find their conquests at a much easier expense, both as to men and money, and unless we are reinforced, they will afterwards have Bruges and Ghent. The former at present lies near and ready to fall a sacrifice to ’em; for Count Saxe, who is detached from the rest of the French army, lies between Courtray and Deinse (I don’t spell the latter right) with forty thousand men. He could be easily re-inforced from their main body, which consists of about eighty thousand more, otherwise we could force the Count from his quarters; but as that is not proper to be done, we wait upon the defensive till we can have it in our power to do greater matters. In the mean time, Count Saxe, who is an active, enterprising man, reconnoitres all about him, and keeps us close to our duty and ready to watch him, lest he should attempt anything our way, either our bridge and [*sic*] some few outworks we made there to defend it which we call a *tete de pons*, at Gavre. . . . We have now sent some cannon there, and have a colonel’s command, with two lieutenant-colonels and seven or eight hundred men, but believe we shall not have anything to do in earnest till we

are re-inforced or our enemy attempt to force us in this camp before that time, which, if they do, we hope to be able to give a good account of 'em. What joy it would be to the Duke if his father came, for he certainly would attend him, and then we might be redressed in several things that at present we are cruelly used in. We that do all duties as lieutenant-colonels have no more rations allowed us than two, which is two less than all the captains of the army had last year. For that two, we are paid 10*l.*, instead of eight rations, which was 40*l.*, we had before. As commandant, I now have six rations, which is 30*l.*, but should receive sixteen, which would be 80*l.* The whole is but a trifle saved to the Government, whilst we suffer for want of it and are obliged to keep such a number of horses. All this frugality is owing to Mr. Scroop of the Treasury. Our whole English army is cruelly used by it, but still a greater injustice is done to the Guards. I did not care if Fanny was to talk of this when she waited.

"... I have read one volume of *David Simple*; am vastly pleased with many things in it, and though 'tis not so well wrote as to the style, yet there are too many truths in it of which one may make a proper use on [*sic*], and very applicable to the present age." You may think that my time lies often on my hands, but with going to the Marshal's or to church (which I never fail three times a week), talking to you, and giving a look to our horses, my mornings are tolerably taken up. Almost every evening we ride to Gavre to see our new works and the strong detachments which are sent there every forty-eight hours, to prevent any enterprise of the alert Count de Saxe. I've sent my compliments to Miss Kemp by Lieutenant Wallis, of Honeywood's horse, who came the other day to his post, but as, owing to the wound he received last year, he cannot ride, he is being sent home. This is the man who is married to Lady Saville. I was told the other day how well he was married (as he had not a shilling of his own) by Collier, who in respect to the wretch he is married to himself, feels for the happiness of the other. Ingoldsby is better and has gone to Ghent to take physic. 7 pp.

LIEUT.-COL. RUSSELL to HIS WIFE.

1744, June 9, Saturday. Beirleghem Camp.—If Bruges should fall, it would stop our Ostend post, and I think it very probably may, unless our long-talked-of re-inforcements join us soon. We are told that six more regiments from England and the six thousand Dutch from thence are coming to us, and that twelve thousand more Dutch are marching hither from Breda. If these come before it is too late, we may make a good figure and pull down the pride of the French, being assured they cannot stand against good troops. "We are also told that the King will certainly come to us, and your saying the Duke has leave to come, but waits only for his Papa, looks like a confirmation, not believing the one will be permitted to see us without the other;" yet knowing how discontented our people at home will

be, and the ill consequences that may attend his leaving you, it may be that he will be prevailed on not to cross the water this year.

I must thank you for your good news of our success at sea, in taking so many of the enemy's merchant men. Nothing can be more destructive to them and advantageous to us, by depriving them of the great trade they have carried on of late years; and which we may easily prevent if the present war with France is well-conducted. So poor Missenden is let at last, though I fear the people have taken no ground with it. I shall hope for a better tenant in Temple Laws by and by, and that he may become a purchaser.

Dont imagine that I lead a life of anxious cares. On the contrary it is one as agreeable as our circumstances permit. If I had been so happy as to be independent, I might perhaps have been deprived of the many blessings I now enjoy "all which have centred in the possession of my dearest soul, without whom I would not be the greatest and most independent man in this world. . . . I must own I cant persuade myself the King will come. If we have the number of troops expected, we shall do well. At present, forty thousand is our utmost, and of them, in proportion, too many cavalry a great deal; so that all our expected re-inforcements being foot, they will be of infinite service. The enemy we have heard yesterday and to-day very plainly cannonading the town of Ispres, but we flatter ourselves the Dutch in the garrison will behave better than the last, and that the French will find a tight piece of work of it; though it can't be great while before they must be masters of it, from their numbers being so great, and we not in a condition to oblige 'em to raise the siege. On Monday next, our army will move about a league further, the right of which will extend within two leagues of Ghent, and close upon the Scheld on our front, which will be posting ourselves still in a more advantageous situation. Our left by this means will reach near Oudenarde, and as our Marshal's quarters where he now is will be in the centre of the whole, so our battalion will remain with him as it does," which is very agreeable, as although we do as much duty as if joined to the line yet we have certain conveniences here which make us prefer it. The Marshal's secretary told me this morning that Freddy's commission was signed as long ago as April, and given to some one here of the same regiment, who paid the fees. I hope it may be prevented from going, or at least that, by some application to Lord Hertford and from him to our Marshal, Freddy's coming over may be stopped. 7½ pp.

LIEUT.-COL. RUSSELL to HIS WIFE.

1744, June 13, Wednesday. Beirleghem.—I shall be glad to hear that you have got to Checquers, where the two dear babies can rove and range with so much more pleasure than in London. I cant help regretting that I must lose the pleasure of them in these years while they are such delightful playthings, but am

happy to think that you and your brother have the enjoyment of them. "His Majesty's coming to us or not is at present the great affair in debate. . . . We have just now heard that there has been some advices from Italy, where Prince Lobkowitz has been very successful against the Spaniards, whom he has entirely defeated, and had surrounded in a village what few were left, with the King of Naples and the Duke of Modena among them, who of course must become prisoners. This, we hear, is authentic, and hope therefore soon will be confirmed, as it must make a great alteration of affairs in Europe. We remain here as we did, our army extending near eighteen miles, being but in one line, but our intervals are large, which we could soon join if occasion required it. We've sent two Dutch regiments and a detachment of six hundred men from us to Tournay, in case the French should have any thoughts of besieging that town, where, if they should make any such attempt, they will now find a tough bit of work of it. It is thought that will be their next motion, if they lay siege to any more, but they have not yet made themselves masters of Ispres, which I hope may divert them some time longer." It was lucky I got my duty over at Gavre, or I might have been sent to Tournay instead of Lieut.-colonel Corbett, of the 2nd Regiment, who may be there most of the summer. It would have been disagreeable to be without one of our own corps, or perhaps even an acquaintance. I likewise escaped going to Bruges before that, where Col. Needham will probably have to remain. Mrs. Gee is still there, though her husband has urged her to return to England, or at any rate to go into Holland, but she chooses not to stir. However if she falls into the hands of the French, "the great politesse of that nation would never hurt a fair lady."

I am glad to hear that Billy Russell is so well recovered. Fred's cousin Wright was to have dined with me, but his regiment is now encamped too far away. Give my love to Johnny Greenhill, and tell him he might learn to swim, but not out of his depth. Love and kisses to Jack and Molly, whom I was glad to hear Miss Nanny F[ranklan]d made so happy.  
7 pp.

LIEUT.-COL. RUSSELL TO HIS WIFE.

1744, June 16, Saturday. Beirleghem.—We do not here think that the King will come, or that the Dutch will heartily join us, their ambassador having returned to Lisle, where he has taken a house for some time. We have heard no sound of cannon from Ispres for two days, but hope it is only owing to the change of wind. The news from Italy, though repeated in the Cologne Gazette, is not confirmed, which makes me doubt that it is not true.

Our army was never more healthy or in finer spirits, which makes it a great pity that if anything is to be done this campaign it should be so long delayed, when perhaps, with the coming of the fruit season, there will be more sickness amongst our men.

I am sorry Fred Frankland did not say more to the purpose to Lord Har[ringto]n and so get leave for his nephew to stay at home. I mentioned it to General Onslow, who has tried to persuade the Marshal to dispense with his coming over this year, as he is so young, but the latter says he has Lord Hertford's letter, representing him to be a fine youth, fit for service and ready to come; so I fear it can't be prevented, and when he comes, he must make the best of it. I shall speak to any officers that may be of service to him. Lord Ancram has come, but is allowed to be in quarters; 'tis a pity so young a man should be so infirm. As for Ingoldsby, he is still at Ghent, and in but a bad way. An express has just arrived at Duke D'Arembergh's, to say that Ispres was taken yesterday, so we shall soon know what steps the enemy will take next. I don't think they will pay us a visit, but if they do, we are ready to receive them.

I shall like to know how the Adams' like their habitation. I dare say they will be too fine folks for the Abbey family.

*Postscript.* "Had a proper use been made by us of this day twelvemonth, we might not have been here now." 5 pp.

LIEUT.-COL. RUSSELL TO HIS WIFE.

1744, June 20, Wednesday. Beirleghem.—I am glad you have arrived safely at that most delightful place, Checquers, and know how happy Jack will be. Molly will feel the charms of a country life more as she grows older, though the little vanity of dress and desire to see company is too natural to be displeasing. I am glad your brother returns so soon, for he is the life of any place, and I shall be surprised if the Adams' don't make you the best of neighbours. Pray tell Miss Betty that Lord Robert Manners, who is sitting by me, desires to be remembered to her, and seldom fails a day in drinking her health. I beg you will let your brother have what beer he likes, and any wine in the cellar at Missenden that he thinks won't keep, such as the claret and port.

We are still where we were, and nothing could be pleasanter. The plantations and avenues of trees remind me of Checquers. You may imagine the Crow Close rather bigger, and our camp pitched about half way up, my tent being opposite to one of the cross walks, at which I am now looking, but, alas, can only in imagination see the dear object of my wishes, and the two little lambkins skipping about on the grass.

We have our club every Thursday night and one might think it was at Pontacks; a long table well set out and illuminated, never less than four or five and twenty officers, and the music of our regiment playing all the time. General Ligoniere and Lord Albemarle have gladly accepted an invitation to join us. "All this seems pleasant, and for the time it lasts, is so, provided one could divest oneself of thought, and not consider what can be the consequence of such a campaign as we are likely to make, to see the French taking all the towns with so much ease, scarce meeting with the least resistance, and we not in a capacity to act, or

likely to be in one." I hear from my cousin Fred that his daughter has had two interviews with Miss Mounteney and seems to like her. He also mentions a report of Sir Francis Russell's death, at which I cannot be surprised. 7 pp.

LIEUT.-COL. RUSSELL to HIS WIFE.

1744, June 23, Saturday. Beirleghem Camp.—It is said that the French are going to besiege Ostend. If so they will find a strong garrison and a tough bit of work, for our last four regiments from England are stopped there; and with two more coming, two already there before, and two hundred Hanoverians (making above eight in all) and a very capable Austrian governor, together with some of our men of war, they will find the enemy some diversion, and entertain them some time longer than the Dutch lately have done. We hear that our Marshal has just had a letter saying that the Dutch are sending six thousand foot and four thousand horse immediately to join us, and if so, with the six thousand from England, we may be able to hold up our heads and humble the French, but I shall not believe it till I see them.

I went yesterday to see an exercise of the Hanoverian artillery, which our Marshal reviewed, and afterwards, with my messmates, to Oudenarde, to see the fortifications, which are put into tolerable repair. The town, which stands on the Scheld, is very indifferent, but the country about it pleasant enough.

The town of Bruges, being incapable of defence, and only three hundred of our men in it, may very possibly fall into the hands of the French, and the English ladies there came away to Ghent last Monday, amongst whom was Mrs. Gee, on her way to Antwerp. She herself came safely in a coach, but her baggage, with her clothes and plate, being sent by the barge, was seized by a small party of French, who frequently lie skulking near the canal. They made the passengers get out, used them very civilly but took all the large baggage, "the French having some good friends in that as well as many other of these cursed Flemish towns [who] gave 'em certainly some intelligence of this booty." I fear the Gees have lost two hundred pounds worth of plate, besides all Mrs. Gee's clothes, and the fine laces of which she had been picking up great pennyworths by degrees. I shall be glad to know how Jenny Mounteney goes on, and if she is approved. I hear some Dutch East India ships are arrived, so we shall probably soon know about Sir Francis Russell. 5 pp.

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1744, June 27, Wednesday. Beirleghem Camp.—You will be glad to hear that Mrs. Gee has recovered her plate and clothes, Count Saxe having delivered up the barge and everything on it, which in fact he could not detain, as it had a pass, for which the States of Flanders had paid considerably.

Foreign affairs seem to have taken a great turn since my last, for an express from Prince Charles to Duke D'Arenberg has

brought the news that he has passed the Rhine with his whole army, and scarce the loss of a man. This was done by a feint, pretending to pass with one part near Mayence, whilst he marched with the greatest part of his army near Spires and crossed there, thus preventing the French from retiring into their strong garrisons in Alsace. By intercepting their retreat, and by the superiority of his army, the Prince will have it in his power to destroy Monsieur Coigne's army before reinforcements can reach it, after which it is thought he will march into Lorraine, "and if he has a mind to it, may send his thousands of Pandours, Croats, &c. all over France, to devour and lay waste where e'er they come, greatly to the terror even of their capital . . . I cannot reflect on it without horror and shuddering at the very thoughts of what must happen to the poor miserable, innocent individuals who must fall a sacrifice to the ambition of their Grand Monarch and his devilish councils. The French in our neighbourhood, who, till now, have thought the world their own, have raised the siege of Fiurnnes upon having early intelligence of this; have detached twenty battalions and twenty-five squadrons to join with what other troops they can spare to oppose Prince Charles, and are now, instead of acting offensively, intrenching themselves, and throwing up strong lines towards Lisle . . . lest they should be attacked by us. We, it is thought, shall wait till we have our re-inforcement of the Dutch, and then, I suppose, shall endeavour to distress the common enemy here, whilst Prince Charles on his part, and at the same time her Hungarian Majesty's troops in Italy, shall each seem to push on their conquests with great success. . . . The good news that is come from Italy—where the Piedmontese with a few troops and some militia have entirely cut to pieces about ten battalions of Spaniards and two of French, with some squadrons of dragoons, at a narrow pass on the mountains near Oneglia, and rendered their attempt fruitless at that pass, which is certainly true, and by this means has firmly secured to us the King of Sardinia—all this I suppose you may have heard before."

Let Mrs. Frankland know that I have spoken to most of the officers of the regiment on Freddy's behalf, and particularly to Lord Crawford, who, having some obligations to the family, and being very goodnatured, has promised to countenance him much.

You need not be uneasy about the number of robbers at our elbows, as you call them, for although Marshal Saxe is at Courtray with thirty thousand men, we have, ever since we came here, had twelve squadrons of hussars between Ghent and Oudenarde, on the other side of the Scheld, who have kept Saxe's flying parties and all his hussars at a distance from us. "The French infantry are much terrified at us and are such poltroons that at the siege of Ispres they were forced to dismount their cavalry and oblige 'em to march close to the rear of their foot to keep 'em up, and fire upon 'em sometimes, lest they should run away."

Lord Albemarle asked us this morning to dine with him to-day, so I have missed church to write this, which I have not done

before. On week days we have often ten officers there at a time, and on Sundays seldom less than seventeen or eighteen, besides three or four always on duty. 7½ pp.

LIEUT.-COL. RUSSELL TO HIS WIFE.

1744, June 30, Saturday. Beirleghem.—We find that Prince Charles passed the Rhine in three places. We have had great rejoicings here, and on Thursday, a *feu de joie* through our whole army, beginning with the cannon at Ghent, on the right, and ending with the garrison of Oudenarde and the Dutch on the left. All the Queen of Hungary's garrisons in Flanders fired at the same time. We daily hope to hear of further successes, but I cannot help feeling for the poor Archduchess, who is still at Brussels, and great with child, and whose anxiety must be very great. We hear that the young French monarch has gone to Lisle, but cannot learn what he proposes to do.

Some of our letters from England still speak of the King's coming, while others say that Price's and Mordaunt's regiments and the Dutch in England are absolutely countermanded on the marching of fifteen thousand French to Dunkirque, which has given the alarm of an invasion. "All that I take to be likely to be swallowed down in England, in order to keep the King from coming abroad. . . . There are two postilions just now rode by express from Germany to Duke D'Arenberg, who say the French are entirely defeated by Prince Charles, who is now in pursuit of them and has possession of their lines."

Captain Rich has just got leave to purchase our old friend Colonel Knowles' commission as lieutenant-colonel to General Barril's regiment, and a very old one. I have got the Marshal to agree to Ensign Vernon buying Rich's and arranged it with him for a reasonable sum. I am the more pleased as he is a very agreeable man and old Lady Harcourt's nephew, about whom she sent to me last winter. 5 pp.

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

1744, July 4, Wednesday. Beirleghem.—I wrote both to the Duke and to General Foliot last post. The latter does not stand at all well in our books, as we think ourselves ill-used in many things, which we can attribute only to him. We still do not believe that the King will be allowed to leave England, but find that the Dutch have arrived at Ostend, and are now told that two or three battalions from Holland have already got as far as Antwerp.

Prince Charles has possession of the lines at Lauterbourg—in which town were seventeen hundred men, whom he obliged to capitulate—and the same lines extend three leagues to Weissenburgh, "where he had detached Count Nadasti to make them surrender there, but he had no sooner possession but the French had with their whole army made two such forced marches as twenty-four leagues in two days (which has redounded much to their honour) and obliged Nadasti to retreat, but who first had destroyed between three and four thousand of 'em, with the loss



only of about six hundred Pandours, and they suffered from their own obstinacy, who, notwithstanding [they] had repeated orders given 'em to retire, would not, but said they had never been used to retreat, nor would they receive quarter from the French, though often offered to 'em, so were all cut to pieces. You must know Prince Charles' army at this time were greatly inferior to the French, for that part which passed the Rhine at each side near to Mayence, under the command of Berenclau, could not possibly have joined Prince Charles, so that though he is in a safe place in the lines at Lauterbourg, yet before the rest of his army can join him, it is thought the enemy will be able to march before him into Alsatia, and intercept his getting into that country. . . . However it must be confessed that the passing the Rhine at this time was and will be always esteemed a very memorable exploit, and I dare say will be still attended with some great successes; for that Prince Charles will be able to penetrate into some part of the French dominions and do them some essential disservice is not the least doubted.

"We had another piece of good news that came to us yesterday, that the Zarina has obliged Monsieur Chelardie, the French minister at Petersburg, immediately to depart her kingdom, and that Lord Tirawley was in high favour, which they say will be of great advantage to us."

Three of the English regiments which came last will encamp with us next Friday. Lord Harry Beauclerk stays at Ostend. I hear nothing as yet of Freddy's arrival. I own that every post I expect to hear bad news from India; if it should prove otherwise, the joy will be the greater. Your news of Miss White and the Duchess of Cumberland has been in everybody's letters this week past. I hope it is all true. 7 pp.

LIEUT.-COL. RUSSELL TO HIS WIFE.

1744, July 7, Saturday. Beirleghem Camp.—I can send you nothing new since my last, but that the Dutch from England will be in Ghent to-morrow, and that some battalions from Holland are within five leagues of us, all which will sometime or other make up twenty thousand, yet "I find they say they will assist us only in case we are attacked, but if we should act offensively, then they will not join us, but be by-standers to see fair play. If this is what is called coming in, they might as well stay at home." It was said that the Dutch had formed a plan for a peace, but whether Prince Charles having crossed the Rhine will alter matters, or whether any progress is being made in it, I cannot tell. If we end by having a pacific campaign, it will be altogether owing to the Dutch, who will try by all possible means to avoid declaring war with France, and without which I don't see how it is possible we can proceed. "I expect to hear in your next a further account of the Duchess of Cumberland. We are informed she boasts much of her increase of size, and that she has a lawful father, not to be ashamed of. I can't help thinking it must turn out bad for her, and that she'll meet with no pity of

any sort." There is now a grand council of war sitting and it is supposed that we shall not remain here long, as the enemy have moved, and are said to be on the march for their own country. 7 pp.

LIEUT.-COL. RUSSELL TO HIS WIFE.

1744, July 11, Wednesday. Beirleghem Camp.—I do not find that there is the least word of our moving, but we hear that the enemy are certainly retired towards Lisle, have sent their baggage and heavy cannon into that garrison, and have made a considerable detachment towards Alsace to stop Prince Charles' progress, at whose approach they appear to be greatly alarmed. If this is true, the campaign in this part of Flanders will be over, but whether we shall march towards Maubeuge, and so, by acting offensively, carry the war into France (which some politicians think would be our best step) or whether there are any pacific schemes on the carpet, time will show. It is said that the Dutch minister is gone to France to demand a categorical answer. These last three days have been taken up by the Marshal's reviewing us. Our battalion joined eight English marching regiments, but as soon as the Marshal had seen us, he gave me orders to march home, he having been very well pleased with our appearance, and we as happy to be dismissed so soon. Ingoldsby marched as Colonel and your humble servant had to act as Major, riding a fine parade horse which was lent me, and so heading the grenadiers.

I now hear there is a report that we shall shortly march towards Tournay. I think it highly probable that the Dutch would join us in this, to prevent their best barrier town from being taken, if the French should form any scheme to attack it, and we may perhaps lie near Tournay as long as we have done here. This I think is very possibly a scheme concocted between the Dutch and French.

*Postscript.* I hear nothing yet of little Freddy Frankland, but dining last Sunday with General Honeywood, met Colonel Beake, who is Freddy's lieutenant-colonel, and who was exceedingly civil, promising that he would give him leave to stay as long as he pleased in garrison if he was not fit for duty, and that if he did come to camp he should always have a bed in his, the Colonel's, quarters. 5 pp.

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

1744, July 14, Saturday. Beirleghem.—We have had another council of war, but still no orders to move our ground. Since the review, everyone has been saying that our battalion is the finest in the world, and all the generals, as well as the Marshal, have been loud in its praise. "The latter said to a great man that is a foreigner what a pity it was such fine men should not be employed, and—speaking of the rest of the troops that had that day been seen—that he was sure nothing could withstand them, and that they must meet with success whenever they were

tried. Monsieur de Gesvres, who is Commissaire des Marines, came to us yesterday from Dunkirk, with three or four servants and a French trumpeter. His business, I find, is to settle a cartel for the prisoners taken at sea between the French and us. The Marshal told him he was sorry he did not come the day before, that he might [have] had an opportunity of seeing some of his troops pass in review. To-morrow he returns to Lisle or Dunkirk."

I am glad you liked the description of our camp. We have no damp, the soil being sandy, yet I often make use of tobacco, especially after rain. As to the bottle, I can assure you I have not seen one person drink to excess in our dining tent since we took the field this year. I wish you could have been a spectator of the theatrical performance at Woburn; it must have been very entertaining. I was not much surprised by your news of poor Sir Francis Russell. It is in vain to think of a Russell being ever in affluence, but I hope there is at any rate enough left for the poor boy to give him a tolerable education. "As for his being a page, unless it could be to the King, I fear it will be scarce worth while, unless to pay for his schooling." If any of them would be so humane and generous as to look on it in that light, and so dispense with most of his attendance, it might be of some service, and worth Fanny's applying for.

I hope her ladyship will stay out and collect what may be left for them. Perhaps she may make a second choice, but that I don't much think, as she does not want for understanding, and I trust she may make good use of it, for herself, her boy, and her niece.

Give dear little Molly a double portion of love and kisses, "and tell little Rantipole I'm glad to hear he grows such a man, and that he shall have a little horse when I come home if he continues to be so good and mind his Mama, and that his sister shall have fine caps and laces that I will bring for her."

*Postscript.* Ask Fanny to find out what the Duke says of a short letter I sent him (with the weekly returns) about the fine appearance our battalion made when reviewed. 5 pp.

#### LIEUT.-COL. RUSSELL to HIS WIFE.

1744, July 18, Wednesday. Beirleghem.—I am much obliged to my sister for what she has done for poor Billy, and if the Princess will admit him as a page, I think it will be worth accepting, and save so much towards his education. I am entirely of your mind in thinking that we must not spare expense in giving him the best that is possible. As for poor Miss Faz[akerley], if Lady Russell stays out, no doubt she will give you directions what to do, and if she comes over, may probably send her to her Uncle Gee. I think we shall soon move, but only to cross the river. It will be a sign that we are not afraid of the approach of the enemy, who are supposed to be weakened by the detachments sent towards the Rhine. The French King

has certainly gone from Flanders, some say to see his fortified towns on the borders of Lorraine, others, to his army in Alsace, but the latter is not much credited. We hear that Prince Charles has had reinforcements from Bavaria, which have made his army very powerful, but what mighty exploits will be done, God above only knows.

"I suppose it is matter of great speculation, now we have a good many of the Dutch troops come near us, why we lie so inactive, but believe all our orders and instructions come from home, and if we continue much longer idle we may then conclude we shall for the whole campaign." Pray tell Mrs. Fisher that her acquaintance, my ensign, is quite well, but I must say to you "there never was such a recruit sent over as he is . . . he being so odd an animal ; a very soft one, and at times appears to be a little touched, especially if he has the least liquor . . . I don't think he will stay long in the service, and as he'll have a pretty fortune of his own, 'twas pity he came in." I am glad to hear Johnny Greenhill has got into the Shell. I am sure he will take what care he can of poor little Billy whom I can't help pitying, though he is not of an age to know his loss. 7 pp.

#### LIEUT.-COL. RUSSELL to HIS WIFE.

1744, July 20, Friday. From our camp at Axellwalle.—This morning our whole army crossed the Scheld by seven different bridges. We passed it at Gavre and marched about six English miles to this place, where we are on the right of the infantry of the first line, being within half a league of Oudenarde, and our left extending about two miles beyond it. The second regiment covers the Marshal's quarters at Axellwalle, two miles away. "We now look upon it as but just beginning the campaign. . . . The country all about us is full of corn, and though we are as careful as is possible to destroy only that part of it wherever we lie encamped, yet it grieves one to see so much fine wheat and rye, so near being housed, made so much havoc of. . . . Two days' march more will bring us near Courtray, from whence, if the enemy don't think fit to retire, we may probably endeavour to oblige 'em to it." I was up at three this morning, and not off my horse till eleven, so I can now scarce keep my eyes open. 3 pp.

#### THE SAME to THE SAME.

1744, July 24, Tuesday. Elseghem.—"Yesterday we marched from Axelwalle to Warmar, where we now lie, being the right of the first line of the infantry of our army. The head quarters are at Elseghem, the place from whence I have dated this, and [which] is about three miles off, on our right, where the 3rd regiment encamps. The Dutch, who are on the left of our army, are at a place called Helchen ; thither we shall march to-morrow ; that is, the right of us will be there. You'll find by the map

that it is close upon the Scheld. As 'tis our turn, our battalion is ordered to the Marshal's quarters, but the name I don't yet know. As we shall be marching about three in the morning, which will be between two and three hours before the army moves, we shall be on their left with our baggage uninterrupted before they decamp." Jack Robinson has just come in, in his usual spirits. Mrs. Gally has persuaded him to write to Lady G. Howard, who has lost her son, and Jack, being already in her will and one of her nearest relatives, has great expectations from her.

Saturday morning. We are not to march to-day, but pioneers are gone to clear the roads. The enemy is encamped upon each side of Courtray, and if they continue there, we can scarce attack them, but whether we shall go into their country to draw them away, we do not know. We have now, with the Dutch, a glorious army of seventy thousand men, so I hope we shall make good use of them.  $3\frac{1}{2}$  pp.

LIEUT.-COL. RUSSELL TO HIS WIFE.

1744, July 27, Friday. From the Head Quarters at Le Bie, upon the borders of French Flanders.—We got here yesterday morning by eight o'clock, the head quarters being a delightful chateau, where we thought we should be quiet and snug, but all of a sudden an order has come to march immediately. The Marshal had invited our mess to dinner, and advised us to eat, as we did not know when we should do so again, so whilst we were at dinner I have had all packed up, and we march at five this afternoon towards Tournay.  $1\frac{1}{2}$  pp.

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

1744, July 30, Monday. From our camp, within a mile of the head quarters at the Chateau d'Anstain.—I wrote last on Friday from Le Bie, half an hour before we marched. I was all that night on horseback, and did not arrive at our ground, within a mile of Tournay, till three o'clock next day in the afternoon. After two hours' rest we marched again all that night upon the pavement leading from Tournay to Lisle, our music playing most part of the way. I was at the head of the first column of British infantry, with one general officer commanding. At three o'clock yesterday morning we came to our ground near the river Marque, about two leagues from Tournay, and rested there until six o'clock this morning, when we crossed the river and now lie with the whole of our army within a league and a half of Lisle; the right of our army being a little beyond Pont Tressin, and we—at the right of the first line of infantry—within a mile of the head-quarters at Chateau D'Anstain. Count de Saxe, I am told, is still at Courtray, but made no attempt to disturb us on our march. The garrison of Lisle is reported to be very weak, and when our heavy cannon come, we may perhaps take it, unless the enemy throw in more troops, which we cannot prevent. Meanwhile we shall raise contributions in their country, and so distress them not a little. 3 pp.

## LIEUT.-COL. RUSSELL TO HIS WIFE.

1744, August 3, Friday. Camp near the Chateau d' Anstain.—I am in good health and spirits, in spite of the fact that "there is no one encouragement given to any of us to wish to continue in the service, but in general everything done to make one grow sick of it. There is an order lately come out for us to pay for our summer's forage, to the 30th of June last, of which there never was an instance before known, not during all the last war, and in short, what cant possibly be complied with without starving the major part of our army. This I dont say in respect of myself, because, as commandant of the battalion, I shall have little or nothing to pay, but all my brother captains will, as well as almost every officer." There seems no chance of our laying siege to Lisle, as the Dutch have not yet declared war, though they have joined us as allies to the Queen of Hungary; and they will not agree to the expense of carrying on a siege. "When the Duke of Marlborough took it, the expense was two millions of money, of which the Dutch bore the greatest share, besides the cost of twenty thousand lives." Count Saxe, 'tis thought, has sent four or five thousand men into it, and still remains himself at Courtray, from whence he may gather in contributions, as we do here. If we go in quest of him, he will only retire to his fortified towns, where we cannot reach him.

Some of our young gentlemen were riding quite near to Lisle last Tuesday when a small party of French fired upon them, killing one and wounding Captain Ross, of the 3rd regiment of Guards, who was taken prisoner, but is, we hear, being well treated and will be permitted to return when his wound is healed. "He is a mighty pretty Scotchman, with a tolerably good estate, and in Parliament, and being always much esteemed, therefore wont suffer so greatly, otherways . . . their conduct would be more censured, and looked upon as a great piece of folly." Lord Charles Manners had a lucky escape, being with them, but about twenty yards behind.

My sister tells me of a conversation she had with the two Princesses about the government of Yarmouth, but does not give any hopes of success. She also says that her friend desires that I would send you more news, so you might let her know that there were some things you had not thought proper to inform her of, one being the order for our army to pay for their forage, "which the Marshal and every general officer think is the most cruel treatment that ever was . . . but more particularly the greatest hardship to the brigade of Guards, who are looked upon at home, we suppose, by some mistake of a Leheup, some scrub Scroop, or some other Treasury clerk, and are accounted only as so many battalions of foot, without recollecting the different ranks we bear in the army." We are drawing up a memorial to the General, and I shall send a copy to the Duke, but we do not expect to get any redress. Here we get forage in plenty from the enemy; we shall not pay for *that*, I hope.

Count de Saxe has re-inforced this fine garrison and those lately taken from the Dutch, leaving himself only about fifteen thousand men as a flying camp, which can noway hurt us.

*Postscript.* Freddy Frankland came to our camp at Elsegem, but General Onslow, whom I had luckily told what Col. Beake said before, sent him away to Ghent, where he will stay till we return to winter quarters.  $7\frac{1}{2}$  pp.

LIEUT.-COL. RUSSELL TO HIS WIFE.

1744, August 6, Monday. D'Anstain Camp.—We have now an army superior to any the enemy can bring into the field, therefore they will keep out of our way, only taking great care to supply their garrisons well. We still have no heavy cannon, and can do nothing without it. I scarce believe we shall see it this campaign, or only so late that no use can be made of it. We every day send detachments almost to within cannon-shot of Lisle to cover our foragers, who will soon pretty well clear the ground, after which we may go a little further into their country. Meanwhile our three chief commanders of the English, Dutch, and Austrians are raising a tolerable sum by way of contributions. The part we are in, the Chastellenie de Lisle, is reputed the finest and richest of all French Flanders. On Saturday last we were drawn up in line of battle and reviewed by our Marshal and Duke D'Arenberg, and I believe a finer army never was seen, there being about seventy thousand effective men.

The sale of Sowl's regiment to Col. Ligoniere was all agreed upon here, but his Majesty would not consent to it, which put a stop to one or two others that were talked of. Your account of Lord John Sackville surprises every one here, we having a much more honourable way of thinking in this part of the world.

What would I have given to hear Jack's remark of Ingoldsby's nose! I shall be miserable if I do not see him this winter. You might hint to Fanny to keep well with Mrs. Hambleton, and get her to write to our Marshal, as by order of the Princess Am[elia], which I think could not fail.

Pray tell Mrs. Fisher that her friend Mr. Elliot was taken about a month since with as downright a fit of madness as anybody in Bedlam. As soon as he improved a little we sent him to Ghent, where he is still under the physician's hands. His complaint is a nervous fever, and as he will never be fit for our profession, Mrs. Fisher had better tell his mother and get him sent home. I'm glad Fred is so pleased with Mounteney. He sent me his thanks for recommending her in a letter to Ensign Wright the other day, and said he had so cold a reception at Thirkleby that he did not trouble them long with his company. I am sorry for the death of Mr. Bellanger; but by time and prudence, and the help of Scarborough waters, I hope *she* will recover her health.  $8\frac{1}{2}$  pp.

*Underwritten.—Note of the strength of the army.*

<i>British battalions</i>	-	22
<i>Hanover „</i>	-	13
<i>Austrians</i>	-	8
<i>Dutch</i>	-	28
		<hr/>
		71, <i>besides two at Ostend.</i>
<hr/>		
<i>British squadrons</i>	-	29
<i>Hanover „</i>	-	33
<i>Austrians</i>	-	10
<i>Dutch</i>	-	42
		<hr/>

114, *besides 2,000 Hussars, &c.*

Battalions at 700 each and squadrons at 130 each will near complete 70,000.

LIEUT.-COL. RUSSELL TO HIS WIFE.

1744, August 10, Friday. D'Anstain Camp.—Our bawmen still go on foraging, daily by stealth and every three or four days publicly by order, therefore our horses fare very well, but I cannot help thinking what a miserable thing it is to live in a country that is subject to become the seat of war. It is sad to see the fine groves and avenues daily made a sacrifice to our common use, and yet we do nothing but what necessity requires. At our first coming, the Dutch and Hanoverians, who marched first into the enemy's country, marauded in a shocking manner, contrary to all orders, and set so bad an example to the English that they also made havoc enough, but severe orders for the provost to hang up all offenders, and to the pickets to prevent such outrageous doings, soon put a stop to them; and now we have what the country affords brought to us, but the best of our provisions come from Tournay. Captain Ross returns to-morrow from Lisle, in exchange for a captain lately taken by our hussars.

We hear that everyone in England is dissatisfied with our inactivity, but there is nothing we can do without cannon, and of that, all sides seem to avoid the expense; and as to marching into and ravaging great part of France, which we certainly could have done with such an army as ours, the Dutch absolutely refused to join in it. In short, "an allied army like ours, with so many different commanders, each pulling their several ways, and influenced by their separate interest, can never undertake what an army should do that has but one head, are under one interest, and understand all the same language."

We heard very lately that the French King was dying at Metz, and had received extreme unction, but as no further news has come, we suppose he is recovering.

Tell Mrs. Fisher that I have got the Marshal's leave for Elliot to go home, and that he is very desirous to do so. Two new ensigns have come to-day from England, and I have already fixed



one to my company. Our mess dined to-day with General Sinclair. George Stanhope, who has a command at Ostend, is staying in camp with us for a few days. 7 pp.

LIEUT.-COL. RUSSELL TO HIS WIFE.

1744, August 14, Tuesday. D'Anstain Camp, before Lisle.—To-morrow will, I believe, be our last forage here, and in three or four days we move two leagues to our left, toward Orchies, and after that, with our right to St. Amand, and our left towards Douay. There are reports that the King of France is dead, the foreign newspapers from Cologne and Mayence stating that he died at Metz on the 14th instant, new style. If it be so, "there will be but one life depending between that crown and the Duke of Orleans, which may create some jealousy between that kingdom and the pretensions of the crown of Spain, but as they say the Dauphin is of age, it may at present make no great alteration of affairs. . . . We have but bad reports relating to a march of the King of Prussia's, with many thousands, into Bohemia. 'Tis said likewise that the Czarina has threatened him to march as many into his country if he should offer to stir a man."

Here I was interrupted by Cornet Frankland coming from Tournay to pay me a visit, with his fellow traveller, Mr. Stafford, the chaplain to the Blues. The boy looks well, and will, I believe, be allowed to stay at Tournay until we go into winter quarters. I am glad Mrs. Mounteney pleases so well. I find Fred Frankland writes to Mrs. Frankland much in her favour. I don't like Die Frankland's match being put off. 4 pp.

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

1744, August 18, Saturday. Lannoy.—This place is about five miles from our camp at D'Anstain. A party of men called the *Franche Compagnie*, belonging to the Queen of Hungary, in number about three hundred, were ordered to take possession of it, and upon their approach, the French, who were about two hundred, immediately retired; so when Duke D'Aremberg had settled the contributions here, he and the *Franche Compagnie* left, and a detachment of five hundred English and Hanoverians was ordered here instead, under a colonel, lieutenant-colonel and major, to be relieved every forty-eight hours. It came to my turn on Thursday, with Lord Sample [Sempill] as colonel, a Hanoverian major and fifteen other officers. It is the custom for the commanding officer to entertain, and he happens to be a Gibraltar acquaintance, a worthy, honest, good-natured man as can be, so we live very sociably together. The eldest Hanoverian captain, a Captain Sancé, is the only officer of that nation who speaks French. He and I marched together in the rear, and I found that he was a near relation of Le Forest and Major General Lounay. We find this little town more secure than we expected, with a broad ditch or fosse full of water and a brick

wall surrounding it, so that it could not easily be taken without battering cannon, and not then before our camp could have timely notice to assist us. The dinner for the officers is provided and dressed at a convent here and so brought to the quarters of the commanding officer, who pays for it, but not upon very unreasonable terms. A jolly party of about twelve sit down to dinner, and we pass our time in playing whist and piquet, as it rains incessantly.

We find that we are not to be relieved until Sunday, and feared that would mean that we should be in the rear of the army the whole time, but have since heard that the army is not to march until after Sunday. I dare not send this back to camp, as there are frequently small parties of the enemy lying in wait to catch stragglers, marauders or those who venture with too few people to get forage. We have lost many men and horses in this manner. It is quite new to me to be in an enemy's country, and very shocking to see the poor people so distressed. Here they have reason to pray for us, as we protect them and pay for everything but what our horses eat. There are five or six great brewers in this town, who supply the army with large quantities of beer, and are able to pay good contributions, as do the towns of Roubaix and Tourcoin.

Monday morning. From our old Camp at D'Anstain.—We were relieved yesterday morning, but were sent to form part of the three thousand men to cover the foragers, it being a great foraging day. I was with two hundred men at a village called Toufflers, near Lannoy, and after placing some little detachments to guard the avenues and out-parts of the village, in case of the approach of an enemy, posted the rest of my men in the church yard. I was able to protect the poor parson and three poor farmers from the Hanoverian foragers, who, rather than be at the trouble to cut the forage in the adjacent fields, would have pillaged and plundered the houses and taken their thrashed corn out of the granaries. The poor grateful people brought me eggs and the parson offered me the use of his house and gathered me fresh fruit out of his garden, while I took care of my men with good beer, bread and butter out of the village, all of which was paid for. 9½ pp.

#### LIEUT.-COL. RUSSELL TO HIS WIFE.

1744, August 21, Tuesday. D'Anstain Camp, near Lisle.—Prince Charles has been obliged to repass the Rhine, in consequence of the King of Prussia's marching so many troops into Bohemia. The re-crossing of so broad a river with so little loss, when an enemy was so near at hand, is looked upon as a fine piece of generalship, but what the consequence will be to Europe I must leave more able politicians to decide. A strong detachment has been made from the French army on the Rhine towards these parts, which I do not believe will have power to give us any disquiet, but which may prevent our advancing much

further into French Flanders, or laying siege to any of their towns, if there was any such idea. This latter, however, would have been too expensive for us to have undertaken alone.

We shall be obliged now to forage out of the barns and granaries of all the villages here, which to me has a shocking appearance, although necessary. When that is done, which cant last long, we must either advance, or retire to secure Brabant, and very possibly, if Prussia has no other view than to settle the peace of the Empire, some accommodation may be brought about this winter.

I would have you make a point of sending the Princess any news you can, and write to Fanny that you entirely rely on her Royal Highness's interest with General Wade to get leave for me, on account of the extraordinary business which Sir Francis Russell's death will occasion. It should be done before we get to winter quarters, as the Marshal's health is not good, and I take it for granted that he will then leave us.

You need be under no apprehensions for me while my health continues so good; "as for skirmishes, our hussars and some of the enemy's have a few, and some of our careless foragers are likewise nabbed, but that is all. . . Lady Frankland has bedevil'd Sir Thomas, and he is an old superannuated f . . l; as for Miss, her part is not to be wondered at, to get so good a husband. Young Freddy is now encamped. Le H[eu]p's infamous economy as to the rations for all our troops here, excepting the general officers, is a saving only of 4,600*l.* sterling to the Government for our last winter's forage. It related only to twenty-one battalions of English in garrison." 5½ pp.

LIEUT.-COL. RUSSELL TO HIS WIFE.

1744, August 24, Friday. D'Anstain Camp.—The result of a grand forage yesterday is such that every officer seems to have a little farm of his own, and my share, from this one day only, resembles much what I used to get from my tithes. "The distress I must own to be great, but they must thank their grand monarch for the cause of it . . . The people in England, I hear, are greatly dissatisfied with our inactivity, and for which they probably may have great reason, but without cannon we can do nothing of consequence, and why we have not that—that is, why the Dutch and we cant agree in being at the expense of it,—I must leave to more able politicians. But such an army as we have, though let it be never in so glorious a condition in respect to the goodness of the troops, yet if half of 'em are in such a situation as by not having declared war against the common enemy, make any obstacles, and are not as hearty in the expense, as well as everything else, nothing can essentially succeed, and therefore no grand point can be put in execution."

The Marshal is better, but not able to dine with company. His table at best is a bad one, and scarce any of the general officers dine there unless they cant avoid it. Yesterday, I was obliged to go by invitation of the aides-de-camp, but it was doing

penance. To-day I met General Ligoniere at Lord Albemarle's, where we were entertained *en prince*; finer fruit of all sorts I never tasted. Champagne, burgundy and claret abound at our own table, but a beef steak and a bottle of port in England would be better than any of them. "If Princess A[melia] does not procure leave for me without speaking a word to the Duke about it, I shall never forgive her, but you may send her word I will never write a syllable more of news for you to transcribe to her whilst I remain in Flanders. Lord Albemarle joked with me much about the impossibility of my going over this year, as I was there last winter, and appealed to General Ligoniere; but if their interest would do it, I should have great hopes." 5 pp.

FANNY RUSSELL to [LIEUT.-]COL. CHARLES RUSSELL.

1744, August 27.—My friend bids me tell you not to say a word about coming home until you are in winter quarters, and then to ask leave from the Marshal, and if he refuses you, they [*i.e.* she, the Princess] will see what they can do, but I am to beg you not to mention their name to the Marshal, or "he will write it to you know who here, and that will spoil all, for you know he used them very ill upon your account last winter." Sir Thomas Frankland has had a kind of apoplectic fit, but is well again. I am glad Fred likes Mrs. Mounteney so much, but I did not doubt it, when he once knew her. Lady Caroline Fytchroy is pretty well again, she put out her neck in her sleep, which is the second time she has done so.

"The Duke is very little here, but on Thursdays and Sundays. His great passion at present is for shooting, so [he] is a good deal at his farm house in the forest. . . . Lady A's passion for the — and his for her, I fancy is now quite at an end. It has really made talk enough, and I hope, for her own sake, she will never let it come on again. . . . As to news, I never knew less, and hear of no weddings but Lord Middlesex and Miss Boyl. They are to live in the house with Lady Shannon, in town. Lord and Lady Vane keep mighty well still, but 'tis not supposed she will stay long with him. Mr. and Mrs. Hervey has been at Tunbridge for a fortnight. I met the Genoese envoy t'other day at Mrs. Kains, and he told me he heard the reason that Lady Litchfeild was so much against her son's marrying Miss F[rankland] was because she was grand-daughter to Oliver Cromwell. Every body now agrees that 'tis certainly to be."

Little Bishop tells me that the gentleman who has care of Lord Vane wants a house in the country, and says he will mention Missenden to him.

*Postscript.* "Everybody is very sorry that poor Prince Charles was obliged to cross the Rhine, but he made the finest retreat that ever was known. What a devil the King of Prussia is; 'tis he that has made poor Prince Charles do all this, to save his army. 3 pp.

## LIEUT.-COL. RUSSELL TO HIS WIFE.

1744, August 28, Tuesday. D'Anstain Camp.—I am afraid I must have tired you with all my accounts of foraging and raising contributions. "As to the former, it is now become nothing but misery and distress. Whilst the forage was upon the ground, I cant say it had half so bad an appearance to make free with what our horses wanted; but after the poor people had been at the pains and trouble to house their grain for their own and their cattle's winter sustenance, to force it out of all their houses, barns and granaries, amidst all their cries and lamentations, is shocking. . . As to the manner of raising our contributions, *that* is a sweet or *douceur* that belongs to our commanders in chief," who summon the chief magistrates and burgomasters of the towns and villages to pay certain sums, that their districts may be preserved, many safe-guards being granted in this way. More distant places are threatened with hostilities upon their fine villas, plantations and farms. Duke D'Arenberg lays claim to the greater part, to recompense the Queen of Hungary for her losses in Flemish Flanders, but most people believe that he will place it all to his own account. It is said that Count Saxe has made our people at Ghent very uneasy by coming a little too near them with some detachments, which has probably been done to draw us from this part of the world. Lest he should grow too saucy, about ten thousand of this army are to march towards Ghent to-morrow morning, and the Guards and the rest of the army will soon follow, so that the Count will be glad to retire to his trenches near Courtray, and perhaps will be inclined to move towards these parts for his winter quarters. If he does not choose it, we may think it necessary to oblige him to it.

Captain Parslow and the other paymasters returned from Antwerp this afternoon. He has brought me the six yards of edging for you as I asked, but it was only 7s. a yard and I do not think it good enough, so shall get you some more. Berkeley and Boscawen are both recovered. 5 pp.

## THE SAME TO THE SAME.

1744, August 31, Friday. D'Anstain Camp.—We expected to march yesterday morning, but our great men varied in council, the Austrian and Dutch generals rejecting what ours proposed. Count Saxe has certainly detached ten thousand men, who crossed the canal between Bruges and Ghent with a design to forage and raise contributions towards Antwerp, but having now received intelligence of our having sent a large detachment after him, he may probably retire before our troops can intercept him. We can still get forage here, though it has been sometimes attended with ill consequences, some of our cavalry having stayed beyond their time and straggled a little too far, by which means both men and horses have been taken. The foot likewise have lost too many of their men, by going out to gather roots and herbs without leave; for the French—to whom the peasants

give intelligence—have parties lurking in woods and ditches, ready to catch these men and carry them off prisoners to Lisle. The men are all sent back to us, but that is attended with expense to Government. If we stay here, we shall suffer more in this way, as well as from the desertion of numbers of Irishmen.

Count Nassau, the Dutch general, was taken so ill yesterday that he has been given up by the physicians. Our army in general has hitherto been extremely healthy, and now we shall not be long before we get into winter quarters. We hear that they have a very good harlequin at Lisle and cut many jokes upon our Marshal, "representing him in his formal dress, and very severe upon him for his having left his heavy cannon behind." Freddy Frankland has, of his own accord, come into camp, and has been upon foraging duties, so that he has seen a little of his profession. Provided he does not catch cold, it may rather strengthen him than otherwise. We have a great deal of game here, especially partridges and hares. The former we buy for 6*d.* a piece, and the latter give fine sport with our greyhounds, which would delight Fuller greatly, only he would be sorry to have Beaconsfield so situated as to be at the mercy of so many rapparees. "I think I may venture to tell you that our Marshal had a few days ago a letter from Lord C[artere]t, to march further into France, and lay siege to three or four towns, or else to march directly towards Paris. These Don Quixote schemes vexed him much, which he laid before his brother Marshals, which could not be complied with; but he then proposed another, which, 'tis said, they also absolutely rejected." 5 *pp.*

#### LIEUT.-COL. RUSSELL TO HIS WIFE.

1744, September 4, Tuesday. Camp D'Anstain.—I have written a formal letter to Fanny, in which I have had the assurance to desire two lines in her friend's own hand, promising, on my honour, not to use them unless my own application for leave is refused. The end of this month will undoubtedly drive us into winter quarters. We stay for nothing but to forage in the enemy's country, and I know our Marshal is inclined to turn homewards, "but the Austrian general will not consent to it as long as contributions can be possibly had to line his pockets with." Count Nassau, the Dutch general, is recovering. The French who had crossed the canal returned to their main body upon our sending a detachment towards those parts. I think I never read a finer worded memorial than that of Mr. Trevor to the States-General, but I fear it has no great effect. I have got a very agreeable man named Nash, whom I knew a little in England, as my ensign, in place of Elliot. 7 *pp.*

#### THE SAME TO THE SAME.

1744, September 7, Friday. D'Anstain Camp.—You need not be uneasy about our cannon coming to us. It is too late now, if it *had* been with us, to do anything, but, as the case is, it is

ordered to remain at Antwerp, "and I believe we now stay here only because Duke D'Arenberg chooses we shall be as little a time as possible in the Queen of Hungary's country, in our way into our winter quarters. 4 pp.

LIEUT.-COL. RUSSELL to HIS WIFE.

1744, September 12, Wednesday. D'Anstain Camp.—I have just come back from Lannoy, where I have been on foraging duty. I did not tell you of it beforehand, as I thought you might see in the newspapers that last Thursday our party was attacked in their march to Lannoy by a party of the enemy, who fired upon them through a thick hedge, killing six or seven of our men and one captain, and wounding another officer. Colonel Waldegrave was with them, but not hurt. My party had a few alarms on our march back, but we marched on foot, kept on our guard, and were not molested. 3 pp.

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1744, September 14 and 15. D'Anstain Camp.—It is said that on Monday next we shall certainly decamp and go towards Ghent, perhaps to Berleghem, where we were before. You must not depend too much on my getting leave, for I fear "every colonel in our regiment will have leave to go before me." Gumley and Hemington seem to be thinking of it, but I doubt the latter's going unless he means to stay, he being so old that the Duke would be sure to send another over in his room. The account from India is dreadful. I expected that affairs there would be bad, but thought his regard for his son would have made him manage some reserve for him which creditors could not touch. As for anything her ladyship can do for him or Miss Fazakerley, I look on it as nothing. Perhaps her Uncle Fazakerley will advance something, and I quite agree to your suggestion of going earlier to town, in order to help the poor girl, but I am sure whatever we advance will be lost, and as to decking her out in clothes at our expense, which Lady Russell hints at, it really is not in our power to do it. I am very sorry for poor Billy Frankland, and must not think of my poor three or four hundred pounds; though he should not have let me lose it after all I have done for him.

The poor boy must be our great care, and he shall never want if I can help it. Perhaps his mother—either by marrying some old rich fellow, or in some other way—may be able to scrape up something for him; and if not, though there is some risk about it, I think his being made a page—with great care and a watchful eye over him—might be an advantage. 7 pp.

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1744, September 18 and 19. Camp near Tournay.—We marched this morning at break of day, crossing the Marque in a great many columns over many bridges, in good order, the

grenadiers being ordered to form a rear-guard, to prevent any insults from the enemy, and cannon being planted at all the bridges to give them a good reception if they followed us; but they seemed to have no such design. We demolished our bridges after crossing and came on here, a slow, tedious march. To-morrow, bridges will be laid over the Scheld, which we shall probably pass on Thursday. I suppose if Count Saxe could interrupt us—without venturing too far or endangering his return to his hole and intrenchments—he would do it, but all the French are good for is to lie in wait, fire upon us and then run away; they dare not come up and show themselves in any open place with equal numbers. When we are on the other side of the Scheld, we shall march through the woods and defiles without any difficulty.

I hear from Fanny that I must do all I can by myself before her mistress will interfere. I think it highly proper to accept of Sir Billy's being a page, and am writing to thank her Royal Highness.

Wednesday morning.—The name of this place is Froienne. The French have their little parties out on the right of us in woods and holes, ready to snap up any of our men that should by chance straggle that way. 5 pp.

#### LIEUT.-COL. RUSSELL TO HIS WIFE.

1744, September 21 and 22. Avelgem Camp.—Just after I had finished yours last Wednesday morning, I heard that Count de Saxe was come within five miles of us with thirty-thousand men and several pieces of cannon, to fall on our rear in case we crossed the Scheld, or to defend a pass called Pont de Espierre, if we marched without crossing it. Upon this a grand council of war was called, our heavy baggage was sent over the river, and this morning we marched to attack the enemy, the English and Hanoverian infantry being in two columns on the right, next the river, the Dutch and Austrians in two more on the left, the grenadiers at the head of each column, and all the cavalry in the rear. "No sooner had the infantry begun their march but they set up such huzzas and shewed so great a spirit of joy and assurance of beating the enemy [as] gave great pleasure to the commanders and all that heard them," observing at the same time the greatest order and regularity in their march. When we had gone about three miles we heard that the enemy had all fled, and in so much hurry that they left a great deal of forage on the ground, which we found very useful.

We continued our march along the Scheld to Avelgem, which is the Marshal's quarters, it being our turn to be on duty. To-morrow we rest here, and on Sunday march again.

Saturday morning.—Two bridges have been laid across the river that we may be able to send over to our baggage. Yesterday, just after we had dined the Marshal was made very uneasy by hearing that his secretary, chariot and all his



papers—coming round by Oudenarde with no great guard—were in danger of being taken by five squadrons of horse, which were seen marching towards them, upon which I was ordered to march our whole battalion to their assistance, but when we had got about a mile, the enemy, if any, had all gone, and the chariot returned safely. 4 pp.

LIEUT.-COL. RUSSELL TO HIS WIFE.

1744, September 25 and 26. From our Camp at Huys, near the Leys.—Last Sunday we marched to Petegom, halted there one day and this morning came to within a league of Deynse, and not above four miles from Gavre. We expect to go to Deynse on Thursday, and there cover the Marshal's quarters. The French had possession of it, but it being no ways tenable, they have retired from it and other places thereabouts into Courtray, which they have fortified and intrenched very strongly. I believe we shall make no attempt upon it, as it would be of little service to us unless we had Menin and Ipres, which the Dutch so shamefully gave up at the beginning of the campaign.

Wednesday morning.—I am just going to ride over to see Freddy Frankland, who has been with us now for six weeks, has done a great deal of duty, and seen more of what belongs to the horse service than he might do again in many years, which will be a great advantage to the boy. Onslow has been very good to him, and has taken care to get him settled at Brussels, where he will be quartered, and where I have desired that he may pass most of his time at the Academy. They say the Guards will certainly go to Ghent, and as Hemington's two sons will be on garrison duty there, I hope he will not wish to go to England. I think we must be glad for Billy Russell to be the Princess's page; if he may be excused attendance, except on Sunday, it will be no hindrance to his school. I suppose you and poor Miss Fazakerley are preparing for London, and little Molly too, who may go every day in the Park, so that I hope town will not hurt her. Love and blessings to her and Rantipole Jack. 5 pp.

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

1744, September 28 and 29. From the Camp of Chateau D'Huyse.—In my last I told you we had orders to go to the Marshal's quarters at Deynse, but they were countermanded, and I believe we shall stay here till we cross the Scheld (three or four days hence) and march to our old camp near Gavre. We have only detached four regiments with eight pieces of cannon to Deynse, which is enough to secure it from the enemy whilst we are so near, and indeed they show no inclination to come out of Courtray.

I wish you could sell Missenden, but would rather you let it than that it should stand empty.

As for Miss Fazakerley, I will certainly be at the expense of her earning all she can, and risk the re-payment, but unless

her uncle or Mr. Speke advance money towards fitting her out in an expensive manner with fine clothes, I shall not do that upon her ladyship's account, for if anything happened to the latter, Sir Francis' creditors "would fish out everything she may have hoarded up for herself or the children." I shall assuredly try to get myself repaid as much as I can for the money I had abroad if her ladyship has wherewithal to answer it; for I can at least but give it again to the poor boy, if he should want it, as is I fear only too likely.

My reason for wishing to get the Princess's interest early is that Colonels Hemington and Gumley both propose to ask leave, neither of them having yet had it, that Lord Ancram and Lord Robert Manners, having both superior interest, will certainly not be denied, and that the rest are in Parliament; however, if as Fanny says the Princess calls it being teased, there is an end of our hopes from her. 4 pp.

LIEUT.-COL. RUSSELL TO HIS WIFE.

[1744, October 2.] Chateau de Huyse Camp. Little Jack's birthday.—"I don't begin this for the sake of the dear little boy being three years old this day, of which I give him joy and send him as many kisses," but because I hope to finish it to-morrow at Petegem. Thence we march to Drongen, within two miles of Ghent, where we shall halt for the troops to divide, and then go to our winter quarters. Only the horse will be at Brussels, all the dragoons and half our foot at Ghent, and the rest at Bruges, except two regiments at Ostend; the Hanoverians in Brabant, and the Dutch, who marched to-day towards their quarters, at Tournay, Mons, Aeth and Charleroy. The French are already gone for their quarters, after demolishing their works at Courtray, so that it will be neither worth their while or ours to garrison it. I find we had determined to attack it, but were prevented by our allies, nor would it have been of any great consequence, "only the playing [*sic*] of some of the best of our troops to have pleased some people at home, who only are satisfied when they have blood for their money." I have written to my sister that this morning I waited upon General Ligoniere, who told me the Marshal would give no leaves until he heard from England how many officers from each regiment might be absent (which means that only those who have the best interest will be allowed to go); that none but Lord Ancram has yet got leave, that Gumley does not propose going, that Lord Robert Manners is doubtful of success, and that Hemington hopes to go; but if I can get a letter from a friend to the Marshal, who stays a month in Ghent before going for England, I shall be sure of success; so that upon her mistress's goodness alone depends my happiness or misery.

Wednesday, 3 in the afternoon.—We marched about two hours ago to Deynse; my men have pitched all their tents, and I have got into a very good house, within thirty yards of my battalion. To-morrow we march to Drongen and then for Ghent.

Say all you can to the Princess. 3½ pp.

LIEUT.-COL. CHARLES RUSSELL to the DUKE OF CUMBERLAND.

1745, March 27. [Ghent.]—Agreeably to his Royal Highness's orders, informs him that the drafts of the first battalion of Guards have marched into this town; that the clothing has all arrived except the grenadiers' and drummers' caps; that the brass plates belonging to the caps, having been frequently mended and often soldered, are now quite unfit for use; that the drums have been thoroughly examined at Brigadier Ingoldsby's and are found to be also unfit for service; and that, as new ones can be had on the spot more cheaply than in England, and he fears there is not time to wait for his Royal Highness's orders, he is venturing to order them.

Requests the Duke to send them two pairs of new colours, those they have being worn out, and further informs him that orders have been received to provide match boxes for the two companies of grenadiers, as all the grenadiers in the army are to be supplied with them.  $1\frac{1}{2}$  pp. *Draft, written by Col. Russell on the cover of a letter addressed to himself.*

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

1745, March 30. Ghent.—Stating that although he had taken the liberty in his previous letter to say that he should venture to order new drums to be made, he is fearful of incurring his Royal Highness's displeasure, and will therefore await his commands. 1 p. *Draft.*

FREDERICK FRANKLAND<sup>a</sup> to his cousin, [LIEUT.-]COL. RUSSELL.

1745, June 6. Ditchley.—You would hear of me and my little fellow traveller from Checquers, where I spent three most agreeable days. I dined one day at Sir Thomas Lee's with your late colonel and Mr. Ingoldsby; the case of the latter is looked upon as a very hard one. I confess that at present it is a mystery to me.

Your brother Revett escorted us through Tame, whence we proceeded to dine with Mr. Schutz at Shotover, and thence through Oxford and Blenheim to this most delightful place, the possessors of which are happy in one another and cheerful to all around them. The rain has hitherto prevented a party to Stowe. After a visit to Barrington, we shall cross the country to Yorkshire, whither all my family except Nanny and I (and Mrs. Mountney, who is on a visit at Burleigh) are already gone to get my house in order. "I am in my chaise and a pair of horses, . . . intending to train up my girl to follow a camp and shift for herself. Thus you see how we are idling away our time in pleasure whilst you are toiling and running hazards for us."

Nanny sends her love to the Colonel.  $2\frac{1}{2}$  pp.

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<sup>a</sup>A son of the first Sir Thomas Frankland.

J[OHN] REVETT to his brother[-in-law, LIEUT.-COL.  
CHARLES RUSSELL].

1745, June 23. Checkers—"I ought long ago to have congratulated you on your late happy escape from the damnable fire of the French, and your having gained so much honour by your conduct and bravery on that occasion;\* . . . and doubt not but you will soon have some reward for your service, if there is any feeling or gratitude left to serve a man who has acted well, though not in Parliament. Poor Berkeley! I am heartily glad to hear poor Hildesly has got what he has long wished; hope he is entirely recovered of his wounds."

I write to-day to beg a favour of you, which is that you would speak to Middleton the surgeon in favour of one Dorman, who went out with him as an assistant surgeon, but not having a proper recommendation, has not been employed. An alderman of Sandwich (uncle to the young fellow) has written to me asking for a word from you in his behalf; he is said to be knowing in his business. "The babies are both in high health and if Jack goes on as he begins, he will be as lusty as the strong man of Islington. Molly and he are as busy as can be, being in the middle of haymaking." 2 pp.

LIEUT.-COLONEL CHARLES RUSSELL to THE KING.

1745. October.—Memorial, shewing that he has been in service for twenty-eight years, was at the last siege of Gibraltar, has been with the troops in Germany and Flanders ever since the commencement of the present war and has been commandant of the First battalion of Guards during the last two campaigns, "by which he had the honour to command the same at the late battle of Fontenoy." Having been for some time the eldest lieut.-colonel of horse, foot and dragoons, he prays that he may succeed to the regiment now made vacant by Col. Ligoniere.  $\frac{3}{4}$  p. *Draft*.

COLONEL RUSSELL to HIS WIFE.

1746, August 21. Duke Street.—I got safe to Kensington at two o'clock, and heard that I shall have to stay here three weeks before the court-martial is over. I have sat to-day on the trial of old Jef[fries?] which will be finished to-morrow, and we have appointed September 15 for the trial of Col. Durand, and September 29 for General Oglethorp, so that I hope to come down to you on Saturday, bringing Sir William with me, and desire that Jack may be at the Hare and Hounds with *Poppet* in the single horse chair at eight o'clock. If *Jack Chestnut* is not lame he may be brought for Sir William to ride. 1 p. *Addressed to* "Mrs. Russell, Junior, at Checkers, Bucks."

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\*Fontenoy, May 11, 1745.

## COLONEL RUSSELL to HIS WIFE.

1746, September 9. Wednesday. [The *Mary* transport.]—  
 “Past two o’clock from Woolwich and all our troops embarked,  
 and I thank God I’m perfectly well with good spirits, especially  
 when we left Tower Wharf, where the Duke stood by to see the  
 two battalions march and go into our billanders. I was near his  
 Royal Highness whilst our regiment marched by him, and upon  
 my allowing a soldier’s wife to break through the ranks and take  
 one farewell kiss of her husband, the Duke called out upon me,  
 with great good nature, and said ‘twas like me.” We  
 expect to be at Deal in two or three days. I am in the best  
 ship of the fleet, carrying five hundred ton, and as we have a  
 spare ship, we have got rid of Col. Parson’s company and his  
 two disagreeable officers and have now only Colonel Lethulier,  
 with half his men, Colonel Noel’s and mine, seven only in all.  
 Our Captain says our ship is but two years old, and has not  
 leaked one drop of water these eight months, and we are likely  
 to live well as to provisions. 2 pp.

## THE SAME to THE SAME.

1746, September 11, Thursday. From on board the *Mary*,  
 at the Buoy of the Nore.—I wrote yesterday from Woolwich,  
 whence we fell down to Gravesend, and at the break of day came  
 to the Nore. We have two sloops of war to convoy us to the  
 Downs with this evening’s tide.

Friday morning.—We shall not leave the Nore until to-morrow.  
 Colonel Lethulier and his men have orders to remove, so our  
 ship will be light enough, and our men will have flesh twice or  
 thrice a week.

Jack, who behaves very well, begs I would send his duty to  
 you and his young master.

I send my love to everybody, and especially to my two dear  
 babies. 2 pp.

## THE SAME to THE SAME.

1746, September 13. Saturday. From the Downs.—We  
 came here this morning, and sail immediately for Plymouth. 1 p.

## THE SAME to THE SAME.

1746, September 18. The *Mary* transport in Portland Road.  
 —We have been forced to beat the seas until to-day, when we  
 were off the Start, but the wind still blowing hard against us, we  
 have been obliged to put into this Road. I am the only one on  
 board who has been quite free from sickness, but Col. Noel is very  
 well now we are at anchor. I have been in glorious spirits ever since  
 I came on board, have very good company, a good Captain and  
 plenty of provisions. “Had we not had a very young Commodore  
 for our convoy, being only a sloop of twelve guns, and one more  
 of the same force, I believe we should have been at Plymouth  
 yesterday.” 3 pp.

## COLONEL RUSSELL TO HIS WIFE.

1746, September 20, Saturday morning. Weymouth, near Portland Road.—Colonel Noel, Vernon and myself lay at this place last night, our whole day being taken up in laying in provisions for our sea store, and everybody as busy on the same account. As Col. Braddock has just sent me word to get on board as soon as possible, the wind coming fair, I must defer saying more till I get to Plymouth. 2 pp.

## COLONEL RUSSELL TO HIS WIFE.

1746, September 21, Sunday morning. From the *Mary* transport, within a league of Plymouth Sound.—We have had a fine wind since yesterday, but now hardly any breeze and the tide against us, so that we shall not come to anchor until afternoon. By the advice of the captain of the man of war, we laid in our stores at Weymouth, and if you had seen the stocks of everything you would imagine it was for a West India voyage. My trouble has been greatly taken off by having Noel and his servant. We have bought wine, cyder, Dorchester beer, Portland sheep, fowls, ducks, porkers and other things without number, all of which may be of great use to us on our return, provided we should not find plenty in France; and also we shall have more time there to plunder what may turn to a better account, if our ship is well stocked with provisions. We have been retarded in our voyage by a store ship, for whom we have had to slacken sail several times, she being under the same convoy with us.

A pilot is just come on board, and brings advice that Admiral Lestock sailed from hence with his fleet and transports on Monday morning last, so that he may now be at the place he is designed for. He has left four men of war here, I suppose to lead us to the same place. I imagine Fuller is come, but as the Welsh Fusiliers cannot yet be marched hither, it is very uncertain when we shall depart.

At anchor in Catwater, close to Plymouth, six o'clock.—The Commodore has just sent on board, and we hear that the Welsh Fusiliers are come and that we shall sail as soon as they are embarked, but the transports are not yet here, though hourly expected. 4 pp.

## THE SAME TO THE SAME.

1746, September 28, Tuesday. Plymouth.—“Yesterday morning I came on shore, and by invitation dined with General Fuller. You may imagine how well I must be with him when he thinks proper to make me a confidant, and likewise permits me to tell him of his fretful and hasty disposition.” All our officers are to lie on board, except in case of illness or special leave from the field officers, and one of a company to stay on board during the day. I have a pretty lodging, and Colonel Noel with me. He has been much out of order with toothache, but is now on the mending hand. The transports for the Welsh Fusiliers are not

yet come and one of the 1st regiment is wanting, but we hear it put into the Isle of Wight, and expect it with the empty ones, which probably were forced to put into Spithead, and, with a convoy that lies ready there, will be with us the first fair wind, "which same wind, if it continues after the regiment here is embarked, will carry us out to sea, and when we are in such a latitude, our Commodore is to open his instructions, and will then lead us to the place we are destined. There has been a sloop returned from Lestock, who left him ten leagues to the westward of Scilly and from which we may be assured they must some time before this be arrived at their destined place, and which must be somewhere within the Bay of Biscay, so in all probability there may be no plunder left for us, but hope they wont be quite so unreasonable. Poor General Fuller is extremely anxious and impatient for our being all gone from this place, and indeed I don't much wonder at him (as censure is at present so very ripe) lest there should be thought any delay, and, of consequence, that laid to his charge.

"Since I wrote the above, Col. Braddock and Lord Bury, who was invited to dine at Mount Edgecomb, called upon me to take me with 'em, which I could not refuse, and was indeed elegantly entertained, not only at dinner but with seeing the most delightful place in the world and impossible for me to describe. So rich and so beautiful are the views and prospects that nature has been bountiful beyond measure, and with a very little addition of art, laid out in a good taste about the house and park, the whole is made complete. I was invited to lie there and pressed to it very much by Lord Edgecomb and his son, but chose to leave Lord Bury and Colonel Braddock there and came away with Colonel Dury," having left your letter half written and expecting one from you, which made me pretend business of consequence to get away. Lord Edgecomb and his son go from home to-morrow for ten or twelve days, but hope to find us here when they return and have given us an invitation to go again. General Fuller and Captain Keppel desire to be remembered to you.

*Postscript.* Jack Flemming is a good boy, and desires his duty to you and his young master and lady.

#### COLONEL RUSSELL TO HIS WIFE.

1746, September 26, Friday. Plymouth.—"Dont say I am better without your letters, for I shall be miserable should a post come in whilst I am here without hearing from you . . . Surely you thought me in raptures about Mount Edgecomb; a sweet place indeed it is, but never such a country did I ever see as it is all about it, so that with all its beauties, I would not be obliged to live altogether there to have it for nothing. No wheel carriage can pass or repass in this country but with the utmost difficulty, so that nothing but pack-horses are used, and some few coaches among the country gentlemen, but they go more by water than by land in their common visits, which would be dreadful to you. Though Mount Edgecomb is within two or

three miles of this town, one could not get to it in a coach by land without making it two or three and twenty miles. We have had rain for these two days past, which makes this place absolutely worse than Wapping; am forced to wear my boots all day long. Dined again yesterday with Fuller, but refused him the day before, to dine with two or three friends. I must say I'm much better than ever I thought I could even *like* to be with the General; wish his education and late past life could make him choose and prefer better company than he seems to collect . . . He is obliged to me for my company, and [I] cant help having a good will to him, as he behaves well enough and keeps within bounds, and his good sense, I hope, will make him acquit himself with credit and reputation."

I have not dined once on board since we came into harbour, for I must own, though it is so much like Wapping, I prefer dining on shore rather than in a cabin, but I shall be very well reconciled to return to the *Lovely Mary* (for pray tell Molly that's what I call her, in memory of her and her dear mama) especially as she is one of the best sailors, and perhaps the best ship, in the whole fleet.

"You seem to be desirous of knowing my ship-mates. Captain Vernon is a sensible, pretty sort of man and an agreeable companion; Noel also behaves as I could wish; Wiseman, my ensign, conceited and stupid but very good-natured and inoffensive, and therefore no harm in him; Noel's ensign, Kingscoat, a Gloucestershire man and a very good lad; but my adjutant, Gausel, a little maddish sometimes, and serves to make one laugh when he dont exceed; when he does, we dont mind him.

. . . Lord Bury goes from hence in a man of war, being glad to get rid of Brad[dock] as his principal reason; and poor Keppel repents his having changed to the grenadier company till we had disembarked, or otherwise would have been with me . . . In short Brad[dock's] behaviour is so excessive bad that everybody shuns him and hates him. He is extremely civil to me, which I encourage, and can always keep him to his good behaviour by keeping him always at a distance, being as little with him as I possibly can, doing my duty, and as much of his, with as little trouble to him as he can wish. . . .

"Lord John Sackville, I do suppose you know, has resigned, and Colonel Cesar is come down here and has his company. The *Good Intent*, a transport, with Lord George Bentinck, Lord Ossultone and Colonel Sabine's companies, have been parted from us, were in some distress and put into Spithead, but they safely arrived this morning. We dont hear yet any account of the empty transports for the Fusiliers; the wind was fair to bring 'em in yesterday, had they been near at hand, but now 'tis quite against them."

The post has come in, bringing the most agreeable sight I could wish. As they did not at once deliver out the letters, Lord Bury and I went ourselves, soon cleared the way at the post house, and got our own. 7½ pp.



## COLONEL RUSSELL TO HIS WIFE.

1746, September 28, Sunday. Plymouth.—Captain Boscawen in the *Namur*, and two more seventy gun ships, came in on Friday night, and are to sail the first fair wind to join Admiral Anson. They overtook the empty transports, which would have been here before this had the wind continued fair. If we stay here a little longer, as General Sinclair and Lestock must long ago have reached their destination, our going may be to no purpose, for as the season advances, what is to be done cant be long deferred.

I see Fuller every day ; in an evening he always has a set of the Welsh Fusiliers, "Wait, their lieutenant-colonel, a constant man with him. They are good sort of people, very well in their way, but low enough, and adapted to his turn of life and conversation, and therefore only fit for him. They sit with him, drinking port, till half an hour after nine, and then he packs 'em off. That is not what will go down with people in another kind of life. I sit with him sometimes for an hour or two with this company, but scarce drink a drop, as I call it drinking between meals, and come home to Vernon and Noel and sup upon an egg or some toasted cheese, and drink cyder only. . . . Yesterday was a tolerable day, and I went to look after my family on board the *Lovely Mary* ; carried a fine dish of fish with me and had a very pleasant repast ; walked about an island after dinner, very near my ship, which was partly rocky, had a pretty verdure, and was as romantic, as were all the views about it, as anything I ever beheld. Here is a dock about three miles distance that is worth seeing, which I shall go to the first fair day. Phil. Vanbrugh is Commissioner, and resides there, but I dont know him. We have had a tolerable fine morning and I hope it will continue, to give one an opportunity to take a walk and breathe a little fresh air, for I'll give you my word, this town is the most shocking, stinking, disagreeable of all places, and to people that are not sea-sick, 'tis vastly more desirable to be under sail . . . especially when there is an expectation of seeing an end of what we are to do."

'Tis now past one, and I have had a delightful walk with Don Brown, and heard all his grievances about his General. There is a hill near the citadel that commands a most agreeable prospect, and where one may walk upon a lawn for near a mile. Fuller dines with the Mayor to-day, so six of us have bespoke a dinner and have his room to eat in, there being no other public house fit to eat at in the place.

The post is now in and I have been made happy by your letter. "My dear little babies I think I see at the pond, and could be glad to be of their party. Pray tell Molly she cannot think more of me than I do of her, . . . and the more she endeavours to amuse you, the more I shall love her."

Captain Boscawen and the two other ships all sailed out this morning on a cruise. Though the wind is not fair they will beat about and get to the Land's End, when we with our fleet of

transports could not get out of the Sound. Col. Durand has come to Portsmouth and there embarked on a convoy setting out with the empty transports. Lord George Bentinck, who has commanded his company for him, will be glad to see him, that he may get home.

*Postscript.* "Keppel desires his compliments. Nobody so immensely civil to me as Colonel Braddock." 8 pp.

COLONEL RUSSELL TO HIS WIFE.

1746, September 30. Plymouth.—Yesterday General Fuller received an express from the Duke of Newcastle, ordering him not to wait for the empty transports, but to take the Fusiliers on board of us and to sail with the first fair wind. We have made the best distribution we could, and by the help of one more transport which we found here, have managed to spare them three good ships without greatly crowding ourselves. Yesterday it blew so great a storm that no part of this could be executed, but to-day the wind is abated, so that we shall get all settled before night, and to-morrow the General and everybody will be aboard, and only waiting for the wind.

Since writing this I have been made extremely happy by receiving yours of the 25th, and the more so as my last night's rest was disturbed by dreaming that poor little Johnny was dead, which affected me so much that I could not sleep after it. Lord Bury was talking much of him to me yesterday, Fuller joking that he was an ugly boy (to which I made no answer), which I suppose put him so much into my head as to make me dream of him. Fuller is much on the fret lest the wind should be fair before we are ready to sail, for the sea has been so tempestuous that the men of war could not send in their boats for the grenadier companies, so that nothing can be done until to-morrow. If we don't make haste, Lestock and Sinclair will have done all before we come, and leave no laurels for us to bring away, so a fair wind and success must be all your prayers. 3½ pp.

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

1746, October 2. Plymouth.—This being my dear little Johnny's birthday, his health was drunk in a bumper by ten of us at dinner, being begun by Lord Bury and Braddock. I've dined with this company for three days, in the same public house with Fuller, but preferring it to my General's table. I am still so well with him that I have a constant invitation, but I must own 'tis rather more agreeable to be with these people. Mr. Edgecomb is one of us, and Capt. Gambier, a pretty young fellow, captain of one of our sloops of war, another. He is an intimate of Tom Frankland's, and has made me a fine present of five dozen lemons, which are very scarce here. We have six dishes well dressed every day for 1s. 6d. each, and bespeak what we like. I never sup with them because they keep bad hours, but chiefly sit at home with poor Noel. We generally have one or

two callers, pass our time cheerfully till near eleven, with a bit of cheese and a glass of wine or cyder, and so soberly repair to bed.

You will wonder I say nothing of being aboard ship, but the weather has continued so bad that our grenadiers have only to-day been able to change from their ships to the man of war, and the Fusiliers will not all be embarked until to-morrow.

Friday the 3rd.—All our troops are now aboard, but one of the transports is leaky and must be corked, and the *Lovely Mary* needs a new rudder, so that we shall not be ready till Sunday night or Monday morning. The wind is now fair, and I think we are likely to have fine weather. 5 pp.

COLONEL RUSSELL TO HIS WIFE.

1746, October 5, Sunday.—I expected to-day to go on board and sail away, when, to my great surprise, General Fuller came to my bed-side early this morning and informed me that he had just received an express to disembark the troops, cantoon them near this place and wait for further orders. So to-morrow by break of day our two battalions of Guards will march into this town and be quartered here, what additional companies and marines are here being ordered to remove to the docks to make room for us; and the Fusiliers will be quartered in some neighbouring towns and villages. This looks as if the expedition were over, and as if we should next have orders to march towards London. We may perhaps winter in some country quarters, but as there are no regiments of foot near the metropolis it is more probable that we cannot be spared from there, "and 'tis not impossible the same place of troops marching towards Dunkirk may be returned upon us."

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

1746, October 7, Tuesday. Plymouth.—Such is the uncertainty of a soldier's life that having received orders on Sunday that we were all to disembark, which were put in execution the morning following, yet less than an hour after this was done, another express came for us to re-embark till further orders, in which situation we now are, but have waited all day in expectation of the said further orders, whether to sail east or west. The general opinion is that our expedition is put a stop to and that we shall go towards Portsmouth. Colonel Noel and I have dined with General Fuller, and our empty transports having arrived, we have been settling a fresh distribution of our ships, so as to make everybody easy, "in which, to give General Fuller his due, he has behaved with the patience and temper of a philosopher, hearing such number of complaints, where he had real cause to be provoked, but chiefly by the commanding officers of the Welsh Fusiliers, who taxed him with favouring the Guards, to which he showed such a proper spirit, and withal so much coolness, gave such severe and just reprimands, that he has gained great credit among us. I must say, with a little of my advice he has recovered

his character in some measure with regard to his company he invites and to his table; having now eight covers every day, and much better dinners, and yet no more expense, for provision is very cheap, especially the best of fish, which is a constant dish. . . . The *Lovely Mary*, who I was in some pain for, is now recovered and has got a new tail, and being the second best ship without dispute I was glad to keep her, and have only Noel's company and mine on board of her, and not one man sick between us, she having proved so healthy, whereas many others have been otherwise. . . . The grenadiers are all now returned to their several transports . . . so Braddock and Lord Bury are to be together again, but the former, by having been now and then taken down, is greatly reformed, behaves well, and, to me, continues to be the most polite, civil creature imaginable." The three seventy gun ships are returned from Torbay, having been in all that storm, and in some degree disabled, but will soon be refitted here, as Captain Boscawen tells me. "The news of this day has killed poor Burchett, but hope 'tis not true. . . . Fuller and I often drink all your healths, and says when alone with me that he really thinks I have one of the finest boys in the world." I have been able to return good for evil by procuring Col. Mitchell a good ship when he was in a very bad one, and so made him, Wetham and my late company all very happy, for which I have had his, the Colonel's, thanks. 5½ pp.

COLONEL RUSSELL to HIS WIFE.

1746, October 10, Friday. Plymouth.—I am distressed for your sake that the hopes I have given you in my last two letters are over, for "General Fuller this morning has received an express with orders for us to sail. We know no more, but have reason to believe 'twill be into the Bay of Biscay, and join Sinclair. We have news from London that there has been an account come there, by the way of Holland, that Lestock's expedition has landed, so that if the wind continues as it now is, we shall join them in four or five days. . . . I have nothing to rely upon but your usual good sense and resolution upon this occasion to keep up your spirits, for the sake of yourself, the dear babies and me, and never doubt but the same providence that has been hitherto so good to us, will take care of us all." I never was in better health and spirits. 3 pp.

*Postscript.* "I don't find there is the least credit given to the news by the way of Holland about Sinclair. If 'twas, the newspapers and all Europe would know it." *On the cover is written in pencil, by a child's hand,* "I love my Uncle John. I wish my Papa was at home."

FANNY RUSSELL to COL. CHARLES RUSSELL.

1746, October 11. Bath.—This morning came an express from my mistress that the battle\* was on the 11th, their style,

\* At Roucoux, near Liege.

and that the French had lost as many as we, but no particulars. The Princess of Hesse has had a letter from Prince Frederick, saying that two regiments of English, two of Hessians and two of Hanoverians have been cut to pieces, but that the Dutch, who behaved very handsomely, lost a great many more than any of the rest. I don't as yet hear that the Austrians were in the engagement, but in short, by Prince Frederick's account, the French have gained the victory. Accounts sent here to Lord Chesterfield and Mr. William Pitt state that the French have lost eight thousand, and we, five thousand. The only officers that I have heard named as killed are Sir Harry Nisbet, Colonel Moutague, and one Campbell. It was Brigadier Douglass's brigade that suffered so much. I hear that the Dutch have offered winter quarters to all the allied army except the irregular troops. Mr. Shaw has since written to P[rincess] C[aroline] by my mistress's orders, that news has come that Lestock has taken and destroyed Port L'Orient and Port Lewis.

One of the Mr. Lees told me two days ago, with much pleasure, that Lord Kildare had a letter to say that the Guards had orders to come back. Mr. Adair is here, and hears often from Lord Bury or his brother. Lady Caroline and Sir Harry Harper left last Monday. She told me that Lord Robert goes to-morrow to Mr. Noel's. Poor Lady Louisa Bloodworth is dead, leaving a boy and girl. Lady Betty and Sir Hugh Smithson come to-morrow, Mrs. Purcell and little Twysden to-day, and Felton and his wife on Monday or Tuesday. This being the 11th\*, the Princess of Hesse is to have a drawing-room, and Mr. Nash gives a ball to-night. We four of this house were invited to dine with the Chief Justice and Lady Lee, but Lady Herbert and more company dine with us. Mr. Trevor sent Col. Hildesley, from the Hague, a copy of Prince Waldeck's letter to the States after the battle, desiring him to let the Princess see it. "Prince Waldeck in that letter will not call it a battle, and he says the Austrians was not engaged at all. We fear he makes it too favourable of our side, and he says they was but an hour and a half in the very heat of the battle, but Prince Frederick says he was in the firing that was as hot as hell from one at noon till seven."

I have just met Lord Robert, who tells me his numbness is better, but his leg still very weak. I believe he goes to London very soon with the Duke of Montrose, who has been to Bristol to fetch his brother, Lord George, who is ill. It is General Charles Howard's and Graham's regiments that have suffered most, and Brigadier Douglass's likewise but not so much. One letter states that it cannot be called a battle, because not a third of our army was engaged. The post has now come, and P[rincess] A[melia's] letter says that the Duke is not coming. Mr. Adair, whom I saw at the drawing-room, says there is some scheme on foot, and he fancies the Duke is to go somewhere, but does not know where. There was a great crowd at the drawing-room.

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\*Coronation day.

P[rincess] C[aroline] is better, but was not able to be at it. We expect the Princess of Hesse will leave us next week.

Pray give my services to the General and Mr. Keppel. 4 pp.

*Addressed* :—"To Col. Russell of the 2nd Regiment of Foot Guards, on board the *Mary* transport, at Plymouth," with direction that if the *Mary* has sailed it is to be sent back to "Mrs. Russell, at Princess Carolina's at Bath."

COLONEL RUSSELL to HIS WIFE.

1746, October 25, Saturday. From Margate Road.—"Tis impossible to account for it, but we are ordered to return from hence to the Downs and from thence again to Plymouth. How long these orders are to subsist before they are countermanded I know not," but beg you to stay at Chequers till you hear that I am in London. 1 p.

A[NNA, LADY] RUSSELL, to CHARLES RUSSELL, Esq.,  
Duke Street, St. James.

1746[-7], February 1. Cal[cutta].—My niece<sup>e</sup> has just arrived, and I cannot express my gratitude to you and your good lady, who have been the best friends to her that ever she had. Both she and I will have reason to thank Heaven all our lives that she fell into your hands; you have made her just what my ambition has desired, and in good sense, genteel behaviour and education she far exceeds my expectation.

You may imagine the satisfaction she is to me, who have lost so many of my family in this dismal climate, and am now almost always separated from Mr. Holmes. He left yesterday for Bussorah, not being able to wait for a sight of Nancy, and begged me to give you ten thousand thanks for your friendship to the children, and to pray you to continue your goodness to my dear Billy, and keep him to his learning, for which he will yearly send a supply of money.

I have hardly had time to read dear Mrs. Russell's and your kind letters, we have been so crowded with visitors since Nancy's arrival, but I value them doubly as being sent at a time when I was in affliction and very indifferent circumstances.

"I thank God I have now no fear of my enemy; I am out of her reach in every respect, being married to one of the best men alive and in very prosperous circumstances." I hope one day to thank you in England, and to become personally acquainted with those whose goodness has supported my spirits so long.

Mr. Manningham, whose health obliges him to return home, will give you a full account of everything, and Captain Raymond will deliver some aprons and handkerchiefs, which I am sending for your lady, Miss Fanny Russell and Mrs. Gibson. 5 pp.

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\* Probably Miss Fazakerly.

## COL. RUSSELL to HIS WIFE.

[1747, May 9,] Saturday night, past eight o'clock. Woolwich.—I have only time to say that the fatigue which your brother Jemy saw me undergo with the embarkation of the men agreed with me so well that I have never eaten a more hearty dinner than this afternoon. We have just weighed anchor, and shall be at Greenwich by four in the morning. I have a great state-room for my private cabin and we are in a fine new ship of five hundred ton. We have only six men absent in our four companies, who I hope will be with us to-morrow. 2 pp.

## THE SAME to THE SAME.

1747, May 10, Twelve at noon. Gravesend.—General Husk has just sent for Noel, and has invited me to dine with him, but I have excused myself, as we are now under sail for the Nore. My opinion is that at Flushing we shall find orders not to disembark, but to go for Williamstadt, which will make us a day or two longer on board, but as the accommodation is good and the weather fine, there will be no great harm in it. Pray God bless you and the babies. My love to Jemy and Fanny, and thanks to my brother Revett for his last letter. 3 pp.

## THE SAME to THE SAME.

1747, May 12, Tuesday. Flushing Road.—Yesterday morning we left the Nore at five o'clock, had a very fine day with a fair wind and sailed about half seas over, but this morning proving very rainy and exceeding hazy, we made but little way. We at last saw land about twelve o'clock and arrived opposite the town of Flushing about four this afternoon, where we had the pleasure of seeing Commodore Mitchel with all his ships and sloops of war at anchor in defence of this island. "The Commodore's ship was decked out with all the colours of different nations, which is usual upon some very extraordinary rejoicing, so that I could not help suspecting it was on the arrival of the Prince of Orange. Every steeple and high building in the town seemed also to have colours hanging out upon them. At last upon information, we learnt that the Stadtholder was arrived, that triumphal arches were erected all over the town, and all the burghers and people in general making great acclamations on that account; that General Husk had dined with him and had returned to his yacht about eight this evening, and no orders of any sort were as yet ready to be sent us. In all probability whilst the town is thus mad with these rejoicings, it may be thought prudent for our troops not to march into it, so whether we shall disembark to-morrow, I know not." I have had a much more agreeable passage than I expected, considering that I lost Noel's company, and I have found a very good cook in Colonel Parson's company, on whom I have already laid an embargo for the campaign. I have just had the pleasure of seeing seven large Dutch men of war lying at anchor to observe the motions of the

French, as also many other of their vessels of war, reaching a great way up the Scheld, in defence of their so consequential a province as Zeeland is.

Wednesday morning.—The wind continues to blow so hard that we cannot disembark till to-morrow, when we shall go up a mile higher, into smoother water, and from thence march into Flushing, I hope, where a Dutch regiment has orders to march out of the town to make room for us. If we are soon to join the Duke, it would be unnecessary to encamp for so short a time, but I sometimes think we shall stay here until the two regiments come from Scotland.

“What you said in your letter about G. F. [General Fuller] I heard before I left London, but hope if nothing worse can appear than his not being with them when they retreated, that he may yet come off without much disreputation, and so, with no great difficulty, be able to retrieve his character. The Prince of Orange is gone to Middleburgh, the chief town in this island, and General Husk followed him thither this morning, I suppose to consult further about us. I don't as yet hear anything of the French, nor can I believe they intend to make any attempt this way. I'm sure from the Island of Catsand they cant, which we see very plain, being not above four miles from us.” 5 pp.

#### COLONEL RUSSELL TO HIS WIFE.

1747, May 16, Saturday. Flushing.—Mr. Stewart will send this by the packet boat which he dispatches to Dover twice a week, and as often, if the winds permit, one is sent from thence hither, so you have only to enclose your letters to Mr. Ramsden, and if we are with the army, they will be forwarded to me.

We disembarked yesterday morning, “and a fatiguing day enough we had of it, before our men in the first place, our horses in the next, and ourselves at last, were tolerably settled, but after many difficulties, complaints and grievances with the States and magistrates of this place I hope we shall find ourselves as easy as the nature of our situation can admit of. Colonel Braddock came on shore the day before we disembarked, and took very good quarters for himself and me in one house, and which is one of the best public houses in the town. Evelyn and Craggs have also one large room between them in the same house. We have also a spacious eating-room, where we four breakfast, dine and sup. Col. Noel and my ensign complete our mess, and I must say [we] live very well, that is, far beyond what I expected, and have exceeding good claret at 16*d.* per bottle, and fish in plenty. The provision is in general very dear, owing to the great mortality which so lately happened among their cattle, and the great loss of all their corn country which they possessed on the other side of the Scheld, now in the hands of the enemy. I cant say I should pity them so much were we not present sufferers by it, for it is thought this town, which is chiefly composed of Scotch, Irish and English smugglers, would soon have been given up, had we not sent Commodore Mitchel and some forces to



defend it, but that [*sic*] I am now very much of the opinion the French, whatever thoughts they might have had, have laid them all aside and will by no means make any attempt on this island. General Husk takes much pains to do all he can for our service, and to see everything regulated for our advantage. He pays great court to the head magistrates, and soothes and flatters 'em all he can, advising us and all our men to do the same, by which means we gain all we can expect; whereas when poor Fuller first arrived and was here with his three regiments, his patience could not hold, so that he flew out, stormed, and swore excessively, by all which they stood mute with their hands in their pockets, and would scarce grant him any one request.

"Brigadier Douglass is arrived in Beveland, and succeeds him in his command, where I find those three regiments are still to continue. How soon we shall remove, I wont pretend to say, but dont think they can well send us away till the two regiments from Scotland at least join us; nor do I see why they should then desire us with the army, since I fear they have already more mouths than they can well fill. . . . The Prince of Orange is at Middleburg, about four or five miles from hence, but his stay, I suppose, will be but short. The country, though flat, seems very pleasant, and to abound with many plantations; if time and leisure will permit, shall ride about, and be able then to describe it to you. This town is well fortified, the streets very neat and clean, and some good houses and public buildings. We have two or three Dutch and Swiss regiments with us in the town, and many more encamped in different parts of the island. I should have told you my horses all landed safe, and are now very well in good stables, chiefly owing to the indefatigable care of honest Frank. Jack, I'll assure you, does his part well, and is of great use as an interpreter, we living in a house that knows neither the French nor English language not in the least." 5½ pp.

#### COLONEL RUSSELL TO HIS WIFE.

1747, May 17. Flushing.—I can only say three words, to tell you "that Col. Bar[ringto]n came to us last night from the army, who is put to Col. Legg's company; that he left the Duke but Thursday last, and by his coming it is very plain we are likely to stay here, he says perhaps two months or more; that as stabling is going to be built for us at the expense of this town, it is not likely we shall even encamp; that his Royal Highness has marched to the river Nete, leaving Antwerp in his rear; that Prince Heildburghausen, with thirty squadrons, has taken post between Breda and Antwerp, to preserve the communication and be watchful on the enemy, lest with any small party they might be troublesome that way. Our old friend [Fuller], who is succeeded by Lady Irwin's consort, I fear is in a very bad way, hearing he was five miles from his post at a farm house, but that he got to his troops and might have made a very good defence, but caused them to retreat, and so precipitately that they made a very long train, and had ordered no rear-guard to them; that his Royal

Highness saw him with his people in this condition, and said very severe things to him ; that he ordered him to remain in a little village in Holland, where he now is, and I do suppose, will be tried with Le Rocque, who I find has behaved most infamously." 2 pp.

COLONEL RUSSELL TO HIS WIFE.

1747, May 20, Wednesday. Flushing.—No packet yet from England, although one is hourly expected. Commodore Mitchell is sending off a cutter for Deal in half an hour, which makes me in a hurry. We have begun now to have field days daily to perfect ourselves and our men. "Col. Braddock, Noel and myself went to Middleburgh, to wait on the Prince of Orange, on Monday last. He was extremely civil and polite to us, told us how glad he was to see us, and that next to the providence of God, it was owing to us and the assistance from England that this province was preserved ; that the hurry and confusion this island had been in occasioned any inconvenience we might suffer, but that he would do all that lay in his power to accommodate in everything ; and give him his due, he has done us some service, but [? both] for our men and ourselves, of which I will be more particular in my next. His Serene Highness is extremely improved, being a good deal fatter than when I saw him in England, which makes him look well and healthy. He had a great deal of business with the States of this province, being obliged to leave the island the next day, so dined very late, which prevented our dining with him, though had the honour to be invited.

"I rid out yesterday for two hours, so had the opportunity of seeing all I could do if I was to stay never so much longer, all the variety this island can afford, which is nothing more than a dead flat, cultivated and improved to the best advantage in the Dutch taste, with burgomasters' villas every half mile. . . . The town of Middleburgh is spacious and large, being the third best town in the seven provinces." How long we stay here, the motions of the Duke's army must determine. Mons. Grovestine was very civil. I promised to let Mr. Billerbeck know that he is angry with him for not writing. 3 pp.

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

1747, May 22, Friday. Flushing.—I have been here nearly a fortnight and yet not able to have a line from you, but have opportunities of writing to you three times a week, either by the Commodore's sending a cutter to Deal, or by our Consul Stewart's packet. This first week, our mess has lived in the best public house here, but the scoundrels used us very ill, so we have left them, and are now, with the addition of Col. Barrington, in one large house, where we each have a separate room, furnished with our own camp equipage, at an easy expense. One officer is deputed to have the entire care of the cellars, and my ensign of the housekeeping, so that I have no trouble on that account,

Liquor and fish are good and cheap, but other provisions dear and greatly excised, on account of which our men have an additional allowance of 12*d.* a week.

"The only packet come in here arrived yesterday morning, which brought us the good news of what Admiral Anson's fleet has done, that we are going immediately to have a *feu de joie* thereupon; may there be a continuance of such good success. I find 'twas expected the French would attempt something against this province, which will occasion our stay here longer than I imagined, but we are so well prepared, both by sea and land, that I'm persuaded our enemy has laid aside all thoughts of it."

*Postscript.* My messmates are very cheerful, good-natured, agreeable people, and Braddock behaves as well as one could wish. 3½ *pp.*

COLONEL RUSSELL to HIS WIFE.

1747, May 25, Monday. Flushing.—Our mess was just going to dine on board Commodore Mitchell when your letter was put into my hand, and I regaled myself with it all alone in his great cabin. The news of our being driven back to the Nore, and of a French attack upon Zeeland, is not true. "I believe had neither Mitchell nor our troops come, that the honest magistrates of this town and the States of this province had certainly delivered up and sold it all to the French, but now it is so well defended that I cant think they will make the least attempt to attack it; but if the English land and sea forces were once to leave it, I am of opinion the French yet would soon be in possession of it." We have our field days every morning, that we may not be stigmatized (like the other two with his Royal Highness) as a militia battalion.

We have to-day begun our mess with the best dinner we have yet had anywhere. By my interest with Mr. Stuart, we got claret and Rhenish from a place called Ter Vere in this island, duty free, the former for 14*d.* and the latter for 21*d.* a bottle, both very good, and good arrack at 7*s.* per gallon. Braddock, Noel, Barrington, Evelyn, Craggs, Wiseman and myself are all in one house for a guinea a week between us, and live in great harmony. My chamber is a large room near the ramparts, with a view both up and down the Scheld, with all its ships.

I have just come from exercising the battalion, which performed so well that for the future I shall only have them out three times a week.

Before the French possessed the island opposite to us, this place abounded with corn, poultry, &c., that island and Dutch Flanders being the magazine for this country. Garden things we shall shortly have in great abundance, but the country being under water in the winter makes them very backward. Mutton is scarce, and more properly to be called lamb; beef, young and lean, but good for soup; veal the most plentiful and very good. What meat is most scarce we shall have from England, both for ourselves and our men.

I've heard nothing of consequence lately from the army. Brigadier Douglass is within three hours' sail of us, in the next island, and is now holding a general court-martial upon a captain in the Royals, that is Sinclair's regiment, for his misbehaviour near Hulst. By the Duke's orders they have had two lieutenant-colonels and two captains from us, to help to compose the court. "I wish I could send you any better account of poor Fuller. What will become of him I know not; 'tis imprudent to say anything of his affair till he is tried, but, by report, I don't like it. The regiments from Scotland are soon expected, but do not think we shall then remove soon from hence. My horses are well, and so are Frank and Jack, who behave well, and desire their duty. The moment I had a letter, they both had heard it, and came to enquire after you all. Mat. Barnet is well, and keeps very sober, and makes a good baw-man." 7 pp.

COLONEL RUSSELL TO HIS WIFE.

1747, May 28, Thursday. Flushing.—We frequently hear from the army, but nothing of consequence excepting a letter received by Col. Barrington to say that a very good French cook is coming thence for our mess, with a *batterie de cuisine*, and a *batterie de cuisine volans*, for a hot dinner upon a march. There is also a letter from Lord Bury, who has got leave to come to his grenadier company here, but we shall not expect him in haste, as he says that we have no chance of joining the army. Our officers have not yet returned from the court-martial at Beveland. I hope we may learn something of Fuller from thence. I hear that Lord Stair is dead, that Lord Harrington is to succeed him as General of the marines and that the Duke of M[arlborough] is to go to Ireland. If so, I hope it may be of advantage to Jemy. We have had a great account of Lord Anson's success; that the India men, besides the men of war, are all taken; if so, it must be of great consequence.

*Postscript.* I've had no opportunity of sending Jack's sister as yet. 3 pp.

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

1747, May 30, Saturday. Flushing.—I have yours of the 17th, which came inclosed to Stewart by the post. Had Mr. Ramsden sent it to Dover, I should have got it sooner, for the post from Harwich to Helvoet goes round by Bergen-op-Zoom before it comes here. The Duke has had a present of six Hungarian horses, which are waiting here for a wind. I think the news from Anson "of very great consequence, not only what the French wont easily recover but will be the preservation of our East India Company." Our officers are back from the court-martial, which is adjourned. Fuller and Le Roque are both at a village near Breda, and to remain there until the Duke has leisure to order a court-martial for them. The former is not near so much to blame as the latter.

It is said that the French King has arrived at his army, which, if so, it is not inferior to ours, and unless they attempt something, I do not think there will be any general engagement this campaign. Nothing can be more agreeable than riding about this island, which is all a perfect garden, and, as Braddock says, very like Buckinghamshire, though lacking the hills. Barrington's brother, the captain of a man of war, dines with us to-day, and will sail for England to-night, convoying the ship with the Duke's horses. The regiments from Scotland are not yet come.

Afternoon. "Two agreeable Swiss officers have dined with us; good claret, Rhenish and arrack punch have jovially gone around, and I've not forgot, by looking in your little almanac, that it is Amelie and Caroline's birthday, and have drunk their healths in a bumper, which I desire you'll let my sister know; and that though I was prudent enough to leave my company, and thus to talk, to think and dwell upon you, that I could not possibly, for my soul, write to her, knowing she will excuse me, and what an odd scrawl I shall write for her mistress to see."\*

*Postscript.* Our new stables are finished, and our horses and servants settled in them. 4 pp.

#### COLONEL RUSSELL TO HIS WIFE.

1747, June 3,† Wednesday. Flushing.—I sent my last by Capt. Barrington, commander of a fourteen gun sloop, who convoyed the Duke's horses to Dover. Lord Sandwich came hither at the same time from the Hague, in a yacht, and sailed in a twenty gun ship for England, on his own private affairs. We have had hints from our commander here that soon after the arrival of the two regiments from Scotland (which for some days have been hourly expected) the six British battalions in Zeeland will be ordered to re-inforce the Duke, and this province be defended by their own troops. We are putting our regiment in the best possible order, against the time that his Royal Highness shall see it.

I had a delightful ride yesterday close by the sea-side all the way to Middleburgh. The whole island does not exceed my Lord Northampton's chase in bigness, but has all the variety which such a flat can admit of. To-morrow I hope for a packet before I go to dinner with the Dutch Admiral, and shall relish his water-zuitchy the better for it. 3½ pp.

#### THE SAME TO THE SAME.

1747, June 4, Thursday. Flushing.—This morning I was made happy with a letter from you dated May 28; and soon after, Col. Barrington brought me another dated the 21st,

\* The writing just here is very untidy, perhaps for fun, as it is neat both before and afterwards.

†This and the following letter are dated "N. S." but evidently by mistake, as June 3rd new style was a Saturday.

enclosed to him from the army, so I went off joyfully (as I foretold you I should) to dine with Admiral Scriver on his yacht, in a dyke in the middle of the town. Col. Braddock, who was with me, says 'tis their constant custom to live aboard their yachts. We had a good Dutch dinner, but no fish, and having company at home, and the Admiral's hours being early, we shortly returned here and have been very merry with our mess, drinking tea. Now I have retired to my own apartment above stairs, and far the best room in the house; Braddock, through indolence, having chosen the one below. Here I am happy talking to you while Noel is drinking Persico. He is quite recovered, but I have advised him to be a little more prudent, or his distemper may return. My mess is much more agreeable than I expected, "and the one I most feared is, if anything, the best of the whole; never a disagreeable or impolite expression coming from him, not only to me but to any of the mess. His behaviour is so surprisingly well, and appears quite natural to him, I must say I can attribute it only first to his good sense, and next to the good company his whole mess happens to consist of. We have no gaming of any kind and drinking but moderately (excepting by accident this last day or two) in which I have made a point in every one's having liberty in our mess; met only with opposition from Noel, but have a majority on my side." Letters have come to-day both from the Duke and Lord Albemarle, but not a word in either about our removing. General Sinclair's battalion arrived this morning, and Lord Loudon's—which was not all come to Leith when they embarked—may be expected shortly. "I now find the Prince of Orange wont care to entrust this island to his own troops, so that if we, I mean the Guards, were to go, the rest of our forces would stay in this province. . . . 'Tis impossible men can behave better, more regular or more sober than ours, of which the General has wrote the Duke, and the finest battalion in the world."

*Postscript.* Parslow is made captain-lieutenant. 5½ pp.

COLONEL RUSSELL TO HIS WIFE.

1747, June 6 and 7, Saturday and Sunday. Flushing.—I should have more time to chatter to you, had I not been obliged to write a long letter to Mr. Jeffreys, our chaplain, advising him to send some one to officiate for him, who may return again if we remove to the army. It is unlucky for him that we should be here so long, and that the regiment from Scotland has likewise no chaplain with it. I had a very pleasant ride yesterday, the whole country being a nosegay, and many crops of beans in bloom. All our mess ride together, and really find more variety than one would imagine, considering that the island is but twenty English miles at most quite round, and that we cant ride out of a road, there being deep ditches with water as a fence to every one, as also to every cornfield and meadow, with perhaps twenty little dykes in between. There are no hedges, except in the gardens,

so you see all round you for two or three miles together, when you get out of the thicket of burgo-masters' villas and gardens which abound near the chief towns, and in some of which we can ride for near an hour in a sort of broad, sandy walk, there being no gravel. Here hedges and plantations abound, tolerably kept, but with many long grass walks unmowed, with terminations of statues and obelisks. The whole island is verdant all through the summer, and the cows, the finest I ever saw, and in great abundance, so that our milk, cream and butter are fine. What will surprise you is that there is not a drop of fresh water in the island but what comes from rain, every village having its reservoirs, and every house also, of any size or condition, some good and some bad. We have one for the kitchen, with a pump, tolerably good, and another pump for our own use, exceedingly good, so that we keep all our Bristol water by us.

Whitsunday morning, June 7.—I intended to have dedicated this morning to you as we have no church, and to have filled this paper, but must leave off for a pleasure which you will indulge me in, two letters, one from you and one from Fanny, having just arrived; both of which have taken a tour round by the army.

Brigadier Douglass was here on Friday and dined with General Husk. He seemed to think we were not likely to remove soon; also that our friend Fuller is having but a disagreeable time of it, as he cannot be tried till the close of the campaign, which, I should think, ought to be mortification enough, even if he should come off whole, though I fear not without a slur.

Our stay here is very uncertain, the Dutch perhaps not to be trusted, but our battalion only may be sent away, as I believe his Royal Highness will take the first opportunity to order us to join him. "As to the grand army, the French at present lie with their right at Louvain and their left at Mechlin, the last being Marshal Saxe's head quarters. Our right is at Liere, and our left is behind the river Nete, opposite to Mechlin, or rather extending further. Our army is now upon green forage. I take it, at present much depends upon the affair of Genoa; that I hear there is a good understanding between the King of Sardinia and the Austrians, and if so, and that Genoa should soon fall into the hands of our allies, they would then march immediately for Provence, which would give a great turn to affairs."

The Commodore dines with us to-morrow. He is very civil, and ready to do us any good offices. If you would write on a sheet of folio paper it would be no more postage and then Molly might show how she is improved.

*Postscript.* "Noel desires his compliments; has been in his penitentials for some days, living very cool, and resolving not to [be] exceeding again." 9 pp

COLONEL RUSSELL to HIS WIFE.

1747, June 10, Wednesday. Flushing.—"The Commodore dined with us on Monday. I can assure [you] he is and has been a man of great consequence here; he has a great command,

and has been of the utmost service to the Prince of Orange and this province; so much as to have great honour done him by the new Statholder. . . . I wish you would contrive to let Kitty Fisher know it, especially as he is so very civil and obliging to me. . . . Pray tell my brother Revett that one Mr. Hudson, a nephew of Mr. Paramour's, who was made lieutenant by the solicitation of your brother, is here, and desires his compliments to him; that he is a volunteer with the Commodore, and was sent by him with the news of Anson's success to the Prince of Orange, who made him a present of a fine gold snuff-box, with his Serene Highness' picture in it. . . . I am much obliged to you for your reminding me about my French, but I fear, being so near fifty, is too late for application. Two Swiss officers, who are captains of companies consisting of two hundred men each, very agreeable men, have again dined with us, and I have ventured to chatter French, Braddock, who is a refined Frenchman, putting me upon a footing with Noel and the Swiss officers, and that I speak as good French, though not so fast, as 'tis impossible, even in English, to keep pace with Noel."

Thursday morning.—The Highlanders are not yet come, but if we receive no orders within ten days I think we may remain here, at any rate until some stroke is struck by the grand army. We are surprised to hear that Parliament is to be dissolved next week, but don't doubt that there are very good reasons for it. I forgot to tell you that when I talked to Meinheer Bentinck, one of the States, who was with the Prince of Orange, he enquired after a sister of mine, who was in Holland with Sir Charles Eyre.

Our mess goes on very harmoniously, "amusing ourselves with entertaining our friends, a little music on the German flute and fiddle, the latter sometimes by Captain Thomas, and riding or walking every evening as usual; thank God not the appearance of a card, though Brigadier Douglass has nothing else at his quarters. . . . I hope, by some accident or other, after your letters have taken the tour of the army, I may have the pleasure to know how you and my dear babies do."

Jack has heard of his sister's safe arrival with her mother.  
5 pp.

#### COLONEL RUSSELL TO HIS WIFE.

1747, June [15]. Flushing.—No news of consequence since I last wrote. The two armies remain where they did. The French attempted to outflank ours, but finding that they were observed, returned to their former ground. I do not think we shall remove in haste, for if anything bad should happen, we shall be wanted here; and if good, perhaps they would not need us there, so possibly we may only join them in next winter's quarters. We still live in great harmony, our commanding officer being quite agreeable and extremely sensible, civil and polite. No private house, without women, could be pleasanter. Our French cook has now come to us, and will decrease our expense in living, for hitherto we have had such quantities of meat,



by which our servants only, who are all on board wages, have gained; but now we have many pretty plats, ragouts, &c., and get more variety at less cost.

General Fuller is at a place called Oosterhout, where our army hospital is, between Breda and Gertruydenberg. By what I hear from Col. Lethulier, who has been at Brigadier Douglass's quarters attending on a court martial, "'tis hoped 'twill not appear to be so bad against our friend F[uller]; only some want of that care which in another, he himself perhaps would have thought unpardonable, and very probably more than I know of, which may be a slur he will not easily get over; at least being in the situation he is in, for all this campaign, in my opinion, is bad enough." The weather is very hot, but ours is like a country house, with green trees before it, and the sea, that is the mouth of the Scheldt, open to the south. I am very sorry to say we live like heathens in one respect, having no chaplain as yet, but I hope Jeffreys will soon send one. 5 pp. [Dated June 16; but see following letter.]

#### COLONEL RUSSELL TO HIS WIFE.

1747, June 16, Tuesday. Flushing.—I wrote to you yesterday, but dated it this morning, when I meant to conclude it; but hearing that the Commodore was despatching a cutter to Deal, sent it off in a hurry. To my great joy I have got three of your letters, and one from my dear sweet jewel Molly. Tell my dear baby that I can't answer her pretty letter in such a hurry as I am in to-day, but she shall be sure to hear by the next mail. It was pleasant to hear so many good things of Sir William, and not a little so to think how happy he will make poor Johnny. I am glad to have so good an account of Fanny, and hope she will have but few thorns in her side at Court, now Deareing is gone.

I believe Le Roque is the occasion of Fuller's being brought to trial at all; but some censure I fear he has deserved, though perhaps not a public one.

Last evening, six of our mess drove to Middleburgh in one of the phaetons of this country, having three seats besides the coachbox, and a covering, but all open at the sides. We went to taste wines at a merchant's, who made us very welcome and has supplied us well. 5 pp.

#### THE SAME TO THE SAME.

1747, June 20, Saturday. Flushing.—I sent you a letter enclosing one to Molly by a man of war the day before yesterday, but as she has not sailed yet, this may kiss your hands first.

General Husk is to dine with us next week, and though he lives well, yet we think we far exceed him. We have made an excursion to Ter Veere, a town of great trade at the extreme end of this island, looking north towards Scowen, another island of this province. It is not equal to this place, either in bigness or beauty. "I hear Richbell's regiment is ordered for East India;

surely they'll leave themselves so bare at home that perhaps they'll be obliged to send for us against the winter. No Lord Loudon come yet. . . . Let me know how elections go. I hear Cleveland of the Admiralty sets up for Sandwich." 3½ pp.

COLONEL RUSSELL TO HIS WIFE.

1747, June 23, Tuesday. Flushing.—We hear that Mr. Jeffreys set out from London as yesterday, so hope he will be here in time to officiate next Sunday.

"I'm very well pleased with his Majesty's speech, especially the latter part, and hope all will go well at home, which will be a means of their doing so abroad. Find by all accounts great rioting is going forwards with the elections, but hope 'twill soon be over; think this late resolution at such a critical juncture has been one of the best steps that has been taken by the Ministry. Mr. Hunter, our postmaster abroad, came and surprised us here yesterday from Rotterdam, but we soon found 'twas on the same errand as many others are from the army whose elections were any ways hazardous; Lord Bury, among others, is upon the same account. Mr. Hunter tells us of a skirmish between an advanced detachment of ours attacking one of the same of the enemy's who were going towards Maestricht, in order to invest it, and which was to be supported by a greater body of the French, but we charged 'em so briskly that they retired very precipitately, and by that means a thousand of theirs were killed and five hundred taken prisoners; and which, I imagine, has prevented their scheme, and unless something of greater consequence had since that happened, it looks as if the enemy would only act upon the defensive, which, if they have a mind to do, nothing will be more difficult than to make 'em fight, especially if they are so numerous as 'tis thought they are, with the King at their head. I hear they have great divisions in their councils on account of Marshal Saxe, their general, who has so great a party against him, on his being and having been in such high esteem with the King, which brings the envy of all the princes of the blood and great men upon him, he treating them at the same time with the greatest contempt imaginable. This skirmish, I find, was near Tongres, and in sight of the garrison of Maestricht.

"I am glad to hear poor Johnny is going to have such an allowance; his father can never be such a brute as to refuse it him, if his farms are all let.

"Noel had a letter from his sister yesterday, and in it so much news, and he reading it so often, and some particulars which he might have kept to himself, made us all think his sister loves talking as much as her brother, whose tongue sometimes never lies still. He is very good-humoured, but when in spirits, which the effects of a little liquor keeps up for days together, makes him almost insupportable.

"I find his intelligence says Johnny Waldegrave is at last caught in the net, and is going to be married to Peggy Banks, for which his friends, I find, pity him much; and what I'm sorry for is that Lady Caroline Scot is going to be married to a younger Peachy, who is a rattle and no fortune." 5 pp.

COLONEL RUSSELL to HIS WIFE.

1747, June 24, Wednesday. Flushing.—"I daresay before this time you must have heard that our army has been defeated. The account has been sent to us from the Prince of Orange but a few hours since. No one particular do I know but that our loss has chiefly fallen upon the Dutch and Austrians; that we have received orders to be ready to embark, but expect to go no further than into South Beveland, to which place we shall in all probability arrive either to-morrow evening or next morning, and shall supply the place of some other regiments, which will be thrown into Bergen-op-zoom; the other regiment here, which is the Royals, will also attend us from this town. As for joining our army, I believe that thought is over with us, it not being altogether so practicable. How long we shall remain in this neighbourhood I should think a little time will shew, but far we cannot now go. The left of our army, we hear, is retired under the cannon of Maestricht, which we suppose to be the English and Hanoverians; if so, the loss has not fallen so heavy on our particular countrymen, which is some little comfort, though a most melancholy misfortune to have it fallen so heavily upon our allies. I heartily pity his Royal Highness, who must feel greatly upon this occasion. I long to have a particular account and can only hope it is not so bad as it is at present represented."

*Postscript.* Thursday, June 25.—"A copy of a letter from his Royal Highness the Duke to Prince Heildburghausen, is just now from the latter arrived here, to the States of this province, in which H.R.H. says a battle was on Sunday last fought at Kisteldt, near Maestricht; that the enemy attacked our left wing, on which we suffered greatly, and was obliged to retire under the walls of Maestricht, but that the loss of the enemy was equal to ours. We have since passed the Maes, and are encamped on the other side of Maestricht. I am sorry to say this left wing was chiefly composed of English and Hanoverians; that this account is far different from the first part of this letter, and that I expect to hear a bad account of some of our acquaintance, when the black list shall appear. We are only under orders for embarking, which perhaps may be in a day or two, for Beveland, or may be not at all; but shall every day be in expectation of some orders or other. I have just now had the pleasure of receiving yours of the 14th, which I shall answer next mail. There will be a cutter at all events sent out this night, by which this shall go. I ought to have tore out the former part of this letter, but *that* news came from Grovestin in a letter to the Prince of Orange, from whom 'twas transmitted hither, and I believe sent to England before this last account arrived." 3½ pp.

## COLONEL RUSSELL TO HIS WIFE.

1747, June 27, Saturday. Flushing.— . . . “I take for granted you have long before this had all particulars relating to the battle near Maestricht. I have not heard one circumstance more than in general (that our left was attacked, and we obliged to retire, but that the loss, which has been considerable, has been near equal on both sides), till this moment an officer of ours from the Hague has just brought a very few particulars, which, lest you should not know, shall just mention: that our left wing was attacked, but that twice we repulsed the enemy and made them fly, till a masked battery stopped us, which we took but could not maintain; that the French also attacked the centre of our army, which were composed of Dutch and Hessians, who turned tail, upon which the enemy divided the two wings of our army; that his Royal Highness, in endeavouring to rally the Dutch, had liked to have been taken, and therefore was obliged to retire under the walls of Maestricht, without the loss of either cannon or any of their baggage, and that we all are now encamped behind Maestricht. Not one particular of any of the Guards do I hear, or whether they were engaged, but think they must have been; that Sir John Ligonier and his aide-de-camp, Campbell, are taken prisoners, that General Bland and Brigadier Price are wounded, and Lord Glasgow killed; that 'tis thought we have lost about four thousand English and Hanoverians; that we have taken a French General prisoner, who is since dead of his wounds, and several colours and drums, but do not know the number of their slain. A deserter of theirs reports that the number of the enemy's forces were, before the battle, one hundred and sixty thousand men. The consequence of this made the Prince of Orange order our two battalions in Flushing to be sent to Bergen-op-Zoom, which General Husk could not comply with, for many good reasons, lest we might be wanted elsewhere, and not able to get out of that fortress; but he has since ordered the two regiments of Highlanders, one from Ter Veere, the other from Beveland, to the foresaid garrison; we have been however in readiness for embarking ever since, perhaps to Beveland, but now believe will not be, so may remain here, till we may be ordered to join the Duke. . . . I find 'tis supposed very probably that the Guards, being on the left of all of our army, might not be engaged; the attack being, though on our left, yet nearer to the centre of our army. Colonel Campbell, lieutenant-colonel to Lord Loudon, and nephew to our Campbell, is just going with this cutter for England on his way to Scotland to his election; he dined with us, and tell his uncle he is well. . . . I dare say Fuller will come off well, by what I have heard from our General here, who says he would stand his chance, by what he had heard, for half a crown.” 5½ pp.

## THE SAME TO THE SAME.

1747, June 30, Tuesday. Flushing.—Col. Barrington has had a letter from George Townsend, one of the Duke's aides-de-camp,

dated on Friday last from Moredike, in which he mentions that Conway is wounded and made prisoner, and that the behaviour of our national troops was so good that the Duke publicly thanked them. His Royal Highness is, I believe, now stronger than he was before this last affair, having lost only one thousand English, two thousand Hanoverians, and a hundred Dutch, and expected nine thousand additional men from Germany, three of which are Hessians, and the other six Munsterians and Germans. We daily expect the Duke's answer to General Husk's letters, asking what we are to do, as also an answer from England to know if it is approved that we stay in Zeland. We have sent the two Highland regiments to Bergen-op-Zoom, and if the Dutch have to send more of their troops out of Beveland thither, we may replace them in Beveland.

I'm glad Johnny Greenhill has so great a character at Oxford, and sorry that my brother Revett is so low in spirits. I hope your hearing nothing from Colebrook is owing to his business in his election at Malden.

*Postscript.* Prince Hilbourghausen has a little detachment of about twelve thousand men between Breda and Bergen-op-Zoom, ready to assist which place may want it, but particularly the latter, as being capable of making the best defence if the French move that way. 5 pp.

COLONEL YORK to COLONEL BARRINGTON.

1747, [June 30-] July 11. Camp of Richelt.—“I found people here were so hurried since the action that they never thought of informing you in Zeland of particulars, which made me send some as soon as I could.

“His Royal Highness's family, thank God, have escaped with their usual good fortune, none but poor Zigesæer having met his fate. He was his Austrian aide-de-camp; he was killed at the first attack of the village by a cannon ball just by us, he was hit on the bone and died instantly. Poor Harry Campbell we cant hear of, so conclude him dead. He was well at the beginning of the retreat, but uneasy to find his General: could not be persuaded to give over seeking him, and fell a victim, I fear, to the French Irregulars on the left. Keppell is sent back, he has two sword cuts, one on his elbow, the other, which is a bad one, just by the shoulder joint; he will do well I believe, but is in a great deal of pain. Colonel Ross is dead of his wounds, Jackson must die, Deane is very ill wounded, Stanhope is in high fever with the loss of a finger, Lockart is very bad, nothing but his good spirits can save him, poor Williams died the next morning. The forementioned six were lieutenant-colonels, and most of them commanding regiments. Poor Majors Roper and Petrie were killed, Major Lafausille is wounded, so are Leslie and Wolf, but will do well. Colonel Hardenberg, of the Hanoverians, is a great loss. Our chief loss you see is in Field Officers. General Bland is wounded but will

do well. The French success has cost 'em dear; Sir John Ligonier, who came back yesterday, says Marshal Saxe owned to him eight thousand infantry, one thousand horse and one thousand officers, and they have certainly lost many more; they are not at all uppish with their success, nor can I say it has at all dispirited us. The Austrians are horridly vexed to have been out of the two last actions, and I am convinced would be glad of their turns. For our other friends, *entre nous*, I wish 'em out of the line, for the whole miscarriage was owing to their having the centre. The day was as much ours when they ran away, as it is now theirs, and when we retired we were in as quiet possession of the village as before the action began, but it was impossible to stay when the army was cut in two. His Royal Highness did wonders; I believe in my conscience the strength of his own arm saved him from being a prisoner. He was in the middle of a French squadron, and one of the troopers going to lay hold of him, he gave him such a cut with his sword, that if he did not cut his arm off, 'twill not be of much use to him the rest of his life. His family and servants ran to his succour, and brought him off with no other loss than four of his own hussars being wounded. M[arshal] Saxe was as near being taken by the Scotch Greys; as he says, one of them had his *pat* upon his shoulder and he was forced to run for it. We have changed our camp yesterday, and extend with our left above Meys, and our right towards Stochem. General Trips is at Viset, where the enemy have a *camp volant*, as they have another towards Lonaken; their grand army is still upon the field of battle. Believe me we are as fit, without gasconading, to fight the enemy to-morrow and the men as willing as before the action, and I dare say 'twill hardly be long before we try again. The enemy had ordered the cannon from Namur, but have remanded it. The only disgraces of the battle are young Cholmondley of the third regiment of Guards, who is broke and sent from the army, and it is thought it will go hard with the deputy-brigadier of that corps; all the officers appear against him, it is certain nobody saw him at the head of his brigade. You know the Guards, unfortunately for them, were posted between the Hessians and Bavarians, which was a bad neighbourhood." [Enclosed in Col. Russell's letter of July 10. See below.] 4 pp.

COLONEL RUSSELL TO HIS WIFE.

1747, July 3, Friday. Flushing.—“ . . . I am satisfied you must know all particulars relating to this late action. I yesterday read a copy of an extract of an account of this affair, from Colonel York to his father, which was well wrote, being a clear, plain, and an exact account of the whole action, from the 30th to the 2nd of this month included, N.S., being the day of the affair, and in which it appears, though we lost the day, entirely owing to the misbehaviour of the Dutch cavalry, yet greater honour could never be gained by the British and Hanoverian troops, who

drove the French for several hours, with that success that their infantry never could be brought to rally, but as often as they ran, still fresh brigades were brought up to supply 'em, so that had our troops, I mean our infantry on the left wing, been sustained, for which all the proper orders were given, but prevented in the execution by the conduct of the Dutch, who permitted the enemy to cut off our right wing from sustaining us; had that misfortune not been, there was not the least doubt but success might have fallen to our share. As for Sir John Ligoniere, Lord Robert Sutton and Conway, they are returned to our army, having been exchanged, but for Keppel, I fear he is not yet recovered of his wounds, yet hope they are not dangerous; and as for my lieutenant, Harry Campbell, another aide-de-camp of General Ligoniere's, who was a fine youth, 'tis with too much reason believed he is killed, not having been heard of anywhere as a prisoner, not yet found in the field of battle, though great search has been made after him. His brother the Colonel, who went but yesterday for Scotland from hence, was inconsolable for his loss. Mr. Jeffreys, our chaplain, came yesterday morning just after we had another repeated order to be ready to embark at an hour's warning, though I hope we shall have time to have service once before we go, having borrowed the French church for that purpose on Sunday next.

"Saturday noon. We have for these two or three days had accounts of Count Lowendal advancing from Antwerp with a body of men; that he has taken some forts on this side of the Scheld, the last of which is Sandvliet, and which is within nine miles of Bergen-op-Zoom; that it is thought they will very soon lay siege to that fortress; if so we shall then not remain here long, but shall either be sent *in* thither, or join Prince Hildbourghausen in defence of the lines, which are very near that town. That commander has about twelve thousand men at present with him of Swiss, Austrians, Bavarians, and other nations, our two Highland regiments are also with him. The French have not yet broke ground before it, and we shall soon know what they purpose to do."

*Postscript.* " . . . 'Tis now Sunday evening. I've this morning seen a fine sight of redcoats at church, and heard an excellent discourse, very proper for us. . . . There seems now no great appearance of our going to Bergen-op-Zoom, for by accounts this day from thence, the French opened their trenches before that town yesterday, and a strong garrison of men we have, as also above ten thousand men in the lines near it; however, by what I can hear, the enemy have sufficient intelligence that many necessities are wanting to make a proper defence, so that if *that* is true, though we have ever so many men, the place must be very soon in the hands of the enemy. What will be their next step I wont pretend to say. We may remove from hence to Beveland to defend that island, but there is not one fortified town there, so that if we should at last be obliged to defend this island, which is worth all the rest in this province, we might be able to make a good stand, for the ships can be a great means in

assisting to preserve us here, which is more than they can do in Beveland; but if Bergen-op-Zoom should fall, perhaps Williamstadt and Breda may be the next places they may have in view, all which a little time will soon determine; in the meantime can only say, we do not seem to be in such a hurry to remove from hence as we did, when I begun this." 6 pp.

COLONEL RUSSELL to HIS WIFE.

1747, July 7, Tuesday. Flushing.—. . . "We frequently hear from Bergen-op-Zoom, before which place Count Lowendall is with about forty thousand men of one sort or other, which he has brought from Antwerp, and there collected together from every place he could possibly get them, so that I don't believe there is at present any one garrison in all Flanders with two hundred men in it belonging to the French, excepting some few of their sea ports. We have under Prince Sax Hildbourghausen, in the lines, about fifteen thousand men. These lines are contiguous to Bergen and extend northward from the town; there are besides about five thousand men in the garrison which could be fresh supplied from these lines, and the town is open to us by the water all to the east, from whence they could be supplied with every one thing wanting; so that as the enemy can approach it but one or two ways, if the governour will but do his duty and those under him, there would be no fear of the enemy. But the Dutch have sent an old man of eighty-five called General [Cronstrong, *erased*] but two days ago to command the garrison. This old man we had in the field with us two campaigns in Flanders, and by his actions then, and by the character he has always bore, in being in an interest not agreeable to us, I should apprehend things will not go so well as one could wish. If this garrison should defend itself, which it might do, for a month, by that time I should imagine the motions the Duke might make to preserve Holland would oblige the enemy before Bergen to raise the siege. If that town should fall, Holland will suffer greatly if the enemy should then advance this way. We shall then encamp either here, or in Beveland, where Brigadier Douglass talks of encamping the two regiments that are with him very soon. We had arrived here yesterday a sergeant of the Guards with some deserters that were sent hither from the Duke; hear nothing extraordinary from thence, but that they remain encamped on the other side of Maëstricht. . . . Poor Jack came a few days ago with a melancholy face to tell me his sister was come back again, and soon found 'twas to meet the man who carried her to Antwerp. You must know this man has a house here, captain of a little privateer, in short an Ipswich smuggler, drove here, or would have been hanged; but has been found so useful a man these last two or three years to our commanders in the field, that they have chiefly made use of him and his vessel, to gain intelligence, to fight on the Schelde with his armed vessel, and sometimes on shore as a hussar. In short the fellow is very brave and gallant, and has no fear of death, but I believe is, and



has been, as great a rogue as you please; however his Royal Highness keeps him in his constant service, and finds him a very useful person. Upon several occasions, he has been often sent to and fro from the army hither with expresses; was at the last battle as a hussar, killed two or three men with his own sword, and brought from the enemy one of the Duke's dragoon drums, who had been taken prisoner; he arrived from the army hither about two days after Jack's sister came, and find they agreed to be married, when he carried her to Antwerp, and took care to send her to Ghent. I had no idea the man would keep his word, but . . . indeed, married they were two days ago by the Scotch Presbyterian clergyman of this town. He has been of that service to the Duke, that he will have his pardon in England, and proposes soon if there is any danger here, to send his lady to his relations at Ipswich, there to visit Mrs. Cloysterman and Linton as Captain Pigsley's lady. This will be a pretty story for Molly and Johnny." 4 pp. *Seal of arms.*

COLONEL RUSSELL to HIS WIFE.

1747, July 10, Friday. Flushing.—“I have enclosed to you an extract of a letter which came hither about two days since from the the army \* which perhaps may have some particulars which will not be inserted in your *Gazette*. The French are going on with their siege before Bergen-op-Zoom, and by what I can learn they were suffered unmolested to open their trenches so near, as to be almost at the the foot of the glacis: and I can't help thinking what with the goodness of the French engineers, and the reverse of ours, as also the bad disposition of the people, and too much to be feared that of their troops, that very little good can be expected from them. Which way the enemy will proceed after they may have succeeded there, I know not; but believe we may stay here to make the defence of this island. . . . I can thus far say, if the inhabitants of this island, who are very wealthy, had at heart the preservation of it, it is capable of being made in such a condition of defence, that a few troops and batteries in the eastern part of it, where our ships could not be of great use, and with the assistance of those ships which would be properly stationed where they would be of service, half the power of France would then find it a difficult task to be masters of it. The Commodore is just returned from being up the Schelde in a boat near the French camp that is before Bergen-op-Zoom, to make the best observation he could; was within a hundred yards of their tents, was in hopes to have been able to have brought his bomb-ketches to do some service, but the water is too shallow for it. He brings word that the garrison makes a vigorous defence, and that we have such a number of troops in it and near it enough to supply it with fresh ones if wanted, that the enemy will find it a hard bone to pick to take it; and besides the Commodore is of opinion that

\* See Colonel York's letter. p. 371 above.

they have not fifteen thousand men before the town, so that then it cant be lost, unless given away, and the old governor swears he will hold it out to the last extremity. He also says that thirty thousand Prussians are already upon their march to join us, but that wants confirmation. General Husk has had letters from England to approve of his not sending us from hence, and had letters yesterday from the Prince of Orange to the same effect; though His Highness did at first particularly name us to be sent to Bergen[-op-Zoom]. . . . The poor Commodore is sufficiently uneasy, which I dont wonder at, the Prince of Orange having sent him and our General word that he only relies on them for the preservation of this island, so that if Bergen should be taken, we shall not remove I find from hence, but shall I suppose have all our British troops here to defend this island in case of necessity. Believe the Dutch the same people they have been, and fear the Statholder, having neither land nor sea forces, is little more than a cypher; that Scriver, the Dutch Admiral, has left us, and ordered all his ships from hence, which would have been gone before now, had the wind been fair; so leave you to judge what a part they seem to act." 5½ pp.

COLONEL RUSSELL to HIS WIFE.

1747, July 13, Monday. From on board the Commodore's ship.—I have just come on board to dine with the Commodore, and have been most agreeably presented with a letter from you by a relation of my own, Capt. Russell. He is commander of a sloop upon this station, and the Commodore gave him a great character. As he returns for England this evening, I take the quarter of an hour before dinner to tell you as much as I can. An account has just come that the garrison of Bergen-op-Zoom made a sally yesterday and killed four hundred French, and that two hundred Dutch out of their ships have offered to go as volunteers into the town, which, as most of them are gunners, who are needed there, will be of great service. An engineer whom the Commodore sent into the town returned yesterday with a very good report of the works there, and says that our people fired with great success, and that the works are so strong, that the place can hold out a long time, provided the men do their duty. Jack is made happy by his letter, sends his duty and will write soon to give an account of his sister's wedding. I often see her walking with her husband, who promises very fair to be good to her. I have been rather miserable about poor Frank, who has been so ill with fever that I thought I should lose him, but the moment an intermission appeared, I ordered him the bark, which has, I thank God, saved him, and with good kitchen physic, he is now got brave and hearty, and begins to be about his horses again, who are very well, but almost eat one up, their expense is so great. Mr. Hunter, who got his election without going over for it, was forced to return to Rotterdam when our first bad news arrived, and frightened enough he was. He has promised to help us about our forage, as the contractor for the Duke lives at Rotterdam.

"My dearest life, talk not of rewards for me. If I merit any and shall have any blessing, 'twill be owing to you, which you know I've said a thousand times." 4 pp.

COLONEL RUSSELL to HIS WIFE.

1747, July 16, Thursday. Flushing.—We live in a strange state of uncertainty, our movements depending chiefly on the siege of Bergen-op-Zoom. "If the besieged do but their duty, it may hold out long enough to make the enemy's hearts ache, and who will at last be obliged to raise the siege, if the Duke can but make a motion with his army this way. Three thousand Hessians, who were to have joined his Royal Highness, when they were at Nimiguen received orders to come this way, the first division of which are already got into the garrison. The rest will not be long after them, so that by receiving so great a re-inforcement, nothing then but misbehaviour or treachery can make the Dutch lose so important a fortress; for as to ammunition, gunners, and any part of a train of artillery, 'twill be their own fault if they are not supplied with them, since a communication with Holland is, and can always be open to 'em. The French have certainly detached from the army to the besiegers, or they never could have been thirty thousand men before the town, which by all accounts they are at present are. However, we continue to make a very vigorous defence, having dismounted several of their guns in their batteries, and no less than five magazines of the enemy have blown up. One good thing is, part of the garrison consists of Austrians, Hanoverians and Swiss, who may be depended on, and the old governor, General Crompston, promises to defend it to the last; but how far a man's senses will hold out at eighty-five, or can be relied on, I wont venture to say. In the midst of this, we seem to be enjoying our ease at present here, having only two British battalions left to guard this island, one German regiment that was at Ter Veer being ordered away to Bergen, so that to-morrow two or three companies of the Royals march from hence to Ter Veer to do duty there. By this means, our men will have pretty hard duty here, but as they are not under canvas when off duty and that they receive twelve stivers per week added to their pay, which is better than a shilling English, they do extremely well, and are not half so sickly as the men in Beveland, who are encamped. . . . After we've done firing with ball, which we make the men practise every afternoon at six o'clock, we then ride or walk till nine, and make ourselves as cheerful as we can, few exceeding the bounds of reason except my friend the Duchess of Rutland's relation, who, though very good-natured, is an empty, very noisy fellow, and has really been guilty of more excess than I could have imagined him to be capable of after so many promises to me of his future sobriety."

By my stale letters you will see what early intelligence we received from the army, the action happening on Sunday, and the news arriving on the Wednesday from the Prince

of Orange. The Duke was not so much as mentioned in his letter, which much alarmed us, but early the next morning we were put out of our pain by a much better account. It is said that Prince Waldeck is on the march with a detachment from the army, and that he set out on the 19th, new style. "I think 'tis very probable, since Holland is in great danger in case the enemy should succeed at Bergen-op-Zoom, and I hope his arrival may occasion the raising of the siege. I'm much concerned for the honour of the corps of Guards, therefore *feel* for any disgrace they may lately have suffered, but by what I can learn, the officers have no ways been censured or have been to blame except *those* in a public manner which I can have no pity for."

Friday noon. The masters of our packet-boats have behaved so ill that the Commodore means, I believe, to suffer no more to go at present, but will send all letters by his cutters. Last evening I went with Braddock in a chaise to see a most delightful place about two miles off, the owner of whom we met in a shady walk, when he begged leave to show us his gardens and plantations, and persuaded us to drink a bottle of excellent champagne under a shady tree. We have invited our new acquaintance, who is more of a gentleman than any we have yet seen, to dine with us, but we do not yet know his name.

As to the re-inforcement of Hessians, I fear it wants confirmation, but that Prince Waldeck is detached is pretty certain, and by his route, was to be at Breda as last night.

I find from Noel that Lord Robert Manners and Johnny Waldgrave are both chosen members of parliament. I am glad Sir Hugh Smithson has carried his election. Poor Jack Robinson will fret much at his loss of money.

"I'm sorry for poor Col. Jackson, who is since dead of his wounds. Lockhart, 'tis thought, will recover, from his vast strength of spirits. Keppell, I hope, will soon do well. I love poor Johnny for his concern for his being stripped. Lord Robert Sutton was served the same, though not wounded, and supped the same night with Marshal Saxe." 8 pp.

#### COLONEL RUSSELL TO HIS WIFE.

1747, July 19, Sunday evening. Flushing.—I hope in my next to say certainly that Prince Waldeck has arrived. His coming is of much consequence, for the French, having found it a little too difficult to continue the attack against the town, are preparing batteries against the forts commanding the lines, which, if they could master the forts, they would be able to force, and would then more easily succeed in their attempt against the town. Prince Waldeck has a detachment from the whole army, including two or three English regiments, with him, and if he should arrive before the enemy make their grand effort against the lines, they may be defeated in their schemes. General Husk some times since received answers from the Duke, who left us entirely

under the command of the Prince of Orange, so if he thinks it necessary for us to remove from this island, we shall certainly march.

An officer come from Beveland gives so good an account of Fuller's behaviour with the troops near Hulst that I don't in the least imagine but (whenever he has a hearing) he will come off with honour. 3 pp.

COLONEL RUSSELL TO HIS WIFE.

1747, July 25, Saturday. Flushing.—The sixty sailors whom the Commodore offered the garrison at Bergen for gunners have been refused because they don't understand the language, although before he went there he had had two or three letters praying him to supply them with much more than that number. He gives a tolerably good account of the defence made by the garrison, so that if the re-inforcements join the lines, there can be no fear of the enemy easily mastering it. I have just seen a letter from the captain of one of our sloops of war, "dated from Bergen-op-Zoom, on Thursday last, in which he says: all the French deserters who arrive here assure us that it is impossible for the soldiers to keep their entrenchments, by reason of the great fire which is made from the town. The number of wounded and sick transported to Antwerp is incredible; that latter part is thought to be true. He goes on: the re-inforcement expected here is not above three leagues distant, consisting of eighteen battalions, thirty squadrons and some hussars; we have in our lines ten thousand, and in the town, we had three thousand six hundred men, of which there are killed and wounded five hundred, and of the artillery, sixty killed and wounded, and of the sailors, four killed and thirteen wounded. All our men in general are in high spirits. General Swartsenburg commands our re-inforcement. General Cromstrom and the Prince of Hesse Phillipstat are continually together in council; the latter was governor of the town before Cromstrom was sent. It is said for a certainty that ten thousand men are arrived in the French army before the town. Nothing more of any consequence is in the letter.

"When Prince Waldeck was detached, it is very certain the French *also* sent a detachment which we expected would have endeavoured to have intercepted ours, but as they have not been able to do that, 'tis very probable that detachment has re-inforced their own troops before the town. By letters from the army, we are informed that Sir John Ligonier, though sent back to us, is not yet at liberty to serve, nor yet Colonel Conway; that the former is gone to Liege and the latter is at Aix-la-Chapelle; that Col. Reynolds has been acquitted by the General Court-Martial."

I have heard that our champagne friend is one of the chief magistrates of Middleburgh, and an India Director of Zeeland. We often walk in his shady groves, and expect him to dine with us soon. 5 pp.

## COLONEL RUSSELL TO HIS WIFE.

1747, July 26, Sunday night. Flushing.—A vessel has just arrived from Bergen, bringing a good account of the garrison and the lines, against which the enemy do not fire near so much as they did. Three battalions of the re-inforcements have arrived and the rest are within four miles, but may wait there to harass the enemy, who were attacking Fort Rover, the fort nearest to Steenberg and in front of our lines. Our irregulars have taken some prisoners already, and some of the enemy's baggage, and are near enough to supply any want which either the lines or garrison may have. This will give great spirits to our troops, who have been much fatigued by the enemy's former continuous fire. I find that we had only six thousand in the lines before the re-inforcements came in. Hearing that a cutter had arrived and that the Commodore was on shore, I gave up my ride this afternoon, sought him out, and did not leave him until his packet was brought; when to my inexpressible joy I received three of yours, which I have only had time just to run over. I am writing this in a bookseller's shop, and have scarce daylight to conclude.

*Postscript.* Col. York was at Bergen yesterday, was to go in the evening to the Hague and thence to the army. Mr. Jeffreys is well, and gave us an excellent discourse to-day.  $4\frac{1}{2}$  pp.

## THE SAME TO THE SAME.

1747, July 29, Wednesday. Flushing.—My cousin Russell has arrived from Deal, bringing three sheep and some fine beef, and he convoyed some cutters which brought us a hundred and fifty hogs and a great quantity of good bacon at 5*d.* a pound, for our men as well as ourselves. He also brought me your letter, and it made me really happy to hear what you were all doing at Chequers and that Fanny was with you. "Your account of the room she bespoke so long beforehand, and the removal that occasioned, was jocose enough. I am persuaded 'twas *his* fault if further consequences did not ensue . . . 'tis now full time to be over, with both parties.

"Our whole mess had a party of pleasure yesterday to a place called Domburgh, fifteen miles across the island. We hired a fine coach and put six of our horses to it, and a grand appearance we made, nobody except the Stadtholder ever having dared to drive in a coach and six. We had a delightful day, the country on that side being more open and looking more English. Round us here it has more the appearance of the gardens near the King's Road, going to Chelsea. Near Domburgh there is a shady walk to the high banks of the sea-side, whence I could see the ships all coming from England, which I knew were bringing me your most welcome letter.

"As to Bergen-op-Zoom, I wont pretend to say anything more but that I think they have made a glorious defence, I mean that the old General and the troops seem to behave well; that this

morning an account came to the Commodore that we sprung a mine and blew up four hundred grenadiers of the enemy, but that is nothing. The French can bring what artillery they please, can be supplied by water carriage with all the artillery they have in Flanders, to within a very few miles of their camp before Bergen, and as they can have large detachments from their grand army, I leave you to judge if they wont have the town, unless our army could march to raise the siege. As to the re-inforcements, *their* great use may be to preserve Holland after that, and prevent worse consequences." 5 pp.

COLONEL RUSSELL TO HIS WIFE.

1747, July 31, Friday. Flushing.—“ . . . The affair of Bergen-op-Zoom begins now to draw near to have its fate, which a very few days will, I believe, determine in favour of the enemy. Last Saturday they attacked the covert way but were repulsed with a great loss of men of their side, since which I'm of opinion they have taken and keep possession of a horn work, so that before you receive this, by all I can learn . . . that noble and most remarkable fortress will be in the hands of the common enemy.” Our detachment near Steenberg will I suppose try to stop their advance towards Holland, and the troops in the lines may retire to these islands, to join with us in their defence in case they should be next attacked, but I believe the French have suffered so much in this last grand undertaking, that they will probably content themselves with the glory and success they will have gained, lest by attempting too much, they should fail in the end.

*Postscript.* This has been the longest and certainly the hottest month I ever knew. What must it have been in Bergen, where, to add to it, the town has been twice all on fire, although put out again. “Every house is now almost beat down or laid in ashes. 'Tis lucky the old General is so deaf that the noise could not affect him. He wrote to our General for a quiet horse that he might ride and visit the works, which was sent him. In his letter he calls himself eighty-seven.” 3½ pp.

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

1747, August 5, Wednesday. Flushing.—As Braddock (who continues to behave with great politeness) is in the room with me, sending off returns, and writing a very good letter to Lord Albemarle, of which nobody is more capable, and as he continually interrupts me to hear it, which, it being for the good of the regiment, I must do with patience, I shall have to wait until he has done before I can collect my thoughts. I keep well in spite of the heat, by wearing warm clothing morning and evening and hardly touching fruit, unless with a good deal of bread, and qualified with two or three glasses of strong mountain Malaga, which we have here good at 8*d.* per bottle, but “notwithstanding all our care of our men, of which all our officers are greatly

concerned about, and pique themselves that nothing on their part shall be wanting, yet we daily fall sick in such numbers that we have a hundred and eighty men now down, chiefly with agues and fevers, in our battalion, and yet the sickly season is not yet begun, which is expected about a fortnight hence." None of our men have died, and we hope by the care we take to prevent them from relapsing. We have two able surgeons sent us from the Grand Hospital, but they are chiefly for the Highland regiments, who fell ill in such numbers when they were first sent to the lines. "We've just now heard from Bergen-op-Zoom that they still hold out, and may now perhaps defend it a week or ten days longer. This last is my own opinion only, for they talk and are in high spirits, as if they might hold out a considerable time, but that is owing to General Swartzenburgh's having sent in eight or nine battalions into the lines out of his re-inforcement." The lines have not of late been attacked, but before that they hardly had one night off duty, and also a great part of them relieved the garrison every third or fourth night. Colonel Speed has been sent thither from the army by the Duke, I suppose to act as engineer, of which he is very capable. Middleton, the surgeon, has just sent us a mate by Lord Albemarle's order, in the room of one who died a month ago, but his lordship neither answers Braddock's letters nor takes the least care of us in regard to our forage, which we have hitherto paid for ourselves. Those who live well, but without excess, fare best, but even those that exceed are not the worse for it amongst our men "only the consequence of drinking cooling liquors afterwards is the destruction of all our careless and unthinking fellows."

I am sorry to have to give a melancholy account "of a very pretty young fellow, a son of Tom Hales, who was an ensign in the battalion with us, and the flower of all his brother ensigns here." He was riding yesterday with Captain Gausel, Mr. Jeffreys, our chaplain, and one Ensign Gwin when his horse fell, flinging him upon his head, and occasioning such contusion that in spite of all imaginable care by the surgeons he remained senseless for eighteen hours and then died. It is my duty now to write the news to his father, and so I must bid adieu to my dearest soul for this time. 6½ pp.

#### COLONEL RUSSELL TO HIS WIFE.

1747, August 8, Saturday. Flushing.—General Husk has this morning received an express from the Duke, with orders for him to go to Bergen-op-Zoom and thence to his Royal Highness, Brigadier Douglass taking the command here in his absence. He sets out this afternoon with only a cloak bag, his aide-de-camp and two servants, and knows nothing about his returning, but I think it looks as if he may, unless the Duke thinks him a necessary person to have near him to advise with. If Douglass chooses to continue to reside where he is, "Col. Braddock will command the two battalions in this town, which he will not be



fond of, as he will be obliged so often to correspond with Douglass. I own I am sorry for Husk's going, as he took great care of us, and at the same time had a good deal of trouble with the magistrates, and by sweetening them sometimes, as well as souring them, he gained his point with 'em in almost everything he wanted, so hope he'll return to us before 'tis long. As for Douglass, he is also a very good sort of man, and if he finds Husk may probably make some stay he may then think proper to come to us, though they say he is very prettily settled in Beveland."

The French have marched towards Tirlemont, but I believe only for forage and provisions, they having eaten up everything in their last camp near Maestricht, so that if the Duke repasses the Maes after them, he will be liable to starve. As for Bergen-op-Zoom, it still holds out, and if the garrison and lines had been at first as strong as they are at present, the French could never have taken it, but now it must certainly fall into their hands. 3 pp.

#### COLONEL RUSSELL TO HIS WIFE.

1747, August 15, Saturday. Flushing.—Our doom after Bergen is taken will depend upon the motions of the enemy, but I believe they will give their men some rest before proceeding elsewhere. Col. Barrington, who went with General Husk as far as Bergen, reports that the garrison now makes a very good defence, but when the enemy first broke ground they were permitted to do it within a few yards of the glacis before so much as a gun was fired at them from the garrison, nor were the trees and houses cleared away from before the town.

He dined with Lord John Murray and Lord Loudon, the former of whom commands the two Highland regiments there. They live very comfortably, being the only two regiments who don't go on duty into the town, and the enemy having brought no forces against the lines since they left off their attack upon Fort Rover. The desolation of the place is not to be wondered at, as the enemy has been for six weeks so near it with artillery at their command. Yesterday being St. Louis day, I suppose they would make no small effort, and probably by now have gained the outworks; chiefly by undermining and blowing to pieces.

Marshal Saxe and the grand army have only moved about ten miles for the sake of fresh green forage, and ours remain on the other side the river, but are moved nearer Liege. 3 pp.

#### THE SAME TO THE SAME.

1747, August 21–September 1, Friday. Flushing.—This is the Prince of Orange's birthday, but I am told he has desired that it might not be publicly kept. Bergen still holds out, although Lowendhall had promised his monarch that it should be in his hands long before this. The enemy for the last few days have been employed in forming lines of circumvallation, in case of an attack from our own re-inforcements, which will soon

amount to a little army of thirty-one battalions and forty-four squadrons, besides six thousand irregulars under Prince Esterhazy, the whole to be commanded by General Chancelos. These will serve to cover Holland, but I have no idea that they will be able to raise the siege.

Bishop Twisden has been very lately at Bergen, to try to pick up some fine pictures, and out of curiosity visited all our works in the midst of the fire.

I am sorry to say that Brigadier Douglass is so ill that his life is in great danger. He would indeed be a public loss.

This goes by a Captain Noel, now going to England to take command of a new fifty gun ship called the *Severn*. He is a distant relation of our Noels and the elder branch of the family, but he knows Bledloe very well and much of our neighbourhood, and is brother to Lord Wentworth, the present possessor of Bradnum, to whom late Lady Wentworth left 1,200*l.* per annum with the title.\* He is a very agreeable, polite man, from whom I have received great civilities, and has promised to come to see me in co. Bucks. He is often with Tom Rowney at Oxford, who is his uncle, and from whom he has expectations, and tells me he will go and see Johnny Greenhill. Three other captains have been preferred from this station, while our poor relation, though full as meritorious, for want of interest must remain commander of a sloop only. I wish you would mention this to my sister, so that her mistress might see it, and inform her that he is a Russell and worthy of the name, and one also whom Commodore Mitchell would strongly recommend; so that if his Grace of Bedford were applied to, he would have no reason to be ashamed of preferring one of his own name who would be an ornament to it. Perhaps Lord Sandwich would speak for him to have command of a post ship, instead of only the *Swan* sloop, on this station. The sickness amongst our men increases in spite of all our care. 5 pp.

#### COLONEL RUSSELL TO HIS WIFE.

1747. August 22, Saturday night. Flushing.—Captain Russell, who dined with us to-day, tells me he has been sixteen years in the service, and has a hundred junior officers made post-captains over his head. There is none he would refer his character to in preference to Admiral Boscawen, who recommended him for his sloop, and was always his good friend. If Fanny could help him, I should be glad.

We had no great doings here on account of the Prince of Orange's birthday, but there were some at Middleburgh and at a little village or two where some people had a mind to appear loyal, and at Bergen the garrison kept up a continual fire from sun-rising to sun-setting, in honour of the day. The Commodore

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\*Martha Lovelace, Baroness Wentworth in her own right, was succeeded by Sir Edward Noel, grandson of her cousin, Sir John Noel. She had married Sir Henry Johnson of Bradenham, co. Bucks (whose daughter Anne married Thomas Wentworth, 1st Earl of Strafford of the new creation).

is very sanguine that the town may still hold out, and when the spring tides come they may be able to flood the enemy's trenches and so retard their progress. At least seven hundred men in our two regiments are down with fevers and agues, and many more than that in the two regiments in South Beveland. I am in hopes that Brigadier Douglass is better. 8 pp.

COLONEL RUSSELL to HIS WIFE.

1747, September 3, Thursday. Flushing.—Capt. Russell has conveyed General Husk to Deal, but I think I now see his sloop returning hither, and hope he will bring me a letter. "I am sorry to say that the fate of poor Bergen must now very soon be over," the enemy having raised four or five new batteries (by which the poor old General's quarters have been laid flat), and done great execution in the town by their continued firing of cannon and mortars. The Dutch cannot be brought to stand the fire, though made almost drunk to animate them, and the only reliance is on the Scotch Dutch, Swiss and their allies, who have fought bravely, aided by the vast strength of the works themselves, but the garrison must submit at last, and I believe will have orders to retire without being made prisoners. Then a little time will show whether anything further will be attempted in these watery parts of the world, with Chanclos so near, while we have some force at sea and the Dutch ships without number are posted up the Maes to preserve Holland; or whether any pen and ink work is going on. These low countries and ditches cant be the scene of action long, for after all this dry weather, we must expect rain, when it does come, with a witness. And we need it much, to wash not only the town but the whole island, filling the dykes and ditches with wholesome water instead of putrified nauseous, stinking puddles, which infect the very air and greatly increase the country's distemper. I cant help telling you of one of the Swiss captains here, who for many years has kept up a constant correspondence with his mistress in Switzerland, they writing to each other twice a week, letters of the smallest character, lines very close, and sixteen pages long. When he was at Bergen, he never failed, even when on duty, and as he was writing by the help of a candle, in one of the front works of the town, a cannon ball snuffed his candle for him, but he merely had it re-lighted, as it was snuffed too close, and continued his letter. The world does not abound in such instances of love and friendship.

*Postscript.* Two o'clock. The Commodore has come to dine with us, bringing the sad news of poor Speed's death. He showed me a letter he had to-day received from him "with a very pretty account of the condition they were in, with several jokes, and concluding that General Sanclos was come to hold a conference with General Cromstron, that the knats were very troublesome to them, but believed they were more so to the enemy, and would have a worse effect among them than the result of the two Generals' councils." Two hours after this letter arrived, another

came from Lord Lempster, who is a volunteer at Bergen, stating that as Colonel Speed was standing by him on a ravelin, he was shot through the head by two musket balls. He had just written to the Dukes of Bedford and Montague, and Lady Betty Jermain. "I saw another very good letter from an officer, giving a great character of poor Speed, and that what a loss the garrison had had, nobody having animated the troops more than he had done, and had no fault but that of exposing his own person too much."<sup>o</sup>  
5 pp.

COLONEL RUSSELL TO HIS WIFE.

1747, September 6, Sunday. Flushing.—"About four hours after I wrote to you yesterday, and that the Commodore had dispatched the cutter, advice came from Bergen-op-Zoom that between one and five o'clock yesterday morning, the enemy stormed the town in two or three places, and put the whole garrison to the sword." This morning a confirmation of it has come, but we know no particulars. We expect General Husk in four or five days, but if an answer from the Prince of Orange should arrive, with powers for us to press boats, we should undoubtedly go for Breda. Our transports will be our last refuge, if absolutely necessary. "The people here seem to be in some consternation, which I don't wonder at, but however, if if they had taken better care of us, we might not have been so sickly, and in a condition unable to defend them if wanted."  
2 pp.

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

1747, September 8, Tuesday. Flushing—"It is in vain to attempt to give you a perfect account of the taking of Bergen-op-Zoom, but shall relate part of a letter I read from one of our engineers who was in the town, who says that the enemy had made five breaches, at all which they made a general attack, and which begun about four in the morning on Saturday last, the 5th O.S., but that the enemy was in the middle of the town before the garrison was under arms; however, that we disputed it till nine before the enemy was in possession of the whole town; that he could give but an imperfect account of our loss, but believes we might lose about fifteen hundred killed and wounded; that the Prince of Hesse Philipstadt was shot through the leg; that our troops in the lines retired with General Cromstrom to Steinbergen, except six regiments who went into Tholen, by crossing a bridge of boats, in order to defend that place and the island.

"I cannot help observing that 'tis very extraordinary that a garrison which has defended itself so well for nine weeks should at last be so surprised as to be taken by storm without being prepared to defend themselves, for had the breaches been properly guarded, and a sufficient number of men to

\* Several letters written by Speed to the Duke of Montagu are calendared in the Commissioners' Report upon the Duke of Buccleuch's MSS. at Montagu House, Vol. I., issued in 1899.

sustain them, the enemy would have found it a much more difficult task than they did; besides it is said the breaches were so small that they might have been with the more ease defended and that the enemy took the opportunity of the setting of the moon to begin to fill the ditch with fascines, and which they had but little time to do it in, being between the moon setting and day-break, the only suspicious time, by which means they filled the ditch and so begun the attack. This is certainly agreed on by all hands, that the enemy was in the town before the garrison was under arms, and therefore am afraid all who could make their escape took to their heels. Those who could not, made the best defence they were able, which made the confusion and slaughter last so long before all was over, and by what I can learn the Scotch Hollanders and one or two more regiments have very few men or officers left. As a confirmation of the surprise, it is to be feared that the troops in the lines have so precipitately retired that they have left all their tents and baggage to be a prey to the enemy. The French will have gained great glory by this conquest, and being flushed with success, if they have sufficient troops to spare, may make still further attempts, but what or which way they will next advance, I wont pretend to say. This being the island of the most consequence, the Commodore is placing his ships to the best advantage between this and South Beveland, in case they should bend their course to these islands. To-morrow or next day we may expect an answer from the Prince of Orange with regard to us and our going to Breda; perhaps he may throw obstacles to our going there, since the fate of Bergen is determined, so that we still continue in a very uncertain situation."

A very good physician, Dr. Barker, has been sent to us from London, on General Husk's recommendation, who has brought with him a hundred weight of bark and other medicines for the sick. The General sets out from London as to-day, and is to make but a short stay with us on his way to the Duke. The doctor says that if our men are not removed from this town they will not get rid of their agues, &c., all winter, and will be unfit for the ensuing campaign, and even those who are tolerably well will fall down if they are not better provided for by the magistrates, who however are now ready to supply us with everything, if we would but stay here.

I hope you will write to Mrs. Mountney that she may inform Mr. Frankland of poor Speed's death.

*Postscript.* Wednesday morning. An engineer just come from Tholen, who escaped from Bergen, says "that the works have all along defended themselves, and that before the town was stormed the old general was fled and left the garrison asleep. The French are investing of Steinbergen, and our troops, who retired thither, are cut off from Tholen. I wish this surprise upon the town does not, if the truth was known, turn out a black story." Our communication with Holland may soon be cut off, except by sea, so it is doubtful if we shall go to Breda. 5½ pp.

## COLONEL RUSSELL TO HIS WIFE.

1747, September 13. Sunday, Flushing.—I fear when you got my letter, with “the account of poor Bergen’s cruel fate, that your mind would be filled with strange ideas of Breda being the next place, but it is not likely that four invalid regiments would be sent to waste provisions and take up room in a town that might be invested, and you will see by my last that the Duke has ordered us to Grave, a healthy situation on a fine flowing river, where I hope our battalion (once the finest I believe in Europe) will recover from its present deplorable condition. General Husk was very good in representing our state in England, and the King has sent us ten live oxen and fifty sheep, which are to be sold at threepence a pound, for the use only of the four battalions in Zealand, with small beer and Thames water gratis. The whole is consigned to Colonel Braddock to distribute, receive the money for, and make return to the Treasury of the Navy, and as this gives no small trouble, you may be sure it falls upon me. However, as so great a good attends it, it is no little pleasure to me, and with the help of my quarter-master, Captain Evelyn, who is not only a real pretty fellow but extremely clever in all his disagreeable duty, the poor men will, I hope, be comforted and strengthened. We have at this time above six hundred in our regiment unfit for duty, besides many who call themselves fit but would not be allowed so at any other time, and so have not enough to do the ordinary guards, though they are reduced to as few as possible. I cannot yet be quite without hope that England may be thought the best place for us, but next to this, our present destination certainly gives the best prospect for the good of our people. We cannot stir until Captain Orme, whom Col. Braddock sent yesterday to the Hague, returns, and also our *scoots* are not yet here, and, some say, will not come until they bring other troops to supply our place. Col. Braddock and I think of hiring a yacht, as our voyage may last seven or eight days, and the *scoots* are far from comfortable. “As for poor Bergen, ’tis certain a messenger came in the night before, and told ’em what they were to expect if they would not give up the town, which their Generals had much better, though shamefully, have done than in this much more ignominious manner; that the Prince of Orange is in the utmost concern, at a time when he was in hopes his nation and troops were going to recover their character by bravery and so gloriously defending Bergen as he thought they had done for nine weeks, should at last so shamefully forfeit what he was so big with expectation of, and now, ’tis to be feared, will irrecoverably lose . . . The French are at present about reducing the fort of Lillo, which is the only little fortification between them and Antwerp, and lies upon the Scheld. ’Twill amuse ’em a little while, and perhaps all they may undertake this campaign.”

I am sorry to say poor Kepple has lost the use of his arm.

*Postscript.* General Husk has just arrived, but brings nothing

new, and leaves us on Tuesday or Wednesday, to go to the army.  
7½ pp.

COLONEL RUSSELL TO HIS WIFE.

1747, September 16, Wednesday. Flushing.—At the time the Duke sent his orders he did not know that we were designed for Breda, so that probably some expresses must pass and repass between him and the Hague before our destination is settled. When General Husk was in England, it was once decided that we should go to Dover, Deal and Canterbury, until our men were recovered, but some mighty reasons of State altered that resolution. The General has been advising with us in everything we could think of for the welfare of our men, but he leaves us to-morrow morning to go to the Duke, and does not know where he will be in winter quarters himself. Breda is not likely to be our fate, though it is a healthy and agreeable place, and Grave appears to be at too great a distance in case we should be wanted at home, so we do not know what is to become of us, but no doubt all will be for the best. If this bad weather continues, the French cant keep the field long. All they have done since they took Bergen has been attacking Fort Frederick, after which Fort Lillo will, I suppose, be the next, and then they will have all the Scheld between Bergen and Antwerp. Pray thank my sister for her endeavours to get some one to speak to the Duke of Bedford on Captain Russell's account. General Husk promised to do so, "but for want of seeing him made Lord Anson memorandum him in [his] pocket book in order to speak for him to the aforesaid Duke.

"I am sorry to say poor Lady Irwin behaves so idly to desire her Brigadier may be taken up, and has sent for his corpse over to England. I suppose Merrick, the first major to the First regiment, is dead, and I don't doubt but Parslow will have his company, which may be a means of his going home. In the room of poor Campbell, my late lieutenant, a younger son of Lady Exeter succeeds him, and is arrived here, but as I heard not the best character of him, and supposing he would be of little use to me, I got Evelyn to be posted to my company a few days before he came. He has dined with us, and knows me through Mrs. Mountney very well, but that's enough. Noel is his acquaintance, but the General has desired him before Noel's face to be cautious of him; that he might do him no harm, but he is sure he would do him no good. Poor Noel is a great f——; is good natured when sober, but very disagreeable, wrong-head[ed] when otherwise. . . . He is happy when he can get any one to dine with from home, for then he is sure to take his scope, and if 'tis in this town, he makes it very late, and generally comes with such a cut face or a black eye in some fall he contrives to get, that he cant appear for some days. He is under that circumstance at present, but of this you'll take no notice. Braddock, Colonel Barrington and my ensign and myself go on very well." Craggs and Evelyn have, to our concern, left

us on account of expense, but we often see them at our nightly assembly, when we have a good fire, whist at a guelder, which is 20*d.* a corner, a chess table and a cold supper at nine; always abed before twelve, sometimes before eleven." 7 *pp.*

COLONEL RUSSELL TO HIS WIFE.

1747, September 18, Friday. Flushing.—I knew you would be sorry for poor Speed and poor Bergen. The old General had certainly orders, when the town could no longer make defence, to march out with all the troops (except those few who, I suppose, were destined to be sacrificed), but surely they ought, as long as the garrison was capable of making a vigorous defence, to have withstood the attack. Where the fault was I wont pretend to say, but their national troops could not have behaved worse than they did. Our two Swiss friends were luckily not on duty that night, but in the lines, and so were safe. Yesterday morning Braddock received an express from his plenipo. at the Hague, with orders from the Prince of Orange that, agreeably to the march route sent by him before, we were to take boat to Breda, of which advice had been sent to the Duke. About seven hours later the plenipo. himself arrived, but, in the interim, the Prince had changed his mind, and had signed fresh routes. He told our plenipo. that he thought Grave too far from England, and our present orders are for the two battalions of the Royals to go to Heusden, and General Bragg's regiment and our battalion to go to Bois-le-duc. This also the Prince has signified to the Duke, but as the boats have to come for us, and places to be provided for our sick at Bois-le-Duc, another order may meanwhile arrive from the Duke for us to go to yet another place.

"I know nothing of the French but that they have pretty well reconnoitred Steinbergen and Tholen, and find, what with the late rains and inundations about those places, 'tis not easy to attempt 'em: and that they are reducing still the two forts of St. [*sic*] Frederick and Lillo, upon the Scheld, both which, I imagine, may soon be in their power, after which I believe 'twill be time to go into winter quarters on all sides. The French King is certainly gone, and passed a few days since through Brussels and Ghent in his way to Lisle and so to Paris." The Commodore tells us that the Duke and our army have passed the Maes.

If Fanny should see Mr. Adair, our agent, who is very great with Lord Anson, she might remind him of General Husk's recommendation of Capt. Russell to the Duke of Bedford. Tell my sister that I know nothing of Colonel Cornwallis, but hear that the two Scotch regiments were seen going in their transports to Williamstadt.

No place could be so good for our men as England. It is a fact that we have not at present eighty men fit for service. 5 *pp.*



## COLONEL RUSSELL to HIS WIFE.

1747, [September 20—]October 1,\* Sunday morning. Flushing.—News has come that the packet boat dispatched from here on September 12, old style, was taken and carried into Ostend by a French privateer, and all the letters thrown overboard, so you will lose the long letter which I wrote to you on the 11th, telling you of our orders from the Duke to proceed directly to Grave, and describing the beauties of the place, a fine, healthy town on the Maes, opposite to Nimeguen. However, since then we have had counter-orders from the Prince of Orange, as I told you in my last. Our state is worse than ever, and Braddock's return to the Duke to-day is only fifty-five men who have not been ill, four sergeants and two drums, out of our whole battalion, and none recovered sufficiently to be called fit for service. Col. Cornwallis has safely reached the army under General Chanclos. Excuse this scrawl, as I am in haste. 3 pp.

## THE SAME to THE SAME.

1747, September 22, Tuesday. Flushing.—The Prince of Orange has sent us some boats, but Col. Braddock had a letter from Lord Chesterfield last night directing him to wait for the Duke's orders, which we expect to have shortly. When we are in earnest about going, my business will take up much of my time, as the preparations for our poor sick men will require some care and thought.

"I can send you no news but that the enemy are still attacking the two forts of Frederick and Lillo; that the governor of the latter is killed; that our army under Chanclos is still at Oudenbos, and the Duke where he was, behind the Maes." 3 pp.

## THE SAME to THE SAME.

1747, October 1, Thursday. From on board the *Mary* yacht in Ter Veer Road.—We left Flushing yesterday with the tide, with all our *scoots*, to the number of three-score, and came to an anchor in this road about twelve o'clock. To describe to you the melancholy objects I saw yesterday when our poor souls were embarking would give you the spleen, for such a sight I never saw before. It was far worse than a field of battle. However, it is a great comfort that our sick are rather better than worse to-day, and I hope we may not lose many upon the voyage. We have stopped here to take in bread, provided gratis by the Prince of Orange's orders, but the Dutch are so slow in all their proceedings that we have lost the tide, and must remain many more hours. Our yacht is most comfortable and convenient, and as our doctor, not being any better, got leave to make his way to Bois-le-duc as quickly as he could, we have taken in poor Evelyn, who is an invalid, in his room. Colonel Braddock is only ill every other day, and keeps up very well. 3 pp.

\* This letter, contrary to Col. Russell's custom, is dated new style.

## COLONEL RUSSELL TO HIS WIFE.

1747, October 3, Saturday. Dort.—After a pleasant voyage, we arrived at this place about ten last night, and are now dividing the worst of our sick, supplying them with provisions, and sending them away to our grand hospital at Ousterhout. We send but a hundred men, the hospital not being able to take more than that proportion from our battalion. Our two regiments designed for Heusden also leave us here, and this evening I hope we shall proceed on our way. I have just been ashore to take a view of Dort, which is one of the principal towns in the province of Holland, large, finely situated, and exceeded by none for trade, all kinds of goods and wines coming down here from Italy by the Rhine. We always dine on our yacht and have the good luck to have a very good English woman cook on board, who can cook us a "water zuitchee" to perfection. Our French cook is so ill that we had to send him to one of our sick ships. Captain Evelyn is well enough to be sent forward to provide quarters for us at Bois-le-duc, which we hope we may reach to-morrow night. Col. Braddock has really been very ill, but behaves very well with it. He begins to take bark to-morrow, and I hope will have no more of it. John Russell has been my true and trusty servant, and not had a day's illness, and Jack has no return of his ague, but I assure you scarcely a servant has been able to attend his master at our mess, although not one of the masters has been ill except Braddock, who, as I tell him, has lived too abstemiously. Craggs and Evelyn have both been ill, but since they left us. 3 pp.

## THE SAME TO THE SAME.

1747, October 7, Wednesday. Bois-le-duc.—We arrived here on Monday night and disembarked yesterday. Our men are already the better for their voyage, and will have good care taken of them here, in a well-regulated hospital under the direction of a proper man. Also their quarters are better than at Flushing, but air and situation, I fear, are not, for although the town is spacious and there are no stinking dykes, yet the whole country round us lies under water, excepting some few causeways leading to the neighbouring towns. However we are in hopes that we may soon be removed to Breda, which is a much more healthy and agreeable place. In consequence of Braddock's illness, I had to wait on Major General de Guy, the commandant of this town, as well as the governor, who proves to be old Cromstron, to receive directions about our disembarking. "The old General looks much more ready to go into his grave than to be fit for this world, therefore am the more surprised how he could have the command of so late an important fortress to this country." The Duke began his march yesterday, and will be in this neighbourhood with his army in a few days, where they will remain until they go into winter quarters. General Husk, who is at Breda

arranging for the English infantry, told our quarter-master that we also should soon go there. The Duke leaves the army tomorrow, calls on the Prince of Orange, who is at Oudenbos with his army, and thence proceeds to the Hague, and, I suppose, for England.

Lord Bury writes to Braddock that Bockland will very likely succeed to a regiment. Poor Dr. Barker is left at Heusden, sick with ague and fever. Dr. Maxwell, another of our physicians general, but more used to this method of our hospitals, has the care of us, and was sent before us from Flushing to prepare everything for our sick. 5 pp.

COLONEL RUSSELL TO HIS WIFE.

1747, October 11, Sunday. Bois-le-duc.—I hope this fine weather will be good for our men, and the goodness and cheapness of provisions will be an advantage to them, as also their better quarters, but this place is as bad as Flushing for agues and fevers. Happily our stay here will be short. The day before yesterday who should I meet but Jack Robinson, sent here by Lord Albemarle to announce that he was coming next day to review us. He dined with our mess, who in a snug manner have got together again (except Noel) and we set up a bed for him. Yesterday Lord Albemarle paid us a visit (the English troops being on their march to their head-quarters at Breda) "and saw about twelve men a company, with about six or seven sergeants in all; which he seemed to bear with great patience, in hopes time and a better situation will greatly recover us, and telling us the other two battalions were extremely weak." The Duke is to return from the Prince of Orange to Breda before he goes for the Hague, when the English winter quarters will, I suppose, be quite settled. That place being thought not large enough for the twenty-two British battalions, some will probably be cantoned in adjacent towns, but our brigade will be sure to be together there. Lord Albemarle only breakfasted with us, as, being General of the day, he expected a good deal of company at his quarters for dinner, and so had to return to the army, which lies encamped at Ousterwick, nine miles away. Noel has been in and tells me he dined there and saw all my acquaintances of the Guards. I have just given him leave to go again; he is quite wild, but as good-natured as ever when sober, and surely as great a fool as ever you saw. However, we are very well together, and I mean to keep so if possible. He and seven or eight more put down their reasons for wishing for leave, and sent them to his Royal Highness, but were all refused, as Lord Albemarle told us, except Barrington, who he took care should get it, and very reasonably, as he is here as a sort of volunteer. "His Lordship joked with me by saying the Duke took notice of my not having asked leave, and that he was sure I should always turn out well in the end with regard to going home, but I gave his lordship for answer that I hoped his Royal Highness would be sensible of my having no aversion to go for England, and that if one field officer was

thought sufficient to stay with a battalion of Guards, as Colonel Braddock did by no means desire to go, that I should really have no objection to going. I take for granted they want their joke, and to have a pleasure in giving me a refusal, but I shall not be so *caught*, but shall certainly give his Royal Highness, as well as his Lordship, to understand that I have been every year abroad, and at no small expense, and that how easy it may be to make one some amends by having it in their power to make one happy at home, in the winter, if not wanted here. . . . I am sorry I can send no memorial from Captain Russell. His ship is going home, and he may then perhaps call upon my sister. If so, she may advise him what is best, but no memorial is better than a very ill drawn up one, which he sent me the day before I left Flushing, which I tore, unknown to him."

*Postscript.* Lord Albemarle has just sent to invite Braddock, Barrington and myself to dinner to-morrow at his quarters. 5½ pp.

#### COLONEL RUSSELL TO HIS WIFE.

1747, October 14, Wednesday. Bois-le-duc.—Barrington and I rode over to the head-quarters at Ousterwick yesterday, and there met General Ligoniere, Conway and such a vast number of my acquaintances that I had no time to go to the Guards, who lie encamped only a quarter of a mile away, and so did not see Parslow, Hudson, &c. On going with Lord Albemarle to his own quarters, which are at a fine chateau, belonging to the old ras[cal] governor of the town, his Lordship took me aside, asked me many questions concerning his regiment, and in fact, showed so much confidence in me and made me such a number of fine speeches with regard to my known humanity, good conduct, &c., that I suspected all the time what would be the consequence. He said nothing about it, but I have since learned that Reynolds is to have leave, and, it is thought, will sell, and that Braddock will, of course, command the Brigade, so that I shall have the whole and sole care of this battalion and there is little hope of my getting away. The army marched this morning to within two leagues of Breda, where they will remain a few days, and then march into their quarters, soon after which his Royal Highness will probably set out for England. Mr. Wiseman has returned from Breda, and has taken a very good house for us four, ready furnished. Poor Kepple is at Aix-la-Chappelle, very well and has greatly recovered the use of his arm. Sebright, whom I saw with great pleasure at head-quarters, has been aide-de-camp to Sir John Ligoniere ever since my lieutenant's vacancy.

*Postscript.* As to the Guards being ordered home in the winter, it is too good to be true, and I give no credit to your English newspapers or the rumours from our army. I have known too much of camp reports to listen the *least* to them. 4½ pp.

## COLONEL RUSSELL TO HIS WIFE.

1747, October 18, Sunday. Bois-le-duc.—All the Brigadiers here are made major-generals, and no more Brigadiers are to be made, otherwise, Braddock, being made one, would have been quite taken off from this battalion. As it is, he might have cognizance of it in my absence, but that signifies little if His Royal Highness has decided against me. I hear he goes straight from the Hague to England, so that I shall not see him again, but must try Lord Albemarle. It is not impossible he might take me with him if he goes himself, and though you must not flatter yourself with it, yet while there is life there may be hope.

I thought I told you we had been obliged to exclude Noel; and Lord Albemarle sent an order by me to Braddock, that without his leave, no officer here should go to camp, all to prevent Noel's going, as he would call at everyone's tent early in the morning and disturb them, whether he knew them or not. I am sorry he has done himself so much harm, but he seems quite insensible of it, and I never knew him happier than now. Yesterday I was surprised by Kepple, on his way to the army. He has quite recovered the use of his arm, is in high spirits, and is now gone to his general, Sir John Ligoniere. I have seen Cary, and young Capt. Fuller has also been here. He had a narrow escape in the last battle, but seems very well. He tells me that his father will call here, from Aix-la-Chapelle, on his way to the army, and that he left him in high spirits. The Duke has promised that he will soon determine his affair, and I know that the King has ordered the Secretary at War to send him word that a commission is ready for him as lieutenant-general, to be signed as soon as this is over.

Middleton, the director-general of the hospital, is just come hither, and dines with us on his way to the army. He has orders to send all his recovering men hither in their way to their regiments, but the magistrates won't take them in; "in short this is a Dutch town, and they are all such a d——d race of people that they are all alike wherever we go, and the same usage we meet with in all their towns. Our men are not so much as allowed fire and candle, nor we *slope gelt*." I hope our troops will soon be removed, for they are as sickly here as in Zeeland and will all relapse if they stay here. 5½ pp.

## THE SAME TO THE SAME.

1747, October 21. Bois-le-duc.—There are very fine ramparts round this town, three or four miles long, planted with double rows of very lofty trees and with a wide view over the watery marshes and flat country beyond, a ride round which gives me a good stomach and helps to keep off the distemper. "We are not at all mended with regard to the sickness of our men, for as every one almost without exception have been ill before they came, so now they relapse, which this vile situation will not prevent, and I am sorry to say as the enemy have been so successful for their late campaigns to drive us out of the most

healthy parts of the Low Countries, so now they have no occasion to dispossess us of what places we have left, for whatever troops remain in these countries in winter quarters have need of no more powerful enemy to contest with than the natural inclemency of the climate, which will destroy, or what is worse, render useless, more brave men than all the fire and sword that they have so lately felt." I hoped the day of our removal would have been fixed by now, but the winter quarters of the army are not yet settled, as I hear from Jack Robinson, although the Duke is hourly expected back there and then no doubt it will be done.

*Postscript.* "My care has been lately among my own sergeants and corporals, who have all been ill, and to prevent relapses, except poor Sabine, who has been very ill again here, and another new, careful non-pareil of a sergeant I've made. The former with great difficulty I've got the tincture of bark to keep on his stomach, so have stopped his fits, and he's on the mending hand; the latter I hope also to bring about, as also to do some good to my company, which is much stronger than any two in the battalion." 8½ pp.

COLONEL RUSSELL TO HIS WIFE.

1747, October 25, Sunday. Bois-le-duc.—Jack Robinson arrived yesterday from Lord Albemarle, with orders (sent by the Duke) for our immediate march to Breda, so to-morrow we go to Loon-op-zant, and shall reach Breda next day. We shall only have about a hundred of our battalion under arms, about two hundred will be taken in covered waggons, and those unfit to move will stay in the hospital here. Bragg's regiment also goes with us, with about five hundred unarmed, recovered men from the hospitals of Maestricht and Venlo, belonging to our whole English infantry, and also some artillery, about twenty pieces of heavy cannon, and fifty carriages belonging to them; all under the command of Colonel Braddock. Poor Sabine and my next best sergeant must stay behind, but the physician has promised to take great care of them, and to send them after me as soon as it is safe for them to travel. Frank, Jack, and John Russell are all well and hearty, and of great service to me; and the cart I had made in Flushing will be of the greatest use, to convey all my baggage safe and dry to Breda. The Duke is expected daily at head-quarters. He has so far sent orders for none but our garrison here, so that we shall be fixed before the rest march in. Twelve regiments are to be with us, and the rest of the infantry in the neighbourhood. I hear that Colonel Duncomb is dead, which makes a fifth regiment vacant, and gives me great hopes that Bockland may get one. Lord George Beauclerk is to have one, I believe. He is here and elder than Col. Dury; and the latter is made major by the vacancy of General Merrick. Who should come here yesterday but Fuller, on his way from Spaw. He has received a letter from Col. Hodgson by order of the Duke that "if he receives no satisfactory answer from the Prince of Orange or the States to justify General Fuller" he

shall declare him innocent in public orders, and of course he will then be declared lieutenant-general, which is all that at present can be done for him. He is greatly broke, but the same man. He dined with us to-day and sets out for Gertrydenburg to-morrow. *3½ pp.*

COLONEL RUSSELL to HIS WIFE.

1747 October 29, Thursday. Breda.—We have had two fine days for our march, and arrived here on Tuesday afternoon. "Lord Albemarle sent us word to halt and clean ourselves about a hundred yards before we came to the gates, which we soon did, and marched about a hundred and fifty men, rank and file, into the town, with colours flying and drums beating, but of the latter had only two able to march. However, we made so fine an appearance that 'twas a sample of what the battalion would have been, and was, before the men began to be sick, so I can assure you we gave great content." We were miserably cast down when we saw our house, but after making some improvements we shall rub on very well. Lord Albemarle is in camp but comes every day to town, having a magnificent house of his own. The Duke came this morning to his quarters, about four miles away, and all the regiments will be in winter quarters to-morrow except the Guards, who will wait until his Royal Highness removes from head-quarters.

The five following marching regiments are to embark forthwith at Williamstadt for England, viz.: Lord George Sackville's, Poulteney's, old General Howard's, Flemming's and late Douglass', but it is said they are to return in the spring. I believe it is imagined that if any of the Guards had gone, it would not have been so easy to get them over again.

"Nothing can come up to the inhumanity of that old villain, old Cromstrom, who no sooner had we marched out of Bois-le-duc but the sick who were left in quarters and barracks, both of ours and Bragg's regiment, that were to be sent for hither by the returned waggons, did that wretch give orders should be turned out into the streets, and if they did not immediately comply, he would send to the main guard and give orders for their being pulled out by their head and shoulders. Two letters came to this effect, which his Royal Highness by this time has got, and hope 'twill be a means of that rascal's being turned out of his government at least. As for his answering for his conduct at Bergen, he, though sent for by the States more than once, has refused to comply with their orders, and pleaded his inability in moving, by reason of his old age and sickness, and yet is just as hearty and well as he was during the whole siege."

Colonel Parslow is here to provide quarters for the first regiment. *5 pp.*

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1747, November 2, Monday. Breda.—"The two battalions of Foot Guards marched from their camp into this garrison on

Saturday last, and his Royal Highness came that morning to his quarters hither, having borrowed the Prince of Orange's house for that purpose, which is, I'll assure you, a very magnificent one. I was at Lord Albemarle's window when his Royal Highness came into town, who did me the honour to speak aloud, and say 'how do you do, Russell' as he passed by. I thought it had a good look, and when I went to wait on him, Braddock and I was told to kiss his hand, when he received me also in a very obliging manner. I afterwards was asked by Lord Ancram and Bury to dine with his Royal Highness, all which I did accept of." Lord Albemarle advised me to defer speaking about my leave until the Duke had more leisure, which I thought had a bad appearance, and as he has great influence in the matter I meant to make a merit of it and tell him I would entirely depend upon him "however, I was saved all that trouble, and don't think I was prettily treated by his Royal Highness, for towards the evening, after having had a little business with Lord Bury, and talking to him about some regimental affairs, when he had thanked me for a fine recruit of six grenadiers I had helped him to last winter, it was rather late and nobody with his Royal Highness but his own family of seven or eight, with whom he was going to sit down to cards, he asked who was in the outward rooms and was told nobody but me with Lord Bury; upon which he sent for me to him, and began to ask me if I did not want to go to England, upon which I was silent and only bowed. He then repeated to me he was sure I would be glad to go, upon which I again bowed, and said his Royal Highness must be assured I would have no objection to it, and should not be *greatly* concerned to go; for all this time I knew his Royal Highness was, what they call, and has been for some time at the head-quarters called cherry-bobbing, treating me in that manner, so was very short in my answers . . . and thus finding he could make no joke of it, he turned it off by asking me many questions relating to the battalion and how the men behaved and lived and how I escaped so well at Flushing." Lord Ancram, York and other friends, flattered me by saying how well I had judged in answering so shortly. Next morning I found that Lord Albemarle had heard all that had passed, and I now consider my doom as fixed. I believe, even if I had pleaded business and succeeded in getting leave, it would hardly have been worth having, for Barrington, who has *real* business, has only a pass for a month, which I would not have thanked anybody for. I should like my sister, when she sees his Royal Highness, merely to say that her brother thought it hard to be tantalized<sup>o</sup> in the matter, but she must not for the world take any notice of it unless he speaks to her. I must now tell you what I promised not even to write to you about, that if *one* person should have a regiment, my station and command would be at home, but perhaps this is saying more than you can read or than I ought to write. 5 pp.

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\* "cherry-bobbed" *erased*.



## COLONEL RUSSELL TO HIS WIFE.

1747, November 3, Tuesday. Breda.—I must tell you "that when He repeated to my Colonel the manner of his cherry-bobbing me, to show it did not answer his purpose and that I prevented the fun he might propose to have, that he added many things which he absolutely did not say; for instance *one* was that he told me, had I been in his own regiment, he could not have refused the solicitations of his sisters, but that now he must perhaps disoblige my Colonel, which would be a sufficient answer for them all. *That* he might intend to say, but did not. These are jokes much too low with people in high station, however, 'twas a satisfaction to me, since I could have no hopes to gain my point, that it did not answer other peoples." My Colonel still assures me that he will send me home if I should be advanced to be first M[ajor], but that you must keep to yourself until the vacancy happens. His Royal Highness left us on Sunday morning to go to Oudenbos and view some adjacent places where some of our regiments are to be cantooned. I hope the good news of our success at sea may induce the enemy to offer better terms than they have done.

I have dined with Lord Ancram since the Duke and he has made me sit by him, and showed me all the civility possible, remembering, as he was pleased to say, my goodness to him when he was of our mess. 3 pp.

## THE SAME TO THE SAME.

1747, November 6, Friday. Breda.—His Royal Highness' motions have of late not been communicated till ready to be executed, so that it was scarce known on Wednesday that he meant to leave yesterday, which he did, early in the morning, for the Hague. I dined with him the day before, being asked again by Lord Bury, and took my leave of him in the afternoon, wishing him health and a good journey. In the evening I met Colonel York at Parslow's, who told me he was sure his Royal Highness meant to be very civil to me, sending for me that evening as he did, and that if I had pushed my going home further, he would probably have told me that he could not possibly spare me. "I said I was then glad I saved him that trouble, but could not for the soul of me take it as any favour to be joked with in that manner on a subject that touched me a little too near." Philosophy is more requisite in our profession than in any I know, but I was never put to the trial of it so much as upon the present occasion. Every colonel in the First regiment except Hudson and Parslow are gone. Dury has been employed as commissary of the forage, ever since General Bland was wounded and left the army, and now he is second major he has been sent to the Hague, and after settling some forage accounts there, he goes to England, but returns in the spring, when General Leforey will be sent home. The 3rd regiment has no field officer left (Reynolds going home in two or three days), and scarce above one colonel, but ours are every one kept except

poor Barrington, and if he can get his business done without him, he wont accept his month's leave. I think Bockland's affair will be settled in a month's time, as the day for clothing the army has of late years always been fixed for the 9th or 11th, old style, of this month. Lord Crauford is to have the clothing of his late regiment of foot, his present regiment of dragoons having cost him a great sum by their losses in the late battle, and it not being a clothing year with them. "General Fuller sat next to me the last day I dined with the Duke. It was the first day his Royal Highness had seen him. I asked him what he said to him when he was presented; he told me, nothing, that is to any purpose. I believe I forgot to tell you that just before we came here, 'twas given out in public orders in camp that Major General Fuller would soon be declared innocent, as would appear by the public trial of General Rocque, and would then have his rank of a lieutenant-general. I also omitted to tell you that Le Rocque was sentenced to be beheaded, but that I heard the Princess of Orange had interceded for his life, so that he is to be perpetually imprisoned in a castle near some river in Holland. I heard Lord Albemarle ask Fuller his choice, which he might have, either to stay or go into England. He chose the latter and to return hither in the spring.

"If Fred Frankland had been properly asked, I don't see how he could have refused choosing me in Parliament this last summer till Tom returned, when I could have vacated my seat, and have gone, in the interim, every winter to London; but the Franklands were never born to serve the Russells, so 'twas not to be."

Noel has asked for leave, but has been refused. Sabine is come and is greatly recovered, which is some comfort to me. Everyone in the whole regiment is or has been ill, not above ten excepted. I am glad Canterbury and York will be so well supplied.\* I wish Johnny Greenhill was inclined to take orders, as we might then provide for him. Pray send me the numbers of my two lottery tickets, that I may have a hope, when I peruse the newspapers, and the lottery is drawing.

Braddock and I continue very good friends, and I flatter myself he has a very favourable opinion of me, which is a little uncommon. 5½ pp.

#### COLONEL RUSSELL TO HIS WIFE.

1747, November 10, Tuesday. Breda. I am very happy in the description you give of my little Johnny, and as to my dear Molly, "I often please myself with the thoughts of the real happiness she will be to us both: that if it should please God she may have a lucky lot should she change her condition, that would be an unexpected piece of good fortune, but as I think the

\*Dr. Matthew Hutton made Archbishop of York vice Dr. Thomas Herring translated to Canterbury.

odds are so much against her and that her chance of being happy is much more likely to be in the preserving her own liberty, that the friendship we shall find in her, and the companion she will be to us both, is a thought that frequently revives my spirits." I feel that I ought to be very happy with so many blessings and try to make the best of everything here, in hopes of living to enjoy my family at home in peace and tranquility. My mornings are fully occupied by matters relating to the garrison and the men, and any service that I can do to our poor unhappy sick men is a great satisfaction to me. My duty as a colonel in the garrison, where there are only two of us of that rank, is scarcely anything at present, except in the care and exact inspection of our respective corps. Braddock will have that of the brigade this week, as Reynolds goes on Friday. I rise early every day, Lord Albemarle showing us the example and being on parade almost every morning. Last Friday "I went to an assembly to the Commandant's, the present governor of the town, one Brigadier Van Leyden, who has a very good house, a good sort of woman for his lady, both very well bred people, and speak only French and Dutch; but have a son and daughter, both very agreeable, young, and the latter really tolerable handsome, and both speak very good English. In short I found four tables at whist and soon made one among 'em, playing no higher than one, two, three half florins a game. A florin is 20*d*. Two or three very good sort of people I found there, especially one Colonel Mackey, commandant to a Scotch Dutch battalion that behaved so well at Bergen; who lost seventeen officers and brought off but forty men with the colours the day the town was taken, having defended themselves to the last in that manner. This man also speaks good English, and lives in this town; is my particular acquaintance and was vastly fond of poor Speed. He has a most beautiful daughter here, who will have 30,000*l*. . . On Saturday I dined with Prince Wolfenbottle, who commanded as a general of Foot in the Austrian service this last campaign and is to command this garrison this winter. He is between thirty and forty, a handsome person, fond of the English, a very good officer and the most amiable character a man can have; in politeness, civility, &c., cant be exceeded. He is a prince of the blood, being first cousin to the present Empress." At night I went again to Madame Van Leyden's on purpose to see Madame Vanharen, our old acquaintance, Mrs. Charles, whom I remember we would scarce take notice of, but I suspected that now she would play the great lady and forget me, and so it happened; however, when I told her who I was, she was mighty civil, enquired after you all, and said I was much altered by being so much fatter than when she saw me last. She is not in the least altered, but looks rather better by being a little fatter than she was.

Yesterday, at Lord Albemarle's request, I went to see a chateau for an hospital for our regiment, taking Evelyn and our surgeon with me.

We have taken another house, into which we move on Saturday se'ennight, the fine lady to whom it belongs and her daughters packing up all their fine furniture to go to the Hague and leaving us scarce anything but some chairs and tables, but it is a magnificent house, with gilt leather hangings and vast conveniences. 6 pp.

COLONEL RUSSELL TO HIS WIFE.

1747, November 13, Friday. Breda.—I wish my dear little Molly could communicate her application and memory in French to her Papa, for it would be of great service! I can chatter the common dialogue at cards, but at Prince Wolfenbottle's table it is with the utmost difficulty that I can understand three words of what he says, for he speaks very fast and stammers a little. I have twice refused to dine with him, he not failing to invite me if I go to his levee, which is unavoidable sometimes; and indeed I ought not to complain, since there cant be a more agreeable man, especially at his table, and *that* a very elegant one. On Monday night there was a grand entertainment at Monsieur Van Leyden's for Monsieur Vanharen and his lady, who was most particularly civil to me, but amazed when I spoke of my wife and family, and said I must have forgot how many years she had left England. "I told her, her being not the least altered, made me think 'twas but the other day, and in fact, 'tis so, she is just the same, and if she has any wrinkles, she lays it on to that advantage that one cant discover any. She left us yesterday morning and is gone to stay at the Hague, but her great Lord remains with us, sometimes going to Steinbergen and Tholen, acting all he can for the service of the Prince of Orange. By all accounts he is a very able man in politics, and not in extraordinary circumstances; the latter I imagine is the reason for his being so much in the Prince's interest."

Colonel Reynolds left us yesterday, and Braddock acting in his room gives me the command of the battalion, so that at present I am fully employed and fear I shall continue to be so, from the deplorable state we are in, for our men are rather worse than better, and I firmly believe we shall not be in a condition to take the field next year, "but if you must know my opinion, I have no idea any of us will, for necessity will oblige our people at home to accept of terms we should not otherwise have done, and which I believe will be all settled at a congress at Aix-la-Chápelle this winter. Col. Rambouliet's death will, I believe, send home Hudson, and Parslow will also go, as he has been promised Merrick's company in England." Don't fancy that anything here does more than serve to make the tedious hours pass less disagreeably. The Prince says we shall have a comedy, but it is impossible to have a tolerable company here. I have subscribed to a concert, but it does not begin till next week. The Duke sailed last Wednesday. 3½ pp.

## COLONEL RUSSELL TO HIS WIFE.

1747, November 17. Breda.—I must own that I feed myself with hopes that Bockland will succeed, or that we shall not have another campaign, and that therefore we cannot fail of meeting next summer. "Dury is certainly a lucky fellow, for I believe the Duke will keep him in England to have the care of the two battalions there, and that Folliot, being in greater disgrace than ever, will no longer receive his Royal Highness' bounty of 1,000*l.* per annum, and of course cant be refused a regiment . . . so that the aforesaid Colonel, by being in high favour, will, I dont doubt, before 'tis long, succeed to the annual gratuity given out of the clothing for taking care of the regiment, the poor wretch of a man who is left field officer here being such a good-for-nothing miser and worthless animal that he meets with his proper deserts by being despised by all, from his Colonel to the lowest ensign. Had he not been recommended so strongly as he was by Folliot to the King, for fear I should have succeeded to the then vacant majority, I should have been at this time *first* and Dury second Major, but . . . I'm thankful for the past as well as present blessings I enjoy, and greatly depend on speedy future ones."

We go into our grand house next Saturday, where I have a warm pleasant bedchamber, hung round with handsome gilt leather, a modern marble chimney-piece, and two sash windows, looking into our garden and with a view of the Prince of Orange's house. Barrington leaves us about ten days hence, and in his room we shall have Colonel Cæsar, who is a good-natured agreeable man, but we shall lose the life and high spirit of the former. Except Cary and Parslow, and three or four of our own regiment, I hardly know anyone here, though we have seven or eight regiments in the town besides the Guards; but Lord Albemarle is the only general officer, the Guards have only four colonels in both the other battalions, and excepting these, we have scarce an officer above the rank of a major but what has had leave to go to England. Jack Robinson is well and leads an easy life, without the expense of a shilling, but if he cant purchase a company before the next campaign, I believe he will quit the service. "His patron, as he is commander in chief of the English troops in the Low Countries, and so has nobody near equal to him in rank here among the English, he for that reason perhaps wont let himself down, by way of entering into any sociable way of an evening, as he used formerly to do, but in short passes his time in a more retired way; as usual keeps a good table which is always full, and nobody more polite at it." We have a very good man here, the chaplain to the 1st regiment, who supplies Jeffrey's place with us. He gave us a very good discourse on Sunday at the great church, where we have service twice a week. "Our men, I'm sorry to say, are much worse than better. What effect the cold weather may have I cant tell, at present it only makes 'em relapse, and gives the distemper to those who had escaped it before; some of those that one hoped might recover fall at present into fluxes."

I long to know what's doing at the meeting of the parliament!  
 5½ pp.

COLONEL RUSSELL to HIS WIFE.

1747, November 25, Wednesday. Breda.—I have entrusted the execution of your commissions to a major in Lord Rothes' regiment of dragoons, who has a wife and about a dozen children at the Hague, and may go to them when he pleases. He and they are unparalleled in their goodness and his judgment is excellent, so I could not have picked out a more proper person. Col. Barrington started at four o'clock this morning for Helvoet, and hopes to be in London to-morrow night. We have a lovely day after a very rainy one, and I hope a little cool fine weather "may be of service to our poor sick battalion, which by no means is on the mending hand as yet. I have been obliged to see it, such as it is, out just now in single companies, to prepare 'em against being reviewed to-morrow, Lord Albemarle going through the whole garrison, seeing two battalions per week till he has viewed them all, and examined the condition they are in upon their first arrival, as is usual, into winter quarters."

I should be grateful if my sister could contrive, with Mr. Ramsden's advice, to send me an Evening Post (for which I would gladly pay the postage) twice a week, as our army post, which used to supply us, is broken up. The Whitehall Evening Post I should choose. 3½ pp.

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1747, November 29. Breda.— . . . I am sorry to hear that Sir William is likely to come over with the Duke, but if it must be, pray do not send a tutor with him, as we should not know what to do with him, and he would be a great embarrassment to poor Sir Billy whenever the army marches. One useful honest servant is all he needs, as the Duke's grooms must provide his horse for him, so that his own servant will only be to dress his hair, take care of him and pack his things. Jack Boscawen could probably find some such man for you, and you should take Mr. Windam's advice of how few things would be necessary to bring over. "Mr. Shipley, the Duke's chaplain, when he is un-engaged, which will often be, will, I know, be glad of his company, and young Wallop, I'm sure, will be good to him. 'Tis not likely the affair can last long, so hope the poor boy will not lose a great deal of his time, I mean of being at some academy, for after this, he can never return to school." As to money, 80*l.* will set him out, including what he brings with him, which you can easily get from my sister, and I will repay it when I return home.

The death of Major-General Price, which occurred a few days since, near this place, may perhaps help towards Bockland's succeeding. I should be glad to share with Fanny in the 2,000*l.* subscription which Mr. Gore has promised to help her to, knowing it will be advantageous.

"I am but just come from the assembly at the Governor's, where there were seven tables, and Van Haren, the Prince of Wolfenbottle, and Lord Albemarle were there, and all our fine ladies. I played only at faro, lost five florins and so came away; had played at whist at Lord Albemarle's before I went, where Braddock and I had dined, being invited by his Lordship to meet Prince Wolfenbottle and an Austrian major-general. The pleasure of dining there consists in being just as easy as at home. The Scotch, I mean the field officers of that nation, make entertainment to-morrow, being St. Andrew's, and we field officers with Lord Albemarle are invited. My cross has cost me a ducat, and I hope to come off sober home, or shall take it very ill of myself." John Russell's wife went yesterday for England by my advice, as she had not her health here, and no quarters or houses are allowed for soldiers' wives. It is a great comfort to me that Sabine is better, he is so valuable a man and beloved by the whole regiment.

[The first part of this letter gives a detailed description of the fine house the Colonel is in, with a marble passage sixty feet long, an eating room wainscotted below and hung with flowered velvet above, with fine marble mantelpiece, side-table and cistern to wash glasses, and other rooms with mirrors, carved wood-work and pictures. The great charm of the house is that there is not a smoky chimney in it, which is more than can be said for any other house in the town.] 7½ pp.

FANNY RUSSELL to COL. CHARLES RUSSELL, at Breda.

1747, December 1. St. James.—"I am extreme glad to let my dear brother know that the regiments are at last given this very day, and that Bockland has one. My good friend rang my bell, and behold 'twas to tell me this news." She wished me to let you know at once, that you might apply to Lord Albemarle, "but remember, I do not say who bid me do this, so must not name her name upon no account. . . . The other four regiments are given to Lord Ancram, Lord Panmure, Col. Layton and Lord George Beauclerk has the Marines. I find they don't think the Duke will go back till the end of January or beginning of February, so hope you will have time enough here to fit out Sir William, who will certainly go back with the Duke if Master Howard has a commission. . . . Poor George Stanhope will be sadly disappointed at his not having a regiment. Lady Brompton, I hear, is married to Mr. Cabinet, and they both are to stay at Thirkleby this winter. She has let her house in town to Admiral Rowley. Lady Mary and Lord Cook are certainly, I hear, going to part. She is going to her sister, Lady Strafford, and poor Lady Limington lives with Cutts Barton and his wife at St. Andrews, Holborn. . . . Brother Greenhill is made Comptroller of Antigua, and will send a deputy if Mr. Pelham will let him, and promises whatever he gets by that place, poor Johnny shall have it all for his education. If 'tis but a hundred a year clear, 'tis better than nothing." 2 pp.

## COL. RUSSELL TO HIS WIFE.

1747, December 2, Wednesday. Breda.—You see that my opinion concerning a tutor for Sir William Russell is justified by what the Princess says. “Pray desire my sister not to speak to everybody she knows of the brigade of Guards to take care of Sir William, for my Lady Evelyn, *at her request*, writes to her son here on that account, who very naturally says, whatever lies in his power he surely would do, but it is his Royal Highness’ family ought all to be applied to, to countenance him. . . . I find my sister also tells everybody I am to go home; wish she could be, in an affair of that consequence to us, a little more prudent and cautious, for till Bockland has succeeded, it can’t be,” and I am afraid of Lord Albemarle’s suspecting I have divulged what he seemed to tell me in confidence. Everybody’s letters say that Bockland is to have a regiment and too many that I am to be 1st Major. “Lord Albemarle joked with me yesterday about my being in such a condition the day before at St. Andrew’s feast, but I was not so far gone as his Lordship, and to tell you the truth, drank only wine and water in all my bumpers and was at home by five o’clock in the afternoon, and very drunken doings I heard the next day there was among ’em.

“His Lordship continued his joking, after having been pleased with a report I had made him yesterday of the good condition our hospital was in . . . that he found Bockland by all accounts was likely to have a regiment, and that he was sadly afraid that would occasion such a loss to him if my leaving him should be the consequence of it, that he could not possibly tell how to spare me,” upon which I begged him to say no more upon so tender a subject, but thanked him for his good disposition towards me. I begin to be more hopeful, since all accounts say that Lord George Beauclerk and Bockland are certain, and especially since the Princess spoke of my soon returning, as my great fear was that when the Duke got home he might put a spoke in the wheel, and apply only for those to have regiments who had been employed on this side of the water. His Lordship has invited our mess to dine with him to-day, and returns us that honour on Friday. You must know that I am in high favour, and surely one cannot be with a more agreeable person. I do not think they will dispose of the regiments till just before the Duke comes away, which will hardly be till towards February. I am sorry to find that I am not likely to get any subscription from Mr. Gore, but hope Fanny may have a thought of her old friend the Duke of Newcastle, and if not too late, get 2,000*l.* more between us. Surely amongst us we can provide for Mr. Russell, now Herring will have so much in his power. 5 pp.

## THE SAME TO THE SAME.

1747, December 6, Sunday. Breda.—There has been so much rain that the inundations round this town are greatly increased, and though it is tolerably well paved, it is so dirty that



everyone goes about in boots, and it is the fashion even to go to the assemblies in them.

The families here chiefly belong to the military, except the great Van Haren (whose lady arrived two nights since) and a Monsieur a Longius, who is Grand Bailie of a neighbouring district and has a very handsome wife. They all sent away their plate and best furniture to the Hague, in expectation of being besieged, immediately after the taking of Bergen-op-Zoom, and so make an excuse for not entertaining us better, but I have been at two suppers, one at the Governor's and one at Madame Cassimbrode's, whose husband is a colonel in the Dutch service. We were elegantly entertained at each, sitting at table till past one o'clock, drinking and singing, then getting up and dancing three or four country dances, and concluding by drinking coffee till three in the morning. Monsieur a Longius sent for his fiddle and played for us. They are very fond of our country dances here, but the Governor and his wife, though they love and join in all mirth and jollity, wont suffer a ball in their house, because of the great danger and calamity which their country is at this time threatened with in all the seven provinces. Ever since their frontiers were attacked they have had orders to keep Wednesday holy, and, if possible, observe it more religiously than Sunday, especially in Zealand. However the officers of the garrison are getting up a subscription for an assembly and ball every Tuesday, and Lord Albemarle has prevailed on Madame Van Leyden, our Governess, to come, which will be a sanction for the rest of the ladies. I believe it will be decently and well conducted, as they say that one Captain Lucas will undertake it, "and make a good and proper Mr. Nash." We have parted with our French cook and got one Thompson, who has just left Lord Albemarle, because he could not serve under the French cook there. He gave us a very good specimen of his performance on Friday, when his Lordship, with three aides-de-camp and Col. Forbes dined with us.

*Postscript.* "I am just come from church, where we was to have had the Sacrament, but Jack's sister's long-winded parson gave us so long and so improper a sermon on metaphysics and upon the centre of motion and centre of gravity that the Dutch people came in . . . and we were forced to defer the Sacrament, and I intend to propose leaving parson Hamilton out of the 'roster,' having a very good set of chaplains without him."

5½ pp.

#### COLONEL RUSSELL TO HIS WIFE.

1747, December 8, Tuesday. Breda.—A letter to Lord Albemarle with a return of the battalion at home mentions that the next return would probably be signed by Colonel Lambton as major, so you see Bockland's vacancy will be filled as soon as he succeeds to the regiment, but in any case I think I shall be ordered home in spring, as Lord Albemarle said this morning that I should have the company in the first battalion at

home and that he supposed I should want to take Sabine with me, "without which, I answered, I should lose my right hand, and the battalion at home would be better for such a sergeant-major. . . . I wish with all my heart Greenhill may succeed to anything worth his while to go abroad. His family at home would then be almost as happy as we shall be to meet. What a difference between us two!"

*Postscript.* "This night our subscription assembly will open, but I don't propose to make one at the fiddle, unless under the necessity of two dances; the Commandant's daughter having desired me to be her partner if but for three dances. She is a good sort of young woman, but I told her I believed the rules of the assembly would not admit of any choice of partners." 2½ pp.

#### COLONEL RUSSELL TO HIS WIFE.

1747, December 11, Sunday. Breda.—On receiving the good news contained in your and Fanny's letters, I posted away to Lord Albemarle's, endeavouring to keep a grave countenance, but was soon given joy by everyone in the room. When Lord Albemarle came in, he told me he had received a return signed by Major Lambton. In short, I find that, although first Major, I must stay here until Lambton has orders to come over. His Lordship promises to write to the Duke, and as soon as he hears that the orders are issued, he will send me away; so all now depends upon the sincerity of the intelligence you had from St. James'. His Lordship said I might be able to fit out Sir William Russell before he left England, which I thought looked well. 4 pp.

#### THE SAME TO THE SAME.

1747, December 13, Sunday. Breda.—I have no reason to suppose that Lord Albemarle will object to my coming over, and the way in which he has joked me about it looks rather well. The very day before the news came, I was standing by him at our public ball, and in great good humour he said what an unlucky precedent it was that Col. Le Forey should be kept here, though 1st Major; and then, seeing me look a little grave, recollected some order he wanted me to give out, saying that he told it me *then* lest I should be hurried away and he should forget it.

Our assembly goes on, and we had a tolerable one last Tuesday, but I only danced one dance, which my partner insisted on. All public assemblies will be stopped this next week, on account of their Christmas. To-morrow night we start a weekly club for ten or twelve of us, to play whist, sup, and call for a bill at eleven. Lord Albemarle, his aides, Colonel Forbes and Cockayne, are to be of it. 4½ pp.

## COLONEL RUSSELL TO HIS WIFE.

1747, December 15, Tuesday. Breda.—I went to Lord Albemarle yesterday, and finding that he had not yet written to the Duke, told him that I believed it to be altogether unnecessary, as I was sure it was in his Lordship's power either to keep me here or send me over. He said he believed it was, and assured me that I should certainly go, but that he must keep me two months longer, and then nothing but the Duke's order should prevent my going. So that is settled, unless his Royal Highness should object, which he wont be likely to do, as he is not to be consulted. Jack Robinson starts to-morrow, having heard that his borough has lodged a petition in his favour.  $8\frac{1}{2}$  pp.

## THE SAME TO THE SAME.

1747, December 17, Thursday. Breda.—Lord Albemarle has behaved very prettily to me "by carrying me into his secretary's office and showing me his letter that he has wrote to Colonel Lambton, with orders for him to repair to the command of this battalion as fast as possible, having appointed me, as 'tis my right, to the command of that at home." As he has always told me I need not wait for Lambton's arrival, I hope to get away in about five weeks. "How quick the time would pass if I was in England and had no longer to stay there, but now 'tis really an age, and every day appears to be a month." Jack Robinson will be like a ghost to my brother major, for he will be always asking him what day he sets out.  $2\frac{1}{4}$  pp.

## COL. JOSEPH YORKE TO COL. RUSSELL.

1748, April 14-25. Camp of Hellenrouck.—Regrets that owing to his constant attendance upon his Royal Highness, he has not been able to give the personal care to his company that he would have liked, and prays that if he loses Captain Burton, an officer may be appointed who will take care of it and preserve it from ruin (a task for which he fears his ensign, Mr. Linton, is hardly sufficient), as he has had a sergeant who "has played the dog," and his pocket has suffered greatly thereby. The company has been a very expensive one to him, and yet he fears that people have given strange accounts of it. Is sorry to trouble Col. Russell, but ventures to do so from the experience of his friendship during the time passed under his command. 3 pp.

## THE SAME TO THE SAME.

1748, May 31-June 11. Camp of Nestelroy.—I am so sensible of the kind manner in which you have interested yourself in my concerns that I shall never forget it. I can only say you have more good nature than any officer under you deserves at your hands. I have no doubt Sergeant Matthews, whom you have posted to my company, will answer all that we

expect, and will now pray you to leave the company as it is, without any new officers, as, when I return to England, I hope to have leisure to look after it myself.

"As to the profits of our companies, there are very few of the keenest amongst us that have been able, I believe, to make much of 'em. I can answer for myself that I have been out of pocket by mine for the three years that I have had it, so I shall think myself a very lucky fellow to receive my personal pay clear. . . Married men that live happily at home with their wives may be congratulated on the approaching peace; young bachelors, whose fortunes are to make, should be condoled with. We must do, however, as well as we can, and whilst we keep up our spirits with our annual grievances, let us always be thankful for our whole bones, which peace wont secure more than war, witness Wynne, who broke his leg the first guard he mounted at this camp. He is in a fair way of doing well, and in as fair a way of lying on his back for two or three months longer. We are all new clothed, and are very orderly, but our poor battalion continues still to swell the hospital accounts. Nothing but their native air, I am convinced, can recover them.

"Sir William Russell desires his duty to you. He is universally loved, and indeed nothing can exceed his whole behaviour, ambitious of improvement in his exercises, as riding, drawing and French, and as well-bred as the King of France." 3 pp.

*Endorsed* :—"Sir Joseph Yorke's character of Sir William Russell, then page with the Duke in Flanders."

#### COL. RUSSELL to HIS WIFE.

[1748, September 7], Wednesday. From my sister's.—I am glad to tell you that his Royal Highness set out at five this morning for Harwich, so that I propose to go with General Pultenay to-morrow at nine o'clock. I could be back again in two hours if necessary, so fear no ill-consequences in going till Friday. I will write from Balls on Tuesday. Yesterday I went to dine at the Thatched House with four or five of the Duke's family [*i.e.* household], after which I went to Maribone, "it being the last night there, and no small crowd. His Royal Highness caught me in a dark walk with my company, laid hold of me and said he would tell, and my family should hear of me. In short he afterwards called to me whilst the music was playing and near the orchestra, and was pleased to joke a little, and then we took leave, and [he] gave us to understand how early he was to go this morning, which made me sleep the better." I took care not to stuff at Billerbecks, where, as you guessed, we rolled in good things, and afterwards played at cards with eighteen wax candles in one room, which made it intolerably hot. But by the help of his lemonade and afterwards persuading him to put out half a dozen of his lights, we got cool again. I am glad to hear that *Fair Play* continues rather to mend. Tell Mrs. Vere that her son already looks cent. for cent. better than he did.

When I return from Balls, I must be in town four or five days, to order the quarters of the three regiments to be changed and for reports to be made to me of their being well settled in their new ones, but you may be assured nothing shall detain me a day longer than is necessary.

I have bought a new mahogany oval dining table from Hallet, to hold ten or eleven persons.  $3\frac{1}{2}$  pp.

COLONEL RUSSELL to HIS WIFE.

1748, September 14, Wednesday. Balls.—This morning I was made happy by receiving yours and the two enclosed from Johnny and Molly, for which pray thank them. Tell the first that I will take care to bring his ship and Tom Thumb, and say to Molly that I will be sure to obey her commands and will come up no more to London till I take her with me. The night before last we all went to the assembly at Hertford, where I danced two minuets, played two rubbers at whist, and came home to supper at ten, but left nine couples of young ones, who were to dance till four in the morning.

I fear I shall not get away from London till the 23rd, when I am to order the three regiments to change their quarters, but as ours only is to make a report to me, *that* need not detain me. On Thursday, however, our battalion mounts guard, which would somewhat prevent my getting to Checkers the same day. Let Frank and the single horse chaise meet me at Uxbridge on Friday. The best way will be for him to go the night before; it will certainly be best for *Poppet*.

I hope *Fair Play* continues to mend.

I'm quite of Molly's mind that she will like Duke Street vastly, since it is so cleaned up. 4 pp.

—— to COL. RUSSELL, 1st Major to the Coldstream regiment of Guards, Duke Street, St. James.

[1748?] December 5.—Cover of a letter, endorsed "Concerning the non-effective fund of the Coldstream," and with seal of the arms of the Guards, surrounded by a Garter, with their motto "*Tria juncta in una*" and surmounted by an Earl's coronet.

COL. RUSSELL to the DUKE OF CUMBERLAND.

[1748?].—Reports that the troops which sailed from Helvoet on Saturday, at ten in the morning, arrived at Gravesend next day at five in the evening, whence the Brigade of Guards immediately proceeded to the Tower, and disembarked there next morning. He then received orders to march with the 1st battalion to the parade in St. James' Park, and has the pleasure to state that they marched with such order through the city that not one man was seen otherways than sober, and that the whole

brigade this day received in Public Orders the thanks of General Ligonier for their good behaviour throughout the march. *Draft.*  
1 p.

*On the back,*

*Memorandum concerning the confinement of seven soldiers belonging to Col. Russell's, Col. Conway's, Col. Gamley's, Col. Hemington's and Lord Ancram's companies for divers offences, viz.: neglect of duty, selling beer contrary to orders, missing drill, cutting a comrade's face with a kettle, getting drunk, missing field day and embezzlement.*

JOSEPH SABINE to COLONEL RUSSELL at Cheltenham.

1750, July 28. London.—The exchange of Captains Robinson and Clarke has been given out according to his Honour's orders. Corporal Ash, of Lieut. Col. Perry's company, is dead, and Richard Fox of Col. Yorke's company, whom Lord Albemarle desired might be provided for, is appointed in his place. Captain Sorell is desirous that one John Hodgkin of Lieut. Col. Perry's company—who was formerly a sergeant in Col. Otway's regiment, has behaved well, has a good appearance, and is given an excellent character by an officer of his late regiment—may be made a corporal, several gentlemen having spoken on his behalf. Ensign Scott is better, and in a fair way to do well. 1 p. *Seal with crest.*

EDWARD WARNER to COL. CHARLES RUSSELL.

1751, May 2. Antigua.—Accepting the Colonel's offer to compound the affair between the late Mr. Greenhill and himself for 56*l.*, and praying that the money may be paid to Mr. John Johnson, Lawrence Lane, London. 1 p. *Seal of arms.*

Memorial of COL. CHARLES RUSSELL, First Major of the Coldstream regiment of Foot Guards, to THE KING.

1751, November 20.—Praying that if the present vacancy of dragoons should occasion a vacancy of a Foot regiment on the English Establishment, he may succeed to it, as he has served thirty-four years in the Foot Guards, was at the last siege of Gibraltar, was every year abroad on service during the late war except the last campaign, and had the the honour to command the First battalion of Guards at the battle of Fontenoy. 1 p. *Draft.*

PAUL H. OURRY to COL. CHARLES RUSSELL.

1754, June 14. Gibraltar.—I am heartily rejoiced to hear of your return to health, but your leaving Mahon has been greatly lamented. "Stanhope's Tower is no longer the happy tower it was in your time; it is become the seat of war, and a place of confinement to those that inhabit it." I have never entered it since you left. I must not omit to thank you for

paving my way with Col. Rich, who told me you had said that I was often at Stanhope Tower; in answer to which I told him how much I and others regretted your leaving us. This did not please him, and soon after he invited the Commodore to dine with him, but did not speak to me. This happened at the good General's, who could hardly keep his countenance at my plain answer, for I assure you his company is not agreeable to any one here. Your own officers will inform you of the many un-officer-like things he has done.

We sailed from Mahon soon after the guard-ships' arrival, when I hoped I should have been able to come home, as one of the lieutenants agreed to change with me, but when I spoke to the Commander (before Commodore Byron) he answered shortly that he knew when he was well, and would keep so. Having no interest, I have given up all hopes of promotion, although this is my twenty-fourth year of service constantly on board his Majesty's ships. 8 pp.

LORD LYTTTELTON.

1755, July 6 and 14.—M.S. Copies of two letters from George, Lord Lyttelton, giving an account of a tour in Wales, and here stated to be written to his brother [Charles] then Dean of Exeter. Printed as an appendix to his "Account of a journey into Monmouthshire and North Wales" (*British Museum press mark*, 10,869, bbb, 10) but there addressed to a Mr. Bower, which is probably correct, as allusions to "you and Mrs. B." occur in the letters. 15 pp.

FREDERICK THE GREAT to the COUNTESS OF BRUHL.

1757, May. [Dresden.]—Acknowledging her letter, but stating that his suspicions are too well founded for it to be possible to allow her to remain in Dresden, and that she is to travel to Poland without delay. Also reminding her that no one can offend him with impunity, warning her and her husband not to exhaust his patience, and stating that the Queen, the French and the Austrians all desire the Count's ruin. *French. Copy.* 1 p.

*Endorsed:* "Just after the King of Prussia had detected the Countess of B. of endeavouring to poison him" (*sic*).

SIR F. DASHWOOD to [JOHN REVETT?]

[1759,] March 10. Hanover Square.—Hears that he is now at Chequers. Hoped to have met him at Ailesbury, where there was a pretty numerous meeting of gentlemen offering to serve in the militia. He has been chosen colonel of the county regiment and earnestly hopes that his old friend, Sir John Russell, may be persuaded to be his captain-lieutenant. Solicits his correspondent's interest in the matter. 1 p.

[MRS. RUSSELL to her brother, JOHN REVETT.]

1759, March 13. Duke Street.—I was so pleased that you and I agreed about this foolish affair, that I shall be the more vexed if we are drawn into it. I entirely agree with you that it is the duty of every man to take up arms if need be for the defence of his country, but cannot tell how the wearing spruce regimentals, being called on but once a year, and being drawn into many jolly meetings, may affect such a youth. However, I need not say this to you, who were not overpleased with what passed at Ailesbury this year. Also if anything should happen to Sir F. another colonel might be more troublesome.

If you have determined in favour of the thing, I give you my word not to say but that I am pleased. If however you have a mind to get off, you may, as between yourself and Sir F., lay the blame on me. 2 pp.

*Endorsed* :—"Relating to Sir John's accepting a post in the Militia, 1759."

THOMAS FRANKLAND to his father [ADMIRAL FRANKLAND].

1761, April 21, Tuesday. [Eton.]—Dear Papa, I hope that you received my letter safe, and that I shall sometimes have a letter from you, to know [how] you all do at Kirby. I am quite well and in very good spirits. I was out at a badger baiting last night, out on Eaton Common; we worried one to death almost, with the dogs; then turned out another which was very big and huge, it was as huge as the twenty moons. At last it broke its cord and we ran it about a mile over hedges and ditches and gates and stiles, and finished our sport at eight o'clock, and did not kill it, but it is to be hunted to-day again with a pack of hounds, and is to be ten minutes before them, which sport I shall not have the pleasure to see, for none but the fifth and sixth form boys go to it. My watch is very well and goes always exactly by Eaton clock. I am a making a bottle of cowslip wine, and go every day out of bounds for to fetch cowslips; it goes on very well and I intend to keep it till Bartholemewtide, and cork it up close, and by that time it will [be] extremely good. Pray give my love to all my sisters and give them a kiss all round for me. I hope mama will not be affronted with my not having mentioned her before sisters, but indeed I had quite forgot, and to make her amends, tell her that little trumpery boy is quite well.

*Postscript.* I am extremely glad to see that Nan is so much improved in her writing as to be able to write a letter. [*In a round, childish hand.*] 2 pp.

MARY, LADY LINDSEY, to MRS. RUSSELL.

1788, December 14. Nice.—I have had the misfortune to find myself less qualified for the wife of a Commodore than I imagined, having been sick and helpless all the voyage. We spent a few days in Lisbon, which, in spite of its situation, is the



dirtiest and most disagreeable city I was ever in, and left it without regret, but only to verify the old proverb of going further to fare much worse; for alas, when we arrived at Gibraltar, the Governor did not salute the flag, but sent an officer on board to welcome Sir John, to say he had prepared the Lieutenant-Governor's house for his reception, and to beg to know the hour he would come on shore, that he might have the guns ready to fire upon his landing. Sir John returned for answer that he was much obliged to the Governor for his kind attention to himself, but could accept of no personal mark of respect as Commander in Chief, unless a proper one was first paid to the flag. This has been an old bone of contention between the two services, which lay dormant during the war.

. . . A polite correspondence took place, but neither of the commanders were at all likely to yield in a matter where military and naval honour were concerned, therefore the affair must be decided at home." I was the greatest sufferer from this point of etiquette, as Sir John would not land, and we remained tossing about in the bay, until I persuaded him not to wait for the *Trusty*, but to proceed up the Mediterranean to Nice, where we arrived at the end of November, though not without perils, for during a violent gale, the sea rushed into my cabin and flung me against a cannon, cutting and bruising me; while at the same time Sir John had gout in every limb and could not be lifted out of his cot. Our servants were sick and helpless, and Captain Colpoys was quite a slave to us both.

I hope Sir John may find this a central situation for his fleet, as it is a pretty town, with a large colony of English, a fine climate and beautiful country. The gardens are full of orange trees laden with fruit; roses, carnations and all kind of flowers, green peas and every sort of vegetables in the highest perfection, and I am now writing without a fire. Although Sir John could only just get on his shoes when we landed, his spirits were so good that he was carried to the French comedy that same day, and the next, dined with the Commandant, by whom he has been treated with every mark of distinction, the guard turning out for him every time he passes the Palace or the gates.

The Duke and Duchess of Gloucester are here, living very retired, and receiving only such English as they knew before. They have been most uncommonly gracious to us, allowing Sir John to be carried in by his servants, and the Duke coming down one pair of stairs to meet him. He afterwards went in the same way to the Duchess, and found her and Lady A. Carpenter at work. For a fortnight I could not go out, "and am still obliged to wear a hat, but that dishabille did not excuse my going to the Duchess of Gloucester, as she told Sir John she would receive me in any dress; therefore as soon as I could leave off my night-cap, I was obliged to go one evening, and we have since dined with them, and they made a whist party for Sir John, which was the first time they had had any cards in their house. The Duke has made Sir John several morning visits, and I fancy when the

*Trusty* arrives, we must give them *un grand repas*. His Royal Highness seems in good health at present. His son is very pretty, but looks delicate, and his daughter is not handsome, but robust and the picture of health. Here are no public amusements allowed during Advent, but a subscription concert and assemblies at some private houses. Lady Pembroke and Lady Rivers have had little balls and concerts. Lady Charlotte Herbert is better. . . . Lord North's third son is here, and has had a fresh attack of gout lately. What a melancholy prospect for a young man of seventeen!" Colonel Legg and Mr. Legg are just arrived. Captain Milner and Captain Colpoys ride out every day to explore the country, one mounted on a pony, the other on a mule, "and to-morrow I am to accompany them on an ass. Dont you think we should make a pretty appearance in Hyde Park? *Mais c'est la mode de Nice*. The King of Sweden is at Florence. The Court remain at Pisa, and he has been treated with great coolness by the Grand Duke, notwithstanding which he stays till the Emperor arrives, who is expected there soon. His Majesty has been most magnificently entertained by Lord Cowper and Sir Horace Mann several times.

"Our own family consists of Captain Colpoys and his nephew Captain Milner, and Sir John's secretary. We have twice a week great dinners for about sixteen; one day for the English and one day for the *grande*es of this place, who do not dislike to be fed." 4 pp.

[A MEMBER of the ROYAL FAMILY to FANNY RUSSELL?]

*Undated*. Two scraps of paper without date or signature; one of them addressed to "Mrs. Russell." "I thank you my dear Russell, and as you have essences in your hair, and are always well dressed, to be admired of your *bon ton*, you will order what you please."

"I thank you, my good Russell, for the books. I fear I shall keep them too long for your friend. I desire you to send me no more of Miss Pelham's notes except they are good, for I feel much for Lord Pelham."

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HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS COMMISSION.

REPORT  
ON THE  
MANUSCRIPTS  
OF  
THE CORPORATION OF  
BEVERLEY.

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Presented to Parliament by Command of Her Majesty.

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## CORRIGENDA.

*Page 3, line 14, for "was the sum actually paid" read "is the sum specified in Archbishop William's charter."*

*Page 13, line 17, for "accepted" read "excepted."*

- „ 55, „ 28, for "1574" read "1572."
- „ 60, „ 17, for "occurs" read "seems."
- „ 80, „ 20, for "gaiters" read "hose."
- „ 80, „ 21, for "Shearmen's" read "Tailors'."
- „ 89, „ 35, for "de Celane" read "of Colane [Cologne]."
- „ 105, „ 16, for "gaiters" read "hose."
- „ 105, „ 26, for "Pariagii" read "Paviagii."
- „ 112, „ 18, for "Apudle" read "Apud le."
- „ 112, „ 20, for "capitale" read "Capituli."
- „ 121, „ 3, for "plegiam" read "plegium."
- „ 121, „ 22, for "Biale" read "Riole."
- „ 125, „ 31
- „ 131, „ 2
- „ 135, „ 33
- „ 136, „ 37
- } for "Conton" read "Couton."
- „ 126, „ 31, for "Baune" read "Bawme."
- „ 130, „ 14, for "carnibus" read "canibus."
- „ 130, „ 39, for "Newebygyng" read "Newebygyng."
- „ 132, lines 13, 22, for "Ronthspitell" read "Routhespitell."
- „ 133, line 3, for "Vsaconia" read "Vasconia."
- „ 135, „ 36, for "dimidii" read "dimidia."
- „ 136, last line, for "Gov." read "Governors."
- „ 138, line 27, for "Langate" read "Lairgate."
- „ 141, „ 26, for "Aldermanus" read "Aldermanno."
- „ 143, „ 14, for "Rogeus" read "Rogerus."
- „ 161, last line, for "Feyang" read "Fegang."
- „ 169, line 2, for "Henyson's" read "Heryson's."
- „ 174, „ 27, for "or trumpeter?" read "or juggler."



# THE RECORDS

## OF THE

### BOROUGH OF BEVERLEY.

---

THE records are kept in an upper room in the Town Hall next to and approached from the Council Chamber, through a heavy strong-room door, the key of which is in the custody of the Town Clerk. On the Council Chamber side it is reasonably fireproof, the wall being extremely thick, and probably on the two outer sides, but on one side it is enclosed by a wall only one brick thick; the floor is of stone, and the room below, used by the Police, is not much frequented.

The Charters are in drawers in a press made for the purpose. Documents belonging to charities (which have not been examined) are in similar drawers. The Account Rolls are kept in wooden boxes. The valuable Town Books, together with the miscellaneous documents described below, were, when found, somewhat in disorder.

The extant Records are only a scanty remnant of the magnificent series that once existed, and many were, like the valuable Book of the Provost of Beverley now restored to the Minster, only recovered a few years ago from the executors of a local antiquary, Mr. Gilliatt Sumner.

The Records consist of:—

1. The Charters. A list of these is given in the "History and Antiquities of the Town and Minster of Beverley" by George Oliver, Vicar of Clee, published at Beverley, 1829, at p. 377. It begins with the celebrated Charter of Archbishop Thurstan of York, which has been printed, from Rymer's *Fœdera*, in Bishop Stubbs's *Select Charters* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1870). Most of these Charters have been given with some fulness either in Oliver's History or in the more elaborate "Beverlac, or the Antiquities and History of the Town of Beverley and of the Provostry and Collegiate Establishment of St. John's," by George Poulson, 1829, 2 vols.; or will appear in the Calendars of Patent Rolls or Papal Bulls. They are, therefore, only noticed here so far as they appear in the Town Books. The Corporation possess an elaborate transcript of all these charters in two volumes, with translations on the opposite page, made by W. Illingworth, formerly Deputy Keeper of H.M. Records in the Tower of London, in pursuance of a resolution of the Corporation 5th March, 1810.

Wt. 723. b

The copy of Thurstan's Charter printed by Bishop Stubbs has, however, a good many errors, and the copy of the same Charter given in the Town Chartulary has also errors. As this is (excluding London) one of the oldest Town Charters extant, a corrected copy is now given. It will be found to differ in some particulars from Mr. Illingworth's transcript, especially in the very important particular of the rent charge payable to the Archbishop for the Toll of the Town. It appears that he must have read the Charter wrong through his prepossession by the copy in Rymer's *Fœdera*. The rent is not xviii but viii marks a year. The words unfortunately occur in a much rubbed crease of the charter where it has been, and is, folded; but the reading seems to be not x and viii but v and iii. There is certainly not room before the iii for both v and x.

The Charter is as follows:—

“T. Dei gratia Eboracensis Archiepiscopus cunctis Christi fidelibus tam præsentibus quam futuris salutem<sup>(1)</sup>, Dei benedictionem et suam.

Notum sit vobis me dedisse et concessisse, et consilio capituli Eboracensis et Beverlacensis et consilio meorum Baronum, mea carta confirmasse hominibus de Beverlaco omnes libertates eisdem legibus quibus illi de Eboraco habent in sua civitate.

Preterea non lateat vos quod dominus H. Rex noster nobis concessit potestatem faciendi h[ec]<sup>(2)</sup> de bona voluntate sua, et sua carta confirmavit statuta nostra et leges nostras juxta formam legum burgensium de Eboraco, salva dignitate et honore Dei et S. Johannis et nostri et canonicorum; ut ita s[cilicet] honorem elemosinarum predecessorum suorum exaltaret et promoveret. Cum omnibus his liberis consuetudinibus, volo ut Burgenses mei de Beverlaco habeant suam Hanshus, quam eis do et concedo ut ibi sua statuta pertractent ad honorem Dei et S. Johannis et Canonicorum, et ad tocus villatus emendacionem, eadem libertatis<sup>(3)</sup> lege sicut illi de Eboraco habent in sua Hanshus.

Concedo et<sup>(4)</sup> eis teloneum<sup>(5)</sup> in perpetuum pro v<sup>(6)</sup> et iij<sup>us</sup> 7 marchis annuatim, preterquam in tribus<sup>(8)</sup> festis in quibus teloneum<sup>(9)</sup> ad nos et ad Canonicos spectat, in festo s[cilicet] S. Johannis Confessoris in Maio et in festo translacionis S. Johannis et in nativitate S. Johannis Baptiste: in his vero tribus festis omnes Burgenses de Beverlaco ab omni teloneo liberos et quietos dimisi.

Hujus eciam carte testimonio eisdem Burgensibus liberos introitus et exitus concessi, s[cilicet] in villa et extra villam, in plano et bosco et maresio<sup>(10)</sup>, in viis et in semitis et ceteris convenienciis, exceptis<sup>(11)</sup> pratis et bladis, sicut unquam melius, liberius, et largius aliquis possit concedere et confirmare. Et sciatis quod sunt liberi et quieti ab omni teloneo<sup>(12)</sup> per totam schiram Eboraci sicut illi de Eboraco.

Et volo ut quicumque h[ec]<sup>(13)</sup> [disfecerit]<sup>(14)</sup> anathema sit, sicut ipsius ecclesie S. Johannis asserit consuetudo, et sicut statutum est in ecclesia S. Johannis.

Hii sunt testes, Gaufridus<sup>(15)</sup> Murdoc<sup>(16)</sup>, Nigellus Fossard, [Alanus de]<sup>(17)</sup> Perci, Walterus Spec<sup>(18)</sup>, Eustachius filius Johannis, Tomas Prepositus, Turstinus Archidiaconus, Herbertus<sup>(19)</sup> Can[onicus]<sup>(20)</sup> Willelmus filius Tole, Willelmus de<sup>(21)</sup> Baius<sup>(22)</sup>, coram tota familia Archiepiscopi clericis et laicis in Eboraco."

The variants printed in Bishop Stubbs' edition are as numbered.

- (1) *et is inserted.*
- (2) *hoc* (the original has only *h'*).
- (3) *liberatam.*
- (4) *etiam.*
- (5) *thelonium.*
- (6) } XVIII. Illingworth has X. et VIII. The Town Chartu-
- (7) } lary has VIII, and that was the sum actually paid.
- (8) *iis.*
- (9) *theloneum.*
- (10) *marisco.*
- (11) *excepto in*
- (12) *telonio.*
- (13) *hoc.*
- (14) The word is absolutely illegible here. Illingworth has "discencit." It may have been plainer 80 years ago.
- (15) } Galfridus Murdac.
- (16) }
- (17) There is no word here now at all. In the copy in the Town Chartulary it is given Abbas de. Illingworth has Alanus de.
- (18) *Es-pec.*
- (19) *Herebertus Camerarius.* The original is quite clearly
- (20) *can*, not *cam*.
- (21) } Baiocensis. Of course the meaning is the same.
- (22) }

2. Account Rolls of the Keepers or Governors of the Town of Beverley to the time of the formal Incorporation of the Town and the creation of a Mayor by Charter of Queen Elizabeth in 1573. The years for which the accounts are extant are :—

1344	1502
1366	1519
1386	1520
1405	1523
1407	1541
1409	1545
1416	1556
1423	1557
1433	1558
1445	1559
1449	1562
1450	1570
1460	1572
1494	1573
	1574

From 1574 the accounts purport to be those of the Mayor.  
There are extant:—

1575	1660
1576	to
1577	1680 (inclusive, except
1578	1684 1664-65.)
1584	1686
1586	1688
1589	1689
1590	1690
1595	1692
1602	1693
to	1694
1614 (inclusive.)	1696
1625	1698
1644	1700
1646	1702
1647	to
1648	1720 (inclusive.)
1649	1722
1651	to
to	1729 (inclusive.)
1659 (inclusive.)	

They are all on parchment and till 1574 in Latin. Full translations of the two first are given below, and translated extracts, most copious in the earlier years, from the rest. The Rolls after 1574 have not been examined fully.

Extracts from the Rolls were given by Poulson in his *Beverlac*, but they are not always to be relied on.

It is to be regretted, too, that the Account Roll for 1420, which is perhaps that most copiously drawn from by Poulson, has disappeared since his day.

3. Minster Fabric Roll for the year 1447, in Latin. This has now appeared in the Transactions of the East Riding Antiquarian Society, Vol 6, 1898.

4. Roll of particulars of Chantries granted to the Town by Edward VI. This is imperfect. A copy of it from the Chantry Certificate (No. 73) of the Record Office is printed in Mr. W. H. Page's *Yorkshire Chantry Surveys*, Vol. II. p. 543, Surtees Society, 92, 1898.

5. Two Account Rolls of the churchwardens of St. Mary's for the years 1548-9 and 1551-2.

6. The Town Chartulary. This is apparently partly a copy of an older book now gone, which is referred to in other Town Records as the "Old Paper Register" and the "Large Register." It is a quarto volume, 11½ in. by 8 in., paper, bound in parchment. It is numbered in the middle of the leaf, and is stated to contain "41 leaves with a little labell in Englishe." The label is there, but one leaf has disappeared. It contains the Ancient

customs of the Town, and divers extracts, charters, and documents bearing on its constitutions and privileges, and at the end a few Guild ordinances and contemporary documents. It seems to have been begun at the end of the 14th century, and is continued to 1452. A full account and copious extracts are given below. The Town and Guild Ordinances are mostly repeated in—

7. The Great Guild Book. This is a large parchment quarto, 15 $\frac{1}{2}$  in. by 11 $\frac{1}{2}$  in., numbering, besides two blank leaves at the beginning, 97 leaves. The cover is gone. It seems to have been begun in 1409, and continued to 1589. The greater part of the first 16 leaves is written at one time, 1409, in a book-hand, with rubric headings and elaborate rubricated initial letters. Of the rest of the book some of the Guild Ordinances are written in book-hand at a slightly later date. The bulk of the book is in a cursive hand at various dates, while even in the first 16 leaves are interspersed later insertions of different times. In the middle, Elizabethan Ordinances of the Merchants are inserted on a quite different parchment to the rest of the book. The Town Ordinances are presented below in a pretty complete form. From the Guild Ordinances those of the Butchers and Merchants have been given in full as specimens, while salient or specially interesting extracts have been made in the case of other Guilds. Until about 1450 the Ordinances are almost invariably in Latin; after 1460 usually in English. The former are here translated.

It should be noted that the Ordinances of the "Merchants or Mercers' Guild" are said to date from 1210: the Bakers' date from 1364, Butchers' and Goldsmiths' from 1365. Most of them indeed claim to be of "immemorial" antiquity, and probably are; but the Drapers only became a separate Guild in 1493. As the Grocers' Company in London only dates from 1345 this points to a very early organization of the Craft Guilds of Beverley.

There is not much notice of the religious Guilds, though all of those existing in Beverley in 1430 are specified in an Ordinance regulating the order of precedence at the Corpus Christi Procession on Corpus Christi day (Thursday after Trinity Sunday,) which was managed by the Corpus Christi Guild. They are, in the order given, the Guild of Corpus Christi, of Blessed Mary, of St. John of Beverley, and then, after 19 Craft Guilds, the Guilds of St. Ellen, of Pater Noster, of St. John the Baptist, of St. John in May, of St. Peter Azelon. The Ordinances of the Guild of St. Ellen and Blessed Mary are summarized in Toulmin Smith's *English Guilds*, Early English Text Society, 1870, p. 14, and *seq.*, where it appears that on St. Ellen's day and the Purification of the Virgin respectively the members of the Guild dressed up persons as St. Ellen and the Virgin, with other characters, and went in procession to church, that of St. Ellen to the Franciscans' Church, that of St. Mary to St. Mary's. The ordinances of the Corpus Christi Guild have been published by Mr. Leach, with the Foundation deed of a Corpus Christi chantry in the Minster dated 1352, in a paper in *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, 8th March, 1894. Some of the Charters

of the Great Guild of St. John of Beverley also appear in Toulmin Smith's volume. Though its Charters are those usually claimed as the Town Charters, and it is once in the documents called the "*Gilda Mercatoria*," it does not appear to be the same either as the Merchant Guild, *Gilda Mercatoria*, *Confraternitas Mercatorum sive Merceriorum*, or as the Town Corporation. For the Merchant or Mercers' Guild appears separately in the Procession, and is sometimes called the Trinity Guild, maintaining a Trinity Priest in the Chancel of St. Mary's: while the *Communitas* of the Town appears in the Account Rolls as paying a rent of £1 a year for the Guild Hall or Hanshouse to the Guild of St. John.

The Guild of St. John in May is probably the Guild which managed the procession in Rogation Week, when the shrine of St. John of Beverley was carried from the Minster to St. Mary's; and on another day to St. Nicholas Holme Church. The Craft Guilds first viewed the procession sitting in livery in wooden castles in the streets, and on its return rode after it on horseback. There are several entries as to the Pater Noster Guild and the play it was founded to perform, hitherto only known to have existed at York (where a Roll of the Pater Noster Guild was in the possession of the late Canon Raine, and is now in the Minster Muniment Room), and at Lincoln (Hist. MSS. Commission, 14th Report, App., part VII., p. 29).

8. The Governors' Minute Book. This is a quarto volume, 12½ in. by 9½ in., paper, bound in brown leather, numbered as having 168 leaves, but this is exclusive of the three first leaves, and many have been cut or torn out. In date it extends from 25th April, 1436, to 20th August, 1470. It is written in Latin. Copious extracts, mostly in the original Latin, appear below. This book seems to have been quite unknown to the historians of Beverley.

9. Minute Books of Governors, on paper, folio, bound in modern bindings, and lettered "*Bev. Gov. 1558 to 1567*," Vol. I. The same, 1568 to 1573, Vol. II.

These and the following books have not been minutely examined.

10. Corporation Minute Book. 7th January, 1597 to 21st May, 1660; paper, folio, with paper cover, marked "*Liber C.*"

11. Corporation Minute Book. 6 Oct. 1659 to 25 Feb. 1707; paper, folio, with parchment cover, marked "*Liber E.*" At the end are copies of some wills containing charitable bequests. It covers partly the same period as Lib. C., the first part having apparently been copied from Lib. C., which is badly torn at the end.

12. Corporation Minute Books. 1679 to 1687, 1687 to 1702, 1722 to 1726. Paper, folios in modern binding, lettered "*Bev. Corp.*" From 1726 there are regular Minute Books to the present time.



13. Great Order Books. Parchment, in modern leather bindings. Elections of Mayor, Governors, officers, and the like, 30 Elizabeth (1587-8) to 1821. At the other end, Ordinances as to Corporation and "Occupations" or Craft Guilds, 1 Sept. 1602 to 1728.

14. Court Leet Pains, 1697. A large Roll on Parchment.

15. Miscellaneous deeds of various dates from Stephen to Edward VI. The last one is interesting as showing that those mysterious persons the 7 Berrefellarii or Rectors or Personae of Beverley Minster had a corporate house as well as a corporate seal, and, like the Vicars Choral of most Cathedral Churches of Secular Canons, were a College of themselves.

The Beverley Town Records were originally examined with a view to seeing if they threw any light on the history of the Minster, or as it is formerly called the Collegiate Church of St. John of Beverley, the 13th century Chapter Act Book of which Mr. Leach was editing for the Surtees Society. Beyond the Fabric Roll above mentioned and a few very casual mentions in the 15th century of the Minster as a place of recognised Town resort, and of its Provost, Chancellor, Canons and Grammar School Masters, one of whom was several times one of the Twelve Governors of the town, what was sought for was not found.

Warm thanks are given to the Town Clerk, Mr. J. Willis Mills, and his predecessor and father Mr. James Mills, for their great courtesy and kindness; and to the Ex-Mayor, Mr. Tom Turner, and the Mayor, Mr. Farrah, and the Corporation of Beverley for permitting the documents to be removed and studied at leisure.

It is to be hoped that the Corporation of Beverley, being in possession of such a magnificent and almost unrivalled series of town records, will take measures for their absolute security.

#### TOWN CHARTULARY.

f. 1. Part of a summary of accounts up to 23rd October, year not stated [13 Hen. VI.], in the same order as in the Rolls of Account.

Memorandum, that 9 pipes full of corn, belonging to Nicholas Brompton of Beverley, merchant, ordered and sent by him for Bordeaux without licence or order of the King, were seized by the Archbishop's officer and other officers at Beverley, 9th Sept., 13 Henry VI., and are detained until a remedy is provided by the advice of the King's Council and the Archbishop and community of Beverley, for the delivery and disposition of the said pipes in form of law. And this by motion of John Ellircarr.

## Measure of Westwode, Beverley.

Westwood, Beverley, with its ditches, contains in length on the west side from S. to N.	16 score and 1 perches.
Length on the east side	13 „ „ 13 „
In breadth on the S. side from E. to W.	8 „ „ 14 „
In breadth on the N. side from W. to E.	9 „ „ 13 „
Besides one parcel of the same lying between the Croft, etc. ( <i>sic</i> ) and the Archbishop's croft to the N. and S. and the quarry and the croft outside North Bar, and con- taining in length from E. to W.	4 „ „ „
( <i>MS. torn</i> ) breadth from S. to. W.	33 „

Which make 16a. (*MS. torn*). Whole length of Westwode 16 (score) and 1 perches, and 13 score and 13 perches, as above, by equal division, contains clear 14 score and 42 perches. Whole breadth (*MS. torn*) by equal division contains clear (*MS. torn*) and croft called Saint Gilycroft (*MS. torn*.)

*f. 1b.* Patent to array and try men-at-arms, armed men and archers (*homines ad arma armatos homines et sagittarios*), as follows:—

10 July, 12 Henry VI. Commission to Richard Earl of Salisbury, Henry, Earl of Northumberland, Robert Ughtred, William Richer, William Normanville, knights; John, the constable of Holsham, Robert, the constable of Fleyinburgh, Thomas Metcham, John Portyngton, John Meleton, John Rudstane and John Bedford, and the Sheriff of York; to array and try all those dwelling within the East Riding able to bear arms, and to cause those able, to provide armour, bows and arrows for those who cannot provide them themselves, to array them in thousands, hundreds, and twenties, and place them where thought fit on the coast, and otherwise to oppose the enemies [*unnamed*] who threaten invasion. To have musters and see that every one carries his own arms except those armed at others' expense. To cause beacons ("*signa vocata Becoyns*") to be placed on the usual places, to give warning of the enemy's approach.

*f. 2.* 17 May, 12 Richard II. Charter that the Sheriff should not enter the liberties, whether the See is full or vacant.

Richard II. to Sheriff of York. By ancient Royal Charters the Archbishop's bailiff has return of writs and execution of them, whether the See is full or not, but you have entered the liberty without special mandate from us, to the no small expense of the community; on whose petition, the temporalities being in our hands by reason of the judgment against Alexander late Archbishop, we order you not to enter the liberty, unless on default made by the bailiff of the Archbishopric.

Copy of clause of the Charter of Henry IV., that no burghess of Beverley be compelled to be a collector of tenths, &c., outside the liberty of Beverley. 8 Feb., 2 Henry IV. (Printed in Poulson I., 175, as being Henry V.)

Plea of discharge of burgesses of Beverley from collecting taxes outside the borough and precinct of the same town.

From the memoranda of the Exchequer (King's Remembrancer) Roll 9, 12 Henry VI. Discharge ("exoneratio") of Thomas Nuttyll, of Riston in Holderness, and William Cottryll, of Mollescroft, from serving as Commissioners for raising a fifteenth and tenth, in virtue of Henry V.'s Charter, as being burgesses of Beverley.

*f. 8b to f. 7.* Customs and liberties of the town of Beverley from time immemorial, etc., used and approved by the burgesses of the same town.

These are printed below, from another edition in the Great Guild Book.

*f. 7.* Plea between the Governors of the town of Beverley and John Howell. The defendant is sued in debt, for 40s., he having, in accordance with the ordinances, incurred a penalty of that amount to the community, and £10 to the King, for malicious words against the Governors. On Friday, 28 Oct., 13 Henry VI., he said to Master John Marschall and others that they held before themselves pleas which concerned the spiritual and temporal courts of the Archbishop. After two adjournments at the defendant's request, the case did not apparently come to hearing.

*f. 7.* 1451. Recognizance of William Dalton. 19 May, 29 Henry VI., before Thomas Wylton, John Sprotlay and Thomas Wyche, three of the twelve Governors, William Dalton showed two indentures made by him, being a recognizance to Thomas Mayne, Roger Cokirham, William Kirkby, and others, seven of the twelve Governors; which were, at the request of Edmund Portington, esq., and other burgesses, ordered to be registered in the Guild Hall Register.

*f. 7b.* Action for penalty. The Governors *versus* John Whitlay for 40s. penalty for having abused the Governors in the Guild Hall, 1 June, 14 Henry VI., in respect of an ordinance passed on S. Mark's Day that year by the whole community, affecting the tailors' craft (result not stated).

*Ibid.* Judgment concerning William Lorymer, mercer, 7 June, 1442. William Lorymer, being one of the twelve Governors, was told by the rest that he could not properly sit with them until a charge of felony against his son, Thomas Lorymer, made by John Webster, robber, then lying in the Archbishop's gaol in Beverley, had been determined. He consented.

26 March, 1448, William Lorymer came to the Guild Hall before Thomas Mayn, Edmund Portyngton, John Bewme, etc., eight of the twelve Governors, and wanted to sit with them. After a week's adjournment to consult the "magnates" of the town, on Sunday, 31 March, the undermentioned (but names not given), "venerabiles" of the town met in the Chapter House of the Collegiate Church, and determined that he ought not to sit until the case was decided. And on the Tuesday following Lorymer was so informed by the twelve Governors sitting in the Guild Hall.

f. 8. 19 July, 1440. [Power of] Attorney for the Chantry of John of Kelk.

William Barkeby, tanner, was granted a letter of attorney for the lands of the Chantry for four years; on condition of paying the two chaplains 6 marks each, and bearing the other charges of the Chantry; receiving 26s. 8d. a year for his pains.

Grant of the herbage of Lelicroft to John Portington, his heirs and assigns for ever. S. Mark's Day, 1445. Sale by the community, with assent of the twelve Governors, of common of the herbage of the croft; price not stated.

Of the discharge of toll in the city of York, 1873. Thomas of Beverley, the Archbishop's steward of Beverley, Thomas Humbercolt, and Adam "Tondy" made suit for delivery of distraint taken at York. Roger of Moreton, then Mayor of York, in the presence of Master John of Walton, official of the Archbishop, and Henry of Barton, steward, acknowledged that burgesses of Beverley were quit of toll, and ordered the distresses to be given up.

Six of the twelve Governors of the town sworn as affeerers of the Brewster's Guild. 22 April, 26 Henry VI., before Master John Barnyngham, Treasurer of York cathedral church, and Henry Thwaytes, as commissioners of the Archbishop, Thomas Mayn and five others were sworn as affeerers of the Brewers and Tipplers ("Tipelariorum") on the Archbishop's fee, for Easter term, 25 Henry VI. and Michaelmas, and Easter term, 26 Henry VI.

The fines for Easter, 25 Henry VI., amounted to 98s. 0d.

The fines for Michaelmas, 25 Henry VI., amounted to 94s. 10d.

The fines for Easter, 26 Henry VI., amounted to 96s. 1d.

f. 8b. Letter of credence in English. "To the most Reverent Fadir in God oure most graciously lorde the Cardinal and Archiebisschop of York," 19 July, 1447, sending Thomas Mayn and William Lorymer to the Archbishop to discuss certain matters (as under) affecting the town.

"A Instruccion." 8 July, 25 Henry VI. Instructions by Thomas Wilton and his fellows, the twelve Governors, to Thomas Mayn and William Lorymer, these being two of them:—1. To beseech the Archbishop to be "tendir lord" and suffer us to enjoy our liberties. 2. To inform him that "we was and is" ready to deliver the estreats of Brewster guilds, and to do our part to afeer them; and that his steward has refused, and commanded the bailiff and his servants to distrain the constables of the fee to bring in afore him the estreats, and they have taken distress of divers of them. And "slike distress was never seen within the said town by us men that bears life this day nor a great deal longer." 3. They do not wish to encroach, but only to have the same liberties as their ancestors. They ask him to write to his steward to stay proceedings till he comes down "into this cuntree."

f. 8b-9. Covenants for making of the "Bek" by John Gargrave.

6 April 1454, 32 Henry VI. Indenture between William Spenser, John Coppandale, William Sleforth and six others (probably for the 12 Governors) and John Gargrave, walker. [A walker is a fuller.] He "sal gar make" and finish a pair of "clowys" sufficient at the High Bridge of Beverley Beck to "resayt" of the water flowing into the same, unto the Parson Bridge; and for avoiding of the same water betwixt the said bridges, for scouring the same beck. He is also to scour the beck from Parson Bridge to Saint John House,  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a yard deeper than at the date of the deed, and to cleanse and cut the banks from Saint John House to the end of the beck. The work to be done by 24th June. Payment, 40 marks. Gargrave to have power to stop Walkerbeck for the weal of the beck. He provides four sureties, two shoemakers and two tilers, in £5 each, for due performance of the work.

f. 9b., 10, and 11, blank.

f. 11b. "Divers petitions not confirmed by the King in all things." This document is undated, but seems to be the petition on which the Charter of Henry VI. was granted.

"Memorandum that from the time when the Lord Edelstan, of famous memory, once King of England by the general words following, 'als fre make I the, as hert may thinke or eyhe may se'" granted the liberty to God and the Church of Beverley and the men of Beverley, the men of Beverley were free and quit of toll and tea (*sic*) and all the like customs through the whole of the King's power; and from the time of Henry I. had their Merchant Guild and Hanshouse and free Burgage as freely among them as those of York. But yet they want those liberties and quittances to be more particularly confirmed; viz.:—That they are free and quit in cities and boroughs and markets and fairs, in passage of bridges and ports of the sea, and in all places through all England, Ireland and Wales and other our lands and waters, from every tallage, passage,

pedage ("pedagio"), lastage, stallage, wreck, and lagan, ewage, from imposts ("vectigalibus") and dues ("tributis"), of murage, pontage, pavage, pitage, and that the said burgesses be quit, as of warnage, terrage, carriage, sayage, keyage ("cayagio") and all other levies ("praestacionibus") through the whole kingdom of England and elsewhere within the royal power; and a certain custom which is called "metlagh," and from all earthly service and secular exaction; which should be looked into ("quae inspiciantur") according to the counsel of men learned in the law.

Moreover, whereas in charters of the ancestors of the present King, Kings of England, it was granted to the men and burgesses of Beverley that they should have all the liberties and free customs which Thurstin and William, once Archbishops of York, gave them, and all which Kings of England, etc. (*sic*) gave and granted them, and by charters confirmed; Now, though the burgesses of Beverley and their ancestors and predecessors used some of the liberties, customs, and quittances as aforesaid, by virtue of the said general words, and have been accustomed to use and enjoy them freely, the said burgesses of Beverley are hindered from the use of them, as they were wont, in divers places, viz., Lincoln; Huntingdon, Warwick, and elsewhere, as well by the King's officers as by others; wherefore let special remedy be provided if it may be.

And, if it may be, that the said burgesses may have a community between them, and that they may be able to create twelve Governors of the community of the more worthy, etc., among them yearly, on the feast of S. Mark the Evangelist, as they were accustomed. And that all persons dwelling or who shall dwell within the same town of Beverley, wishing to use the aforesaid liberties, be in scot and lot with the burgesses aforesaid in tallages, contributions, and other burdens touching the said community. And that they have their Merchant Guild and Hanshouse as they have been accustomed. And that the Steward of the Household, the Clerk of the Market, or other officers of the King or his heirs, may not enter the said town to do anything there which pertains to his office. And that the twelve Governors so elected and to be elected by the authority of the King may have power to punish disturbers of the peace and beginners of quarrels and dissensions in the town aforesaid by arrest and imprisonment, etc., and to do other things which pertain to the Justices as Keepers of the Peace.

Liberties contained in charters of the abbey and convent of S. Mary's, York. This charter of Henry V. or VI. is appended, apparently, as a precedent for what the burgesses of Beverley wanted. It recites that "whereas among other liberties and quittances granted to the abbot and convent it was granted, &c. Be it granted to them that they, their tenants and servants for ever, be quit in city and borough, fairs and markets, passage of bridges and sea ports, and all places throughout England and Wales and Ireland, of every toll tallage,

passage, footage, stallage, wardage, pavage, and of all cartage and summage; and that their cars, carts and horses, or other means of carriage be no way seized, etc."

*f. 12.* Copy of commission of subsidy, to inquire of knights' fees, 12 April, 9 Henry VI., by Humfrey, Duke of Gloucester, Keeper of England. To Henry Brownflet, Robert Babthorp, Kts., and John Ellercarr and John Constable, Guy Roucliff, Robert Rudstan and the Sheriff of York. Recites grant (in French) by Parliament, of a subsidy of 20s. for every knight's fee and proportionate charges on ecclesiastical property.

*f. 13b.* Commission for East Riding for two subsidies taken as well from knights' fees as of all inhabitants and householders. 6 April, 6 Henry VI. Recites the grant by Parliament of 6s. 8d. from the movables of all the inhabitant householders ("domicilia tenentes") of every parish whose church was valued below ten marks a year, if there are more than ten inhabitants, cities and boroughs only accepted; and 13s. 4d. from the inhabitants of those parishes whose churches were valued above 10 marks; and so proportionally ascending according to the value of the churches; and, in cities and boroughs, of 2s. from every parish whose church was of the value of 20s., and so ascending; and 6s. 8d. from every person seized of a knight's fee in demesne, and proportionally down to the 4th of a fee.

*f. 14.* Discharge of the town of Beverley, except the church and parishioners of Holmkirke, Beverley, from the subsidy. Inquisition taken for the King before Robert Rudstan and William Soulby, bailiffs of the liberty of John, Archbishop of York, 8 July, 6 Henry VI., by virtue of a mandate from the Commissioners of the subsidies for the East Riding, and the oaths of a jury of twelve Beverley townfolk. The jury find that in the town and borough of Beverley the church of S. Nicholas, "commonly called Holmkirk," anciently taxed at 10 marks, is worth 10 marks a year, and there are more than 10 inhabitants in it; but, after an exhaustive statement of the peculiar constitution of the Minster, the collegiate church of St. John and its various parochial prebends, including S. Mary's chapel (now S. Mary's church), attached to the altar of S. Martin's prebend in the chapel over the charnel in S. John's churchyard, they find that there is no other parish church in Beverley. The inhabitants of the town, therefore, except the parishioners of S. Nicholas Holme, escaped the subsidy.

*f. 15b.* Charter of Thurstin, once Archbishop of York, to the burgesses of Beverley.

Charter of William, once Archbishop of York, to the said burgesses. A translation of this is printed in Poulson i, 55, with one blunder, by substituting "inconveniences" for "conveniences."

*f. 16.* Bull of confirmation by Pope Lucius of the gift of Thurstan and William.

This is a confirmation by Pope Lucius III., probably in 1183, of the "*libertates ac vestras liberas consuetudines quas bonae memoriae Thurstinus et Willelmus quondam Eboracensis ecclesiae Archiepiscopi rite et canonice vobis indulsisse noscuntur, sicut in autenticis eorum scriptis exinde factis continentur et a karissimo in Christo filio nostro Henrico (II.) illustri Anglorum Rege corroborata sunt.*" Dated, Sign. 12 Kal. Sept.

Bull of Pope Celestine, dated at Rome, 5 July, *an.* 4, 1195, confirming Lucius' confirmation.

These two bulls are crossed out, no doubt in accordance with Henry VIII.'s proclamation.

*f.* 16. THE MAGNA CHARTA OF THE COMMUNITY.

To all, &c., Richard of Louthe, John Tirwhit, son of Adam Tirwhit, Adam Coppandale, son of William Coppandale, senior, Peter Lumbard, William of Lothyngton, Peter of Staynton, John Spicer, Thomas Gervais, Alexander Cras, Robert of Bedford Thomas of Scroeton, John of Wragby, elect by the common consent of the community of the town of Beverley, to keep the said town and the customs and statutes of the same town for this present year, viz., from S. Mark's Day, A.D. 1359, &c., Greeting. Know ye that we, in our Guild Hall of Beverley, anciently called the Hanshouse, in the presence of the whole community of the same, have inspected and recited certain statutes and customs used and approved time out of mind, to the effect following, viz.:—

That every year on S. Mark the Evangelist's Day the Twelve elected to keep the town for the past year shall nominate 18 of the more worthy ("*probioribus*") and sufficient of the said community in the Guild Hall aforesaid, the whole community then being there summoned for this purpose, those excepted who have been keepers of the said town for the three years before the said nomination; of which 18 the community shall choose Twelve to keep the town aforesaid for the year coming. Which Twelve elected and sworn, or seven of them if all cannot be present, shall have ("*habeant*") full power to levy farms ("*firmas*") rents and ancient dues ("*assessas*") in the same town, to keep and maintain the ancient customs and statutes, and to chastise and punish rebels and contraveners at their discretion, and, when necessary, with the consent of the community aforesaid, to ordain and constitute new ordinances and statutes.

And to levy by the boxes hitherto used such payments and assessments ("*praestationes et assessas*") as were anciently used in the town aforesaid, viz.:—

	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Of every whole cloth .....	0	1
„ half a cloth.....	0	0 $\frac{1}{2}$
„ a quarter of a cloth .....	0	0 $\frac{1}{4}$



Of every sack of wool.....	0	2
„ half a sack.....	0	1
„ a quarter of a sack.....	0	0 $\frac{1}{2}$
„ two stone of wool .....	0	0 $\frac{1}{4}$
„ every pound (assisa) of dye (wayd).....	0	0 $\frac{1}{2}$
„ every hundred of alom .....	0	0 $\frac{1}{2}$
„ half a hundred .....	0	0 $\frac{1}{4}$
„ every hundred of brasell .....	0	2
„ half a hundred .....	0	1
„ quarter of a hundred .....	0	0 $\frac{1}{2}$
Of every cask of wine .....	0	2
„ „ pipe .....	0	1
„ „ hundred weight .....	0	0 $\frac{1}{2}$
„ „ half .....	0	0 $\frac{1}{4}$
Of cheap cloth and other merceries aforesaid ...	0	0 $\frac{1}{2}$
„ every ten [dakra] hides of bulls and cows...	0	0 $\frac{1}{2}$
„ half a ten .....	0	0 $\frac{1}{4}$
„ hides of horses .....	0	0 $\frac{1}{4}$
„ hides of goats.....	0	0 $\frac{1}{4}$
„ every quarter of corn, either of wheat or other corn baked (furnato), for sale	0	0 $\frac{1}{4}$
„ „ quarter brewed for sale .....	0	0 $\frac{1}{4}$
„ „ brew less than a quarter .....	0	0 $\frac{1}{4}$
„ „ quarter of malt for sale .....	0	1
„ „ window of cobblers (sutorum), smiths, tailors, skinners, parchment makers and the like each week .....	0	0 $\frac{1}{4}$
„ „ master carpenter, a year .....	0	8
„ „ waggon and car (carra) for hire, a year .....	0	12
„ „ ship, keel, and freight ship (fraght ship), a year .....	0	12
„ „ great ketch (cach) carrying casks of ashes (cinerum), corn, and the like, a year .....	0	6
„ „ mill a week .....	0	0 $\frac{1}{4}$
„ „ bakery (pistrina), a week .....	0	0 $\frac{1}{4}$
„ „ weaver for 4 cloths or coverlitts ( <i>sic</i> ) woven .....	0	0 $\frac{1}{4}$
„ „ master fuller for 2 cloths fulled .....	0	0 $\frac{1}{4}$
„ „ vat for dying other people's wool, a week .....	0	0 $\frac{1}{2}$
„ „ lead of a working dyer, the week .....	0	0 $\frac{1}{4}$
„ „ table of a working barber, the week...	0	0 $\frac{1}{4}$
„ „ burgess living in Beverley, for every 20s. rent, a year .....	0	1
„ „ 10s. rent .....	0	0 $\frac{1}{2}$
„ „ 5s. rent.....	0	0 $\frac{1}{4}$
„ a tray (traya) of salt.....	0	0 $\frac{1}{4}$
„ every tiler's furnace fired .....	0	0 $\frac{1}{2}$
Every kiln fired "in le stanpitts," to sell beyond 6 quarters burnt.....	0	0 $\frac{1}{2}$

For 6 quarters of chalk and less ..... 0 0 $\frac{1}{4}$   
 Of small vessels and boats and little ketches,  
 to be taken at the discretion of the keepers  
 and collectors in accordance with the seasons  
 or season of the year at which they come to  
 sell and collect the arrears of the aforesaid  
 dues.

We will also and grant that wherever cloths of wool or other the goods aforesaid, within the town of Beverley or without, be bought by any fellow burgess or one of our merchants, the assessment above mentioned be levied on them.

These Statutes and Ordinances of the aforesaid Twelve elected, for us and our heirs, we grant, approve, and ratify to endure for ever; so that if any member of our community, present or future, shall ordain or attempt anything against the said Statutes, he shall give the community aforesaid £10 to be levied by distress by the Twelve for the time being; and also lose the liberty of a burgess in the town aforesaid.

Any one elected by the nomination aforesaid as a keeper refusing to serve, to pay 40s., to be levied, etc.

Any of the twelve not coming to the Common Hall when summoned by the common sergeant, unless he have some reasonable cause, to pay 12d.

Any other burgess summoned, and not coming, to pay every time 6d., to be levied in form aforesaid.

If the twelve think it expedient that rates ("misæ") should be imposed in the said town, they must cause all the burgesses to be summoned to the Common Hall for a certain day, that they may be imposed with the assent of the whole community, if all come, and that by poundage ("per libratam"), and if they do not come, or come and refuse to consent, then the twelve may impose the rate by poundage, and levy it, as they may think most expedient on oath.

Also the twelve, or seven of them, shall have special power of taking all and singular profits accruing to the community, of receiving rents, of leasing the wastes, lands, houses, meadows, pastures, and all other things concerning the community, and valuing through the whole time aforesaid all things coming to the community, of giving and paying gratuities, expenses, and salaries as often as they shall think fit on behalf of the community; and of bearing, allowing, and giving discharges for all things and expenses and the like touching the community before the time of making these presents, &c.

And whatever the said twelve, or seven of them, now elected shall have said on oath that they have spent, on behalf of the community shall be allowed without demur by the twelve to be elected for the next year.

Moreover, if the twelve, or any of them, or their clerk or sergeant shall be sued for their office or other act of the community, their expenses shall be repaid by the community in full.

And if it happen that in a distress by the twelve, or seven of them, or the sergeant of the said community, any of the community, whether one of the twelve or of the other burgesses, be found disobedient or offer resistance, let him at once, without pardon, pay 6s. 8d. to the community. And likewise, it shall be lawful for the twelve, or seven of them, to distrain, drive away, carry off, and detain *de die in diem* all the goods and chattels, wherever found, of him so found rebellious, until he shall have made full satisfaction for all arrears, demands, and profits belonging to the community, and of the offences aforesaid. And if any of the community aforesaid cannot be justified in any such matters, the twelve, or seven of them, shall summon all the burgesses of the town for a certain day to the Common Hall for the assistance of the said twelve (or seven of them) against him so found to rebel and proved opponent; and moreover to find a remedy and make such orders against all such rebels and opponents as may be necessary in the interests of the community.

Also, it is ordained and decreed by the community of the town aforesaid, that none of the community aforesaid place, or cause to be placed, any filth or dung in the high streets or in other public ways, where carts are driven or may be driven; and anyone disobeying this ordinance (unless the filth be carried away at least once a week) shall immediately pay to the community 40d.; and let this be yearly taken by the twelve keepers for the time being.

In testimony whereof we, the said community, have affixed our common seal to these presents, and for greater security thereof have procured the seal of the Venerable Canons of the Chapter of the Blessed John of Beverley to be affixed.

f. 17. Charter of Edward III. confirming the charters of all his ancestors.

This is mentioned by Poulson I. 97, and assigned to the impossible date 1322. It was 14 Dec. 6 Edward III., *i.e.* 1332. It is an inspeximus of the charter of 16 Edward II., itself an inspeximus of (i.) that of 28 April, 1 John; and (ii.) that of 11 April, 85 Edward I., itself an inspeximus of 13 February, 21 Henry III., confirming the charters of John, Henry II., Henry I., and Archbishops Thurstin and William, and of the charter of 2 July, 56 Henry III. This charter of Edward III. confirms all the liberties although they had not been used, and grants freedom from murage and pavage throughout his whole kingdom and dominion ("potestatem"). See Poulson I. 87.

f. 18. 1382. Charter of the election of the twelve keepers of the town of Beverley.

This is an extremely interesting charter which seems to have entirely escaped the notice of the historians of Beverley; and is, beside the Account Roll for 1386, the only record of a long municipal constitutional struggle.

18 March, 5 Richard II. "Richard, D.G., etc. To all and singular the good men and burgesses of the Town of Beverley. From the uncertainty of good government, many insolences are committed among the inhabitants and commons of cities and towns, evils arise and scandals, and divers kinds of dangers are excited, and peaceful conduct is badly hindered, and such insolences, evils, and dangers have more than usually happened in the town of Beverley, chiefly by default of good government, as is sufficiently notorious.

For that town was accustomed by ancient and approved custom, there used without disturbance for 50 years, to be ruled and peacefully governed by twelve good ("probos") men of the town, elected for the purpose on the feast of S. Mark the Evangelist by the common assent of the burgesses of the said town. But that custom among you being suddenly set at nought, in place of the said twelve good men ye have newly appointed an alderman and two chamberlains for the rule and government of the town in the present year, and made this order, which has not been seen in the town aforesaid within the last 50 years or before, except twice or seldomer, and for the better rule of the said town was then annulled by the common consent of the burgesses of the said town; and ye intend to hold and keep to it, notwithstanding that the government of the said twelve men was much preferable for the good rule of the said town.

And (whereas) this ordinance, if continued, will turn as we are informed, to the great desolation of the town and displacing ("dispositionem") of the burgesses of the same, we, greatly desiring the relief of the town aforesaid and quiet and peaceful living there, on account of the special devotion to the glorious confessor of Christ, the blessed John, whose body has been translated into the Minster [*one of the few occasions on which the word "monasterium" is used in formal documents*] of the said town, and wishing, moreover, graciously to provide for the future rule of the said town and for amending the defects of such rule there, enjoin and command you and every of you as strictly as we can, and on the faith and allegiance by which ye are bound to us, that by unanimous assent ye come together on the feast of S. Mark next at your Guild Hall aforesaid, as is customary, and having heard read all the premisses in your presence, and having understood them, and weighed them with mature deliberation, ceasing all matter of strife and quarrel, there determine and duly order such rule, order and government in the said town whereby the town and the people there may be best and most quietly ruled and governed, and our peace there kept, and friendship most nourished amongst you for the present year, and so from year to year; for this end diligently and amicably taking your turns ("adhibentes invicem vices

vestras") as has been best and most orderly accustomed in the said town before this time, and has been for the best to make peace and quietness amongst you; until, putting down rebels and opposers, or rather those who begin, promote, and are active in strife and quarrels, and their abettors, if any such there be, in this behalf by the ways and means which are suitable, ye restrain them from their malice. And this, as ye love us and our honour, and wish to avoid our heavy displeasure and perpetual forfeiture of all your liberties, by no means omit. Witness ourself at Westminster, 18 March, the fifth year of our reign."

It is to be noted that the King does not definitely command a return to the election of twelve keepers instead of an alderman and chamberlains, and, in point of fact, it appears from the Roll of accounts for 1386 that both in that year and the year before the town was governed by the latter, and not by the twelve keepers.

*f. 18.* Charter of Dynges and Outings ("outenges").

This is a copy of the confirmation by Robert, the Dean, and Chapter of York in 1284 of Archbishop William (Wickwane's) grant of the messuage with buildings over it called the Bishop-dyngs in the market place of Beverley and a meadow with a piece of arable land in it called Outings between Newdyke (wrongly called by Poulson Nendyke) and the common pasture of Fegang.

A translation of the whole is printed by Poulson I, 77 and 81.

This grant has generally been spoken of as if it was a great gift by the Archbishop, but the transaction was purely commercial. Substantial rents of half a mark each were reserved for the Dyngs and Outings respectively; and the burgesses gave up their rights of pasture in the Archbishop's Park and the meadow of Stonecarr (Staynker). Moreover, it is questionable how far any of it was an original grant, as it confirms an agreement made by Sewall de Bovill, Archbishop A.D. 1256-8.

*f. 18 b.* Discharge of the town of Beverley of the way [*i.e.* repair of the way] between Beverley and Hulbryg; 1407.

Friday after Whit-Sunday, 8 Henry IV. Pleas at Driffeld before Peter de Button, Kt., John de Redenesse, Richard Tirwhitt and other the King's Justices for sewers, bridges and causeways ("calcetis") in Estrythyng. The Burgesses are indicted for non-repair of the King's highway from Hulbridge to Beverley, so that in winter men could not go to the market of Beverley without danger of death, though they have always to pay pavage to the town. A jury of 24 knights and other freemen was summoned to view, and found that the Burgesses were not liable to repair the road.

*f. 19.* Discharge of the town of Beverley, and Chapter of St John of the same town, for Queengate; 1411.

Extract from *Pleas coram Rege*, Roll 40, Hilary Term 13 Henry IV. The Town and the Chapter were presented at the Sheriff's tourn at Middleton for not repairing the King's street called Quenegate, from Milecrosse to Beverley. Eventually the jury found that neither the Town nor the Chapter were liable to repair the road.

#### CHARTER OF WESTWODE.

*f. 19 b.* Grant of the soil of Westwode to the Burgesses by Archbishop Alexander Neville, 2 April, 1380, 3 Richard II.

The rights of pasturage had been granted, or confirmed, by Archbishop Wickwane's grant 100 years before. The town now acquired the fee simple. It is to be noted that the grant was for fully valuable consideration, a rent of £5 a year.

A full translation is given in Poulson I. 139.

*f. 20.* 1380. Of the annual payment of 20 marks to the Lady of Cottingham.

Indenture between the Lady Joan, Princess of Wales, Duchess of Cornwall, Countess of Chester and Kent and Lady of Walle, cousin and heir of Lady Joan de Stotewille, once Lady of Cottingham, of the one part, and Richard of Walkington, John of Kelk, John Gervays, and nine others named, Keepers of the town of Beverley, and the whole community of the same town, on the other part, Witnesses that whereas Walter Giffard, once Archbishop of York, by the consent of his chapter granted to the said Lady de Stotewille her heirs and assigns, by agreement between them made A.D. 1269, 6 marks of silver of annual rent to be received in the town of Waghen of the Abbot and Convent of Meaux, from 100s. which the said Abbot and Convent used to pay to Walter the Archbishop for the removal of all weirs, hedges, piles, chains and other hindrances whatsoever in the Hull water: which 6 marks the Burgesses and Keepers of the Town of Beverley have been used to pay in exoneration of the said Walter and his successors to the said Lady Jane de Stotewille and her heirs for the removal of the said weirs, &c.; And whereas the said (parties of the second part) have newly by deed granted to the Lady Joan, Princess, and her heirs six marks to be taken from a house in Beverley called the Dynges, with clause of distress; she has now released all right in the said six marks granted to Joan Stotewille, her ancestor, and in all other rents granted to her ancestors before the making of these presents. Dated at Missenden, 20 April, 3 Richard II.

The explanation of the deed appears to be that there had been disputes as to the rent-charge, and now in consideration of a specific charge on the Dynges Joan, the Fair Maid of Kent, released the Town from all claims for the past.

*f. 20 b.* Of the leasing of a lane in Mynstirmoregate, 1 Aug., 1318. Agreement between the Community of the Burgesses of the Town of Beverley, of the one part, and Sir Richard of Birkyn, chaplain, of the other part; lease for 60 years of a lane nine feet wide from Minsternoregate to St. Giles' cemetery for a silver sixpence a year.

Charter of gift to the Town of a certain road or lane in Flemyngate. Symon Sewyn, son of Richard Sewyn, grants to the Township ("villata") of Beverley for the soul of his father and mother, in pure alms, a way six ft. wide on the west of his land on the stream of water from his gate which he has to the North, to his lane which goes to Fleming-gate ("vicum Flandrensi") and free passage by the same lane to Fleming-gate. Witnesses not given, and date said not to be given in the original document from which this copy was made.

Lease of two lanes in Flemyngate. Easter, A.D. 1318. Agreement between the community of the Burgesses of the town of Beverley and Master Thomas Harpham, then Dean of Beverley. Lease for 60 years of all the common of the said community in two lanes in Flemyng-gate on either side of Master Thomas' house: one 8 ft. broad from Fleming-gate to the common water course; the other 2½ ft. broad leading from Fleming-gate to a street in front of the Friars Preachers; for 18d. a year. Thomas binds his house so that the covenant should run with the land.

*f. 21.* Memorandum that the Lord Archbishop alleged himself injured by divers trespasses done to him by the Community of the Town, by a certain Bill, as follows, delivered to the Twelve Keepers, Thomas Mayn and his fellows, 13 Sept. 13 Henry VI., 1434. In English. The complaints are:—

i. William Ledys holdeth to him and his heirs of the Twelve Governors a lane which is a common way and waste of the Lord, for a certain sum of money paid beforehand: which lane endureth from Fischmarket Moregate through a close of the said Ledys into Ryngold-lane-ende toward Mynsternoregate.

ii. Watkyn Clerk holds to farm for term &c. (*sic*) a lane of the Lord's waste as it lieth on the east side of the tenement of the same Watkyn from Flemyngate to Hellegarth, which is closed up at both ends.

iii. Thomas Mayn holdeth [&c.] a lane etc., from Fleminggate to Hellegarth by the tenement of St. John of Jerusalem.

iv. William Souleby [&c.], two lanes from the same to the same on both sides of his place.

v. Roger Rolleston [&c.], a lane from Lort Lane to the New Mill, closed within his garden, "the length of a butscote" [buttshoot] and more, by the stopping of which the Lord pays for farm of a way to the said Mills, 2s. yearly to the Prior of Watton, and the same Roger holdeth and stoppeth other two lanes of the said waste enduring from Flemyngate.

vi. There be without Keldgate Bar divers tofts containing 12 acres of ground and more, which were late "biggid" (built on) and then called Cokwald Strete, which ought to be kept several in all times of the year, and now late the said Governors and other commoners of the town use to common in the said ground in open time of the year.

vii. And in the Chapel Lane (S. Mary's) be also divers tofts containing 6 acres and more from Keldgate Bar to S. Thomas' Chapel which were late biggid [&c.]

viii. Also there be divers lanes within the said franchises of Beverley upon the said Lord's waste which be stopped and closed by the said Governors, to the great harm, hurt and hindering of the right belonging unto the Lord of the said franchise.

ix. Also the said Governors have confederated ["confederid"] and constituted among them, in derogation of the Lord's Court, that what man that is enfranchised and sueth in the Lord's Court for debt, trespass or other causes, before the time that he hath made complaint to the said Governors, and have their leave, he shall pay a noble to the said Governors or else lose his burgessship.

f. 21 b. And this Bill (following) was delivered to Thomas Mayne, Thomas Wayte, littester (dyer), and William Lorymer, mercer, 8 Nov., 13 Henry VI., with which they rode to London to the Archbishop for an adjournment.

The "Bill," in English, is a letter "right meekly beseeching" the Archbishop that though they had promised their answer by Martinmas, yet as they only had Thomas Wilton for counsel, who had not sufficient leisure to examine the evidence, nor was able to come unto London by reason of divers infirmities, he would adjourn the matter till his coming to Yorkshire.

A Latin note says that the matter was respited accordingly.

The issue does not appear.

f. 21 b. 1433. Commission for lessening the tax granted by Parliament 12 Henry VI.

27 Sept., 12 Henry VI. Henry, &c., to William Fitzhugh and to Edmund Darrell and Robert Hopton, knights of the shire of York in Parliament. Recital of grant of a 15th and 10th, less £4000; which last sum was to be granted in relief of poor towns, cities and boroughs desolate, waste or destroyed, too much impoverished, or otherwise too much oppressed by the tax, at the discretion of one Lord and the two Knights of the shire.

Writ for the same. To the two Knights of the shire, dated 20 January the same year.

f. 22 b. 1435. 13 Henry VI. Letter under Privy Seal of the King sent to the Community for a loan of 200 marks. English.

"Trusty and well beloved, Inasmuch as we, now late instantly required as well by solemn ambassiates as by letters of our Holy Father the Pope, the General Council, our Brother the Emperor,



our Uncle of Burgundy ("Burgoigne"), and many other, to entend unto the means of peace to be treated betwixt us and our adversary in our realm of France, condescended to send our solemn ambassiate of the Lords of our blood and other in great number to meet with the ambassadors of our said adversary at Arras, 1st April next coming, for which cause of necessity we must send also at the said time into our said realm of France a great army to hold the field, the which thing ye at your discretions can well consider may in no wise be done, namely so soon, without great aid of chevance of our true friends and subjects: To the which aid at this time we have found our fair ("beal") Uncle the Cardinal and the remainder ("remenant") of our Council and other about our person, as well spiritual and temporal, as well willed as our heart can desire, notwithstanding that many of them at our prayer shall go unto the same convention in their persons: We desire and pray you that, considering the great good which we trust to our Lord shall ensue of these things before rehearsed, ye would at this time loan ("lene") unto us the sum of 200 marks, for the which our Treasurer of England shall make unto you by authority of Parliament such surety for your repayment as he maketh unto our said fair Uncle and the remainder of our Council, and others, that loan like ("semblable") sums and greater unto us in this necessity: the which sum we pray you to be delivered unto our said Treasurer at London at the Octave ("oytanes") of Trinity next coming at the farthest, as ye desire the worship and weal of Us and the conservation of both our realms. Given under our Privy Seal at Westminster the 28 day of May."

"Unto Our Right Honorable and Worshipful Sir and Master the Provost of Beverley.

Right Honorable and Worshipful Sir and Master We commend us to ("til") you. Like you to wit our liege Lord the King has directed to us a Privy Seal of 200 Marks delivered to us on Corpus Christi even last past, of the which ("whilk") the bearer of this has a copy to show you if it like you.

Whereupon and it like your mastership to understand that we in best wise assembled in our Guild Hall the most honorable persons and other commoners of the town of Beverley, rehearsing to them the Privy Seal beforesaid. Upon which they went ("yede") together and gave answer that for divers causes notable they might provide ("chevys") no good unto our said King at this time. One ("O") cause was that of men's freehold within the town of Beverley three parts was in decay, and other tenements that was inhabit[ed] with tenants was so feeble that they might not well pay. Another cause was said, that merchandize sometime used within the town of Beverley is so greatly enfeebled, what by loss of the sea and what with taking of enemies on the sea, that profit of merchandize is nothing as it was wont to be. Another cause, they have been so charged with taxes yearly that has been paid, and yet is for to pay, that withouten our grievous hindering to the community, like chevance may not be made.

Another is, as it is well kenned, that enemies of divers nations has been on the coast of Holderness, and there has taken divers ships, men, and their goods; also have run up at Withernsea and other places in Holderness, there taking sheep and men with them. Which coast of Holderness, us (*sic*) must help and relieve in time of necessity, with all our power, in withstanding the enemies abovesaid. Also another is certified to us, that the Scots will have open war, which to us will be a grievous charge, and warrants come from the Wardens of the March to raise the people as it has been done before time. Another cause (*MS. torn here in places*), poundage for safeguard and keeping of the sea both for them and . . . . . men and their ships are taken on the sea daily to their utterest . . . . . remedy.

Wherefore such charges rehearsed with other that is . . . . . importable hindering to the town. Praying you heartily with all our . . . . . and to ye the said town good and tender mastership at this time in askcuse . . . . . be us at this time considering the causes abovesaid. Therefore we pray . . . . . your entent by letter how by your wise discretion we shall be de . . . . . No more at this time but Almighty God have you in his Grace. Written at Beverley the 2nd day of July. By your own . . . . . Governors and Wardens of Beverley."

The worthy Governors, however, got no comfort from the Provost by their excuses.

f. 23. For this was the answer to the above letter.

"Worshipful sirs and full entirely beloved friends and neighbours, I greet you well oftentimes, of right perfect and hearty ("hertly") affection. Letting you wit that I have late received your letter directed to me by your common servant.

As for your excuse to the King our sovereign Lord of a loan ("loom") or chevance of 200 marks, desired of your town by the King for his special embassy and army at this time into France for the treaty of peace; of the which labour I pray you have me excused. For truly as I stand toward the King, as ye know, and also that other men of like condition as ye be of (e)strangeth them nought in this case, but makes chevance under surety sufficient, considering the great and notable cause of the desire thereof. And I could not reasonably excuse you without ye put you somewhat like other, and under like surety, the which is ordained as strong as the Lords of the Council, the which are chief lenders ("lenners"), at this time can desire. And therefore withouten ye be disposed to do like other of your degree, desire me not to entreat in that matter; as well for your worship as for mine. For truly I wot well it would not be accepted of your part, and I might be held (*MS. torn*) therewith, the which I trust ye would not in no wise. Wherefore I counsel you ye . . . like other men of your degrees to do somewhat to the King's pleasure, and send it hither by . . . . . man in haste, and I will help you to bring it to as little sum as I may with all my

heart . . . . . with God. The which have you ever in his holy keeping. Written in haste at London, the 8 day of July. By Robert Rolleston, Wardrober and Provost."

f. 23. 1484. Exemplification of a Charter of Henry II. for the Hospital of Hedon.

*Inspecimus*, 18 Nov. 18 Henry VI. of Charter of Henry II. to the "infirm of Heddon, whom William Earl of Albermarle placed there for the souls of Henry I. and others," to have a fair on St. Mary Magdalen's Day. Date torn away.

1487. Bond for the arbitration and award between the Twelve Governors and the Prior of Bridlington: *viz.*—

Bond by Roger Rolleston, Esq., Thomas Mayn, William Spencer, merchant, Thomas Skipwith, merchant, to John (Kemp) Archbishop of York, in £200, that the Archbishop's tenants and residents in Beverley, the Provost and Chapter of Beverley, and all their tenants and residents, and the 12 Governors and all their tenants and servants, will abide by the award of the Archbishop in all matters pending with the Prior and Convent of Bridlington, their tenants and servants.

1489. Copy of writ for restraint of grain; 18 Oct. 18 Henry VI. On account of scarcity now long existing no corn to be taken out of the port of Beverley without special leave.

f. 24. 18 Henry VI. Condition of bond for £20 between the 12 Governors and William Dalton of London. To appear in St. Paul's to choose two arbitrators in the matter of claim by Dalton to rent of 5/- from a house outside North Bar, Beverley.

Similar bond by Dalton, who is to show his title.

26 March, 18 Henry VI. Letter of attorney by Thomas Wylton, William Colwell, Guy Bridekyrke, and the other twelve Governors, appointing John Holme to act for them in the matter.

1486, 14 Hen. VI. Gaol delivery at Beverley for Alan Haulay.

Letters patent to Robert Rudstan and Roger Rolleston to deliver gaol of prisoners thereat. Thursday after Corpus Christi Day, the gaol delivered Alan Haulay, indicted for divers felonies and treasons, found guilty and executed. No goods. No other profits to the Crown.

f. 24b. to 31. Series of Charters and Pleas, as follows:—

1414. 20 June, 2 Henry V. *Inspecimus* and confirmation charter to Henry (Bowet) Archbishop of York. Recites the charters of:—

i. *Edward the Confessor*, in corrupt Anglo-Saxon. (This is printed by Poulson I. 42. His translation of "minster-life" as meaning "monastic-life" is of course quite wrong. It means, "according to the rule of Secular Canons," which was by no means monastic).

ii. *William the Conqueror*, also in corrupt Anglo-Saxon. Poulson I. 46.

iii. *Henry I.* This is not noticed by Poulson. It is given thus:—

H. Rex Angliæ omnibus mercet (*which appears to be a mistake, probably for ministris*) et omnibus baronibus de Ewrewicscira salutem. Volo et præcipio ut terra sancti Johannis non geldet si ipsa non geldavit tempore Edwardi et patris mei; et sit quieta sicut homines comitatus inde portabunt ei testimonium. Et consuetudines et libertates alias concedo, sicut meliores habuit tempore Regis Edwardi et patris mei. Teste Roberto comite de Mellent, apud Wesmonasterium.

iv. *1 Stephen, 1135.*

*f. 25.* *Inspecimus* of 29 June 1 Henry IV., for Richard le Scrope, *inspecting* 14 Feb., 12 Richard II, *inspecting* 20 Nov. 12 Edward III., *Exemplification of Pleas of Quo Warranto*, viz:—

8 Edward I., before John de Wallibus, etc., Justices in Eyre; gallows, return of writs, estreats, coroners on each side of Hull water, fishery in same, assize of bread and beer, free warren. The Archbishop claims gallows and coroners from grant of Athelstan, and Henry I., the rest by prescription.

*f. 25b.* 8 Edward I., before John of Metyngham etc., Justices in Eyre, at York; two Mints at York; produces charter of Henry I. to Archbishop Gerard.

*f. 26.* 21 Edward I., before Hugh de Cressyngham etc. in Eyre at York: Infangthef etc. in Beverley and Ripon; Wednesday and Saturday markets in Beverley; chattels of felons and fugitives; wreck at Beverley; fines for escape of robbers; coroners; return of writs; custody of prisons; gaol delivery; pleas coram Rege and in Common Bench; pleas of fresh force; of wrongful distrain; all pleas usually held before sheriff; in pleas of the Crown the King's judges deliver writs and records to the Archbishop's judges at the Mile-cross, and the case is tried by the latter, in presence of one or two of the King's judges, who sit to bear witness that justice is done, etc.

*f. 28.* The Archbishop puts in evidence;

41 Henry III, before Roger de Thurkilby &c. at York, Justices of Assize; pleas of right and assize, the recovery of land by Thomas of Caster as heir to his brother.

80 Henry III. before Roger de Thurkilby, &c. Pleas of Crown at York. Archbishop's man and Provost's man found 8 "ollas Batumer" and "patell[as] de metall" on Eske Moor and took them to Beverley. They are taken and their chattels forfeit to the King.

*Inspecting* also exemplification 20 Nov. 12 Edw. III. of Pleas at York before W. de Herle, etc., Justices de Banco, 1 and 2 Edward III., Roll 68.

*f. 28 b.* Plea as to land in Ripon; production of Writ of 25 Jan. 2 Edward III. that Archbishop has cognizance of pleas of land in Ripon and Beverley.

2 Edward III., Roll 116. Plea of Dower in Beverley; the Archbishop's bailiff claims it. Plea of Debt, the same.

9 Edward III., Roll 6. Plea at Common Pleas at York. Trespass and false imprisonment at Beverley. Archbishop's bailiff claims cognizance, and it is allowed on production of Writ 18 June 1 Edward III., Trinity term Roll 5, allowing claim in similar case.

*f. 29 b.* *Inspecting* also *Inspeximus* of 7 July 17 Richard II. of Assize of Novel Disseisin before Robert of Charlton, Mich. 16 Richard II., as to tenements in Beverley and Sandholme, stating that the liberty includes, besides Beverley town, the town of Sandholme, Stork, Mollescroft, Thorne, Wodemanse, Sice, Hulbrig, Wele, Tykton.

*Inspeximus* also of 23 Aug. 5 Henry IV. Charter as to Steward, Marshal of the Household, and Clerk of the Market being excluded from the liberty.

*Inspeximus* also of 26 March 41 Henry III. Free Warren to Sewall, Archbishop of York.

*Inspeximus* of Charter of Henry I. To Sheriff of Notts and Barons of Notts and Derby, confirming to Archbishop Thomas customs on lands in Notts and especially of B. V. M. of Southwell, viz., To do right as Canons of York would in like case.

*Inspeximus* of Charter of Henry I. To William Pevrell and Richard, Sheriff of Notts, confirming to Archbishop Gir[ard] customs which Thomas his predecessor had in Notts.

[Full translations of the Quo Warranto pleas of Edward I. and Henry III. are given in Poulson I. 149, omitting that as to the mints at York. He does not state whence he took them.]

*f. 31.* Indenture made by the Community for the election of the Twelve Keepers ("Custodum").

25 April 1345.—"Hæc Indentura testatur quod communitas villæ Beverlaci elegit xij. homines ejusdem villæ, viz. Willelmum de Kelsterne, Ricardum de Luda (Louth), Thomam Harald, Robertum de Humbleton, Johannem de Walton spicer, Johannem Clericum, Willelmum de Dalton, Thomam Coppan-dale, Johannem de Warton, Robertum de Walton tannatorem, Johannem de Cotyngham, Walterum Barker, juratos ad custodiendum villam prædictam a festo S. Marci Evangelistæ A.D. 1345 usque ad idem festum anno revoluto.

Dans eisdem xij<sup>clm</sup> hominibus, vel septem eorum, specialem potestatem omnia et singula proficua communitati contingentia percipiendi, redditus recipiendi, communitatem de vastis terris, domibus, pratis et pasturis, et omnibus aliis rebus communitati tangentibus, dimittendi et appriandi (*sic*) toto tempore prædicto ad opus communitatis prædictæ; exennia, curialitates, expensas et salaria, quotiens sibi pro communitate viderit expedire, dandi et faciendi; compotum de omnibus receptis et exceptis et aliis rebus communitati tangentibus ante tempus confectionis præsentium, nomine communitatis prædictæ,

audiendi, allocandi, et acquietare faciendi, ac omnia alia et singula faciendi in præmissis et circa præmissa quæ communitati prædictæ viderint proficua et opportuna. Et quicquid xij<sup>clm</sup> vel septem eorum jam electi per sacramentum suum pro utilitate communitatis se dixerint expendisse vel imposuisse, per xij. eligendos pro anno futuro sine contradictione eis allocabitur. Præterea, quod si xij<sup>clm</sup> seu clericus ant serviens eorum sint implacitati, vel aliquis eorum per se sit implacitatus pro officio, vel pro aliquo alio commodo facto communitati, expensæ illorum de communitate in omnibus restaurentur.

Et si forte oporteat quod in villa prædicta misæ ponantur, prædicti xij<sup>clm</sup> homines præmunire facient omnes Burgenses de villa prædicta essendi ad certum diem ad communem aulam, ita quod per assensum et consensum eorum misæ ponantur, et hoc per libratam.

Et si dicti Burgenses de villa prædicta venire contempserint vel per collusionem assentire noluerint, extunc licebit prædictis xij<sup>clm</sup> misas ponere et levare per libratam prout melius per sacramentum suum viderit expedire.

Et sciendum quod xij<sup>clm</sup> homines jam electi, vel septem eorum, per mensem ante tempus prædictum præmunire facient omnes burgenses de villa prædicta ad eligendum cum assensu prædictorum xij<sup>clm</sup> hominum alios xij<sup>clm</sup> homines ydoneos ad villam prædictam custodiendum pro anno futuro.

Et si quis de xij<sup>clm</sup> tunc electis prædictum officium contempserit, vel esse noluerit, communitati prædictæ sine remedio vel contradictione incontinenti solvet xl<sup>s</sup>.

Et si quis de xij<sup>clm</sup> jam electis ad communem aulam pro negotiis communitatis agendis venire contempserit, cum per communem servientem præmunitus fuerit, quotiens se absentaverit, nisi causam habeat rationabilem, communitati prædictæ xij<sup>d</sup> solvat. Et quicumque alius de villa burgensium nostrorum, cum sic præmunitus fuerit et venire contempserit, singulis vicibus communitati prædictæ sex denarios solvet in forma supradicta.

Et si contingat quod in districtione xij<sup>clm</sup> hominum vel septem eorum, seu servientis nostri communis, aliquis de communitate, tam de dictis xij<sup>clm</sup> hominibus quam de ceteris burgensibus, rebellis seu remissus inventus fuerit, aut rescussum fecerit, quod incontinenti sine remedio vj<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>d</sup> solvat communitati prædictæ.

Et similiter liceat prædictis xij<sup>clm</sup>, vel septem eorum, ipsum sic inventum rebellem ant remissum, de die in diem, per omnia bona et catalla sua, ubicunque fuerint sic inventa, distringere et districtiones facere, fugare, asportare et detinere, quousque de omnibus arreragiis, debitis, demandis, et proficuis ad communitatem pertinentibus, prædictæ communitati plenarie satisfecerit.

Et si aliquis de prædicta communitate in præmissis nullo modo justificare possit, prædicti xij<sup>clm</sup>, vel septem eorum, præmunire facient omnes burgenses villæ prædictæ ad certum diem ad

communem aulam in auxilio prædictorum xij<sup>cim</sup> hominum vel septem eorum, ad ipsum sic inventum rebellem et contrarium justificandum, et ulterius de talibus rebellis (*sic*) et contrariis remedium apponere et ordinare, quotienscunque et quodocunque necesse fuerit pro utilitate communis prædictæ.

Et si dicti Burgenses de villa prædicta præmissa facere contempserint vel noluerint, quod extunc liceat prædictis xij<sup>cim</sup> officium suum respuere, et quieti sint de omni onere, actione et demanda quæ dicta communitas erga hos habere poterit, quantum ad prædictam villam ulterius custodiendum.

Item ordinatum est et statutum per communitatem villæ Beverlaci quod nullus de communitate prædicta ponat seu ponere faciat fimum vel sterquilinum in altis stratis, nec in aliis viis publicis villæ prædictæ ubi carrectæ fugantur, vel possunt fugari. Et si quis de communitate prædicta contra hanc ordinationem facere præsumpserit, nisi ad minus amoveatur qualibet septimana, quod incontinenter solvet prædictæ communitati xl<sup>s</sup>.

Item ordinatum est et statutum per eandem communitatem quod omnes panni venales villæ prædictæ debent vendi in les Dynges, et si vendantur extra et non inibi quod capiatur de venditore pro quolibet panno integro viij<sup>d</sup> ad utilitatem communis prædictæ, et hoc annuatim capiatur per xij<sup>cim</sup> custodes villæ prædictæ qui pro tempore fuerint.

Et istæ ordinationes vel statuta locum teneant. Ratum et gratum habitura quicquid prædicti xij<sup>cim</sup>, vel septem eorum, jam electi, in præmissis duxerint faciendum in forma præscripta. (*Sic.*)

In cujus rei testimonium sigillum communis et sigillum prædictorum duodecim hiis indenturis alternatim sunt appensa.

Dat. apud Beverlacum die et anno supradictis."

*f. 31b.* Protection for the men of Beverley.

16 April 37 Edward III. Writ to all Bailiffs that whereas certain men were indicted at Beverley for divers robberies and oppressions, and some of them were convicted, and according to privilege of clergy delivered to the Archbishop to be imprisoned, and their relations and friends threaten the men of the Community of the Town of Beverley with corporal violence and burning of their houses, we take them under our special protection.

Commission for Green Wax; 136<sup>5</sup>. 10 Feb. 40 Edward III. Writ to Sheriff of Yorkshire.

According to the custom anciently obtaining in Beverley, Sheriffs' Officers ought not to levy and take the Green Wax pennies belonging to Us in the said town before they have shewn their warrants for levying the same to the Bailiffs of the said town; but some men of the town complain that some of your officers have levied such pennies without showing their warrants, and under colour of such levy extort money without reasonable cause, to our scandal and loss. See to it that it does not occur again.

*f.* 32. 1375. Discharge of the citizens of York from murage, pavage, and stallage.

5 July, 49 Edward III. Writ to the Pavage collectors of Beverley. The citizens of York are free of murage, pavage, and stallage throughout the kingdom by charter of Edward I., confirmed by Us with clause of non-user; do not therefore charge them pavage for their goods brought to your town.

1432. Of divers Burgesses indicted for their measures, 11 Henry VI. The jurors say on their oath that the 12 Governors and the Community of the town of Beverley have no weights or measures sealed with the Royal Seal and of the Royal Standard.

John Thorynton of Beverley, tailor, bought of John Burwell of Cheriburton, on 6 December last, 20 quarters of barley by his own measure, exceeding the King's measure by a London bushel in every quarter, and so extorted 2 qrs. 2 bushels at 5s. a quarter.

John Brown of Beverley, baxter, and several others presented for the like offence.

*f.* 32. 1451. Copy of writ to have the names of men, as well temporal as spiritual, having lands to the value of 20s. and upwards.

John Pykeryng, Sheriff of Yorkshire, to the Bailiff of the liberty of the Archbishop of York of Beverley; 29 Henry VI. *Venire facias* before Henry Earl of Northumberland at Baynton on Tuesday before the feast of St. Edmund the King, all Earls, Barons, Knights, Esquires, and other persons having lands and tenements, fees, annuities in fee or for term of life, or by copy of court roll, to the value of 20s., and all Abbots, Priors, Prioresses, Masters of Guilds and Brotherhoods, Chantry Priests, having any lands acquired since 20 Edward I. And all constables of every township of the liberty aforesaid to hear and do what on the King's behalf shall be enjoined them. Bring the list with you.

*f.* 32b. Confirmation of Bull of Pope Celestine, by Eugenius IV.

1 Aug., 1435, *anno pontif.* 5, dated at Florence, confirming the liberties and privileges of the town of Beverley.

Feb., 1438, *anno pontif.* 8, dated at Florence. Eugenius [IV.] to his beloved sons the burgesses of the town of Beverley. Confirmation in general terms of all liberties, immunities, privileges, exceptions, laudable customs and indulgences ["*indulta*"], also lands, freeholds ["*libera tenementa*"] granted by Thurstin, William Sewall, Alexander and Richard, Archbishops of York of good memory: also by Henry I. son of William the Conqueror of England, Stephen, Henry II., John, Henry III., Edward I., II., III., Richard II., Henry IV., V., of sacred memory ("*divæ recordacionis*") and our dearest son in Christ now Henry VI., and all other princes and others of Christ's faithful people, for the honour of St. John of Beverley, whose body was honourably buried, adorned as is asserted by frequent



miracles, in the Collegiate Church of the said town splendidly built ("solemniter constructa"); to them, their heirs and successors, and the town, as they and their ancestors, burgesses of the said town, freely held them.

*f. 93 to 96. Blank.*

*f. 96.* "The appoyntement betwyx the \*Bastard of Orliance and Burdelez (Bordelais).

"First, the 12 day of June the 29 yeer of our Soveraygne Lord Kyng Henri the sexte was appoynted and ordeyned betwix the Bastard of Orlyance and Burdelez, that if the French party were stronger in the feld than the Englisch party before the castell of Fronsek on Midsomer daye next folowyng, that then they sal delyver the said Burdeux and Burdelez, Bayonn and Acrez, if they will stande to the same appoyntement.

Item, that the Frensch oste sal not com no further uppon the Englisch groynde duryng the said composicion.

Item, that if the Frensch party have the feld that day, that on Midsomer day [they] schulde be resceyved in Burdeux, and take the obbesiance and sacrament of alle tho that will be Frensch.

Item, that if ther be any man that wol not be Frensch that he take with hym alle his moveable goodis and goo his way within vj monthes folowyng, garnyshed with a safe condith, that sal coste hym a scute.

Item, tho that have possessions and goods unmeveable, that they leve them to their next heyres that wil abide and be Frensch.

Item, every persone that will abide and be Frensch schal have alle his goods and possessions, be they of the King's gifte or othir-wise, in the same form and manner as he had them before.

Item, all men of holy chirche of what estate or condicion they be schal holde their benefises and rents as they were of custum to do.

Item, if ther be any habitant of Burdeux or Burdelez or of any place yelded be the seid composicion, at this tyme beyng out of the contre, that he cum home within xij moneths, and he schal be receyved and enioye his goods, possessions or benefices as they did before.

Item, all the custumes, franchises, privylegis and lawys schal be used, conserved and kept asweel in Burdeux as any othir places, as hath been.

Item, that ther money schal holde and not be changed this ij yeer day.

Item, that the Court of the suffereynte schal be holden and kept in Burdeux as hath been used and custumed befor this tyme

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\*The words "Frensch King" are in the original before "Bastard," but scratched out.

Item, they in Bordeaux nor in the contre sal not be put to no gabellez, quatreinds, talage, nor non imposition, nor non othir custumes then has been had and used.

Item, that all maner of marchands may cum into Burdeux be watir or be land to discharge and charge in all places, payeng the dute and custume as hath been used here afor.

Item, if the Frensch kyng wil make any werre to any contre, that they of Burdeux nor of the places yoldyn in the contre be sayde composicion schal not be holden to serve the said kyng withoute wages.

Item, if any schip of Ingeland wil come to Eren he schal come saf to Nostirdamys Entredeux Acres, and fro thens to sende unto Burdeux for a saf condith, which schal be sent them for the maystirschip and maryners to be ther saf condith; and for the merchands to cum bye and selle at Burdeux, paying for the same saf condith eftir the burdon of the same schip.

Item, in this composicion abovesaid the counsell of Burdeux hath comprisond Bayon and Acres; and if the said Bayon and Acres wil not yelde them be the said composicion that then all that may be done[?] in all haste goo befor hem and take hem be strengthe.

And for to fulfille thees articles the Frensch Kyng and the Bastard been bounde, expressed be ther seals, for to do this in al haste possible withouten any tarieng or delay."

f. 36. 1450.<sup>o</sup> "Copy of the first bill unto the Kyng fro the Duk of York the yeer aforwretyn.

"Please it unto your Excellence for to know that as well afore my departing out of that your realm for to go into your land of Ireland in your full noble service, and since ("sethyn"), certain persons have lain in wait to hearken upon me, as Sir John Talbot, Knight, at the Castle of Holt, Sir Thomas Stanley, Knight, in Cheshire, Pulforthe of Chester, Elton of Worcester, Broke of Gloucester and Richard groom of your chamber at Beaumaris; which ("whilke") had in charge as I was informed for to take me and put me in the Castle of Conway; and to strike off the head of Sir William Oldhalle, Knight, and to have put in prison Sir Walter Devereux ("Devoroux") and Sir Edmond Mulso, Knight, withouten enlargishing, unto the time your Highness had appointed their deliverance.

(f. 37.) Item, at such time as I purposed for to arrived (*sic*) at your haven of Beaumaris for to come ("commyn") unto your noble presence to declare me your true man and subject, as my duty is, my landing was stopped and forbarred by Harry ("Herry") Norys, Thomas Norys, William Bukley, William Gruffe, and Bartelmew Bolde, your officers of North Wales, that I should not land there nor have victual nor refreshing for me and my fellowship, as I have written to your Excellence herebefore. So far forth that Harry Norys, Deputy to the

See Gairdner's edit. of the *Paston Letters*. I. lx.

Chamberlain of North Wales, said unto me that he had in commandment that I should in no wise have landing there, nor refreshing for man, horse, nor other thing that might turn to my worship or ease, putting the blame unto William Say, usher of your chamber, saying and affirming that I come against your intent, as your traitor, as I am informed.

And moreover certain letters was written, made and delivered unto Chester, Shrewsbury, and to other places for to prevent ("lette") mine entry into the same.

Item, above alle thes wronges and injuries abovesaid and done unto me of malice withouten any cause, I being in your land of Ireland in your service, certain commissions were made and directed unto divers persons which for the execution of the same sat in certain places [and] the juries empanelled and charged; the which juries certain persons laboured instantly for to have indicted ("endited") me of treason, to the intent to have undo me, mine issue, and corrupt my blood, as it is openly published.

Beseeching your Majesty Royal of rightwiseness to do examine these matters, and thereupon to do such justice in this behalf as the cause requireth, for mine intent is fully to pursue to your Highness for conclusion of these matters.

#### THE COPY OF THE SECOND BILL.

Please it to your Highness tenderly to consider that great grudging and murmur<sup>a</sup> is universally in this your realm of that justice is not duly ministered to such as trespasses and offends against your laws; and especial of them that been indicted of treason, and other being openly noised of the same; whereby great inconvenients have fallen, and greater is likely to fall hereafter in your said realm, which God defend: but if ("gif") by your Highness provision reasonable be made for due reformation and punishment in this [be]half.

Wherefore I your humble subject ("soget") and true liegeman, Richard, Duke of York, willing as effectually as I can, and desiring the surety and prosperity of your most royal person, and welfare of this your noble realm, counsel and advertize your Excellence for the conservation of good tranquility and peaceable rule among all your true subjects, so to ordain and provide that due justice be had against all such that be so openly indicted or openly noised. Wherein I offer me and will put me in devoir for to execute your commandment in these premises for punishing of such defenders, to redress the same misrule to my might and power. And for the hasty execution hereof, like it your Highness to address your letters of Privy Seal and writs to your officers and ministers to take and arrest all such persons so noised or indicted, of what estate, degree or condition so ever they be, and them to commit to your Tower of London, or other your prisons, there to abide in bail, withouten mainprise, into the time they be thereof utterly tried and determined after course of your laws."

<sup>a</sup> "romer" [rumour], *Paston Letters*, ut supra, I. 153.

## THE ANSWER OF THE KING TO THE SAID BILLS.

f. 37. "Cousin, we have seen the bills late taken to us, and have understood ("undirstande") the good humble obeisance that in your selfe ye show unto us as well in word as in deed.

Wherefore our intent is the more hastily to ease you of such things as were contained in your said bill. As how it be that at our more leisure we might answer you in your said bill, yet we let you wit that for the cause aforesaid we will declare you now our intent in this matter.

Sooth it is that a long time (*word-space in the MS.*<sup>o</sup>), the people hath given upon you much strange language, and in special, anon after the disordinate and unlawful sleynge of the Bishop of Chichester, divers and many of the (*MS. torn*, "untrue") shipmen and other said ("sayden") in their manner words against our estate, making menace ("manasse") unto our person by your saying that ye should be fetched home with many thousands, and that ye should take upon you that that ye neither ought nor, as we doubt not, ye will not attempt, so far forth that it was said unto our person by divers, and specially we remember of one Wastnesse, which had such words unto us. And also there were divers of such false people that wenten and had such language in divers of our towns in our land, which by our true subjects were taken and duly executed.

Wherefore we sent to divers of our ports and places for to hearken and take heed if any of such manner of communing<sup>†</sup> were, and if there had been, for to have resisted it. But coming into our land<sup>‡</sup> as ye did, our intent was not that nor ye, nor less of estate of our subjects and servants, should have been warned, but in goodly wise received. How it be, that peradventure your sudden coming withouten certain warning, caused them to do as they did, considering the causes aforesaid.

And as touching to the indictment afore specified, we think verily there was none such, and if ye may truly prove that any such persons was there about, the matter shall be demeaned as the law requireth, so that ye shall know it is to our great displeasure.

Upon this easing of your heart in all such matters we declare, repute and admit you as our true faithful subject and as our well beloved cousin.

Item, as touching your last bill, last put up unto us, Cousin, we understand well that ye of your good heart, counsel and advertize us to setting up of justice and to speedy punishing of certain persons indicted or noised, offering your service to be ready at our commandments in the same. Sooth it is, that, many great causes moving us, we have determined in our own soul so [*sic*, for "to"] stablish, with sad and so [*read* "a sad and"] substantial council ("consaile"), giving them more ample authority and power than ever we did afore this; in the which we have appointed you to be one.

\* "among the people hath been upon you," *Paston Letters*, ut supra, p. lxi.

† "coming," *ib.*

‡ "our true subject," *ib.*

But sith it is not accustomed or expedient to take a conclusion, or a conduct, by advice and counsel of one person by himself, for which consideration [it] is observed that in councils, greatest and the least, the rich and the poor, in liberty, virtue, and effect of their voices ben equal, we have therefore determined within our self to send for our Chancellor of England and for other lords of our counsel, they all together within short time ripely to commune [of] these and other our great matters. In the which communication such conclusion, with grace of God Almighty, shall be taken, as shall be to His pleasure, to the weal of us and our land, as well in these matters as in others."

A BOND FOR 550 SALEUS.

f. 88. 8 July 1452. "Be it kenned unto all men by these present letters me William Manypeny, Knight, Lord of Congtursault in France, to be bounden and obliged by these present letters, and farther in my body binds and obliges me, to the right honourable and worshipful lord William Turnbull, Bishop of Glasgow ("Glas-kow") in 550 saleuz of good gold and of weight after course and poys of England, or in the value of English payment if the saleuz may not easily be gotten, to be paid unto the forsaid William Turnbull, Bishop, or to his executors and his assigns, at the terms underwritten, by half and evenly portions, which is to say at All-hallowmass in winter next coming after date of these presents, and at the feast of Easter ("Pasche") next thereafter following, withouten further delay or exception fraudulent.

And if happen, as God forbid it do, me William Manypeny, Knight beforesaid, to fail in payment of the sums of goods and money, or in the avail, as it is said, at terms before written, in all or in part, I oblige me, my lands, rents, possessions, heirs, executors and assigns, all and sondry my goods moveable and immoveable whatsoever within the kingdoms ("kinrikes") of Scotland and France to be taken, [im]pounded and away led withouten license of any judge spiritual or temporal, at the free-will of the forsaid William Turnbull, bishop, his executors or assigns, or his lawful attorney having sufficient mandement and power of him to come and pursue in any place wheresomever; while, of as well costs, scathes, damage, labours and expenses, if he or they any make or sustain, in default of payment of the sums of gold and money aforesaid or of the value of English payment, as said is, at the terms afore written, as of the principal sums and debt, full payment be made and assessed, withouten fraud, guile or evil ("male") engine, none exception of law. canon or civil by me, mine heirs or executors or assigns, or by any others in my name to be proponed or alleged, any time to come in the contrary.

In witness of which thing to these my letters of obligation my seal is put and subscribed with my own hand the 8 day of the month of July in the year of our Lord, a thousand four hundred fifty and two years."

*f. 38 b.* 1452. 30 Henry VI. A record of a "servand recedid out of his service." Letter testimonial to the effect that Thomas Colyn otherwise Colynson had fled from service of John Willyamson, dyer ("littester"), after having entered into covenant to serve him in "littestercraft" for a year, taking with him £3 11s. 5d. received of divers persons in Northcave, Whitgift and Croule to the use of Willyamson. "To your university effectually we notify, praying you to fortify the said John Willyamson after the form of the Statute of our liege lord the King against servants fugitives."

#### BREAKERS OF THE PARK IN BEVERLEY.

*f. 38 b.* "To the most excellent and worshipful Lord the Earl of Northumberland.

Complaineth to your gracious Lordship your poor servant William Murthewayt, keeper of the park of Beverley. Whereas in the feast of St. Mary Magdalen at Leconfield, I complained unto your most worthy lordship of certain trespass and harms done to my lord within my said office, at which time it liked you of your special grace to give me in charge, at such time as I knew that any belonging to your worthy household did any trespass or reveny within my said office, to certify their names to your said lordship.

How be it that divers times, and as who say continually, sith that time, certain persons have been within my said office and there without leave have hurt, slain and borne away my lord's deer in great number, that hithertowards I, supposing that they would have been more thankfully entreated to leave such misgovernance, which I can in no wise bring about, have not complained: Now is it so that upon Saturday 29 July last past, John Pykeryng, squire ("sqwier") Henry of the cellar ("seler"), William Clifton, William Hotoft, John Clifton, John Smothyng, Henry Schotelanger, Thomas Broghton, John Clerk, servant to William Normanvile, Richard, servant to Pynchebek, Copshawe and Basset, came into my said office, in fencible wise arrayed, and there killed two deer, and there said themselves lay in wait to have slain me and my fellowship, and beat and hurt certain of my friends within my said office, as they were coming towards me, for the which I am of very force coerced ("coartid") at this time to complain to your most worthy lordship, tenderly beseeching you of remedy and succour in this behalf, at the reverence of God and in way of charity.

And your said suppliant shall ever pray to God for your noble estate.'

*f. 39.* Another copy of the *Magna Charta Communitatis*, as far as the word "pyxides," stopping at the detailed list of rates.

Another copy of the Bull of Eugenius given above, *f. 32 b.*

*f. 40* Blank.

*f. 41.* 1425. Ordinances of the craft of Saddlers. No date, but given at *f. 65* of the Guild Book as dated 1425.

1447. 26 Henry VI. Petitions of the craft of Fullers for election of searchers.

Petitions of the craft of Coupers. Printed among the extracts from Guild Book.

*f. 41 b.* Weavers' ordinances. Also in Guild Book.

*f. 42.* Turners and Joiners to go with Coupers. Also in Guild Book.

*f. 42 b.-45.* Weavers' ordinances. Also in Guild Book.

*f. 45.* Ordinances as to Sanctuary men's (*Grithmannorum*) payments, if practising a craft.

*f. 46 b.* Of the payments by Paviours and work of Bakeries ("clibanorum") and of Lead-setters ("led-setters").

*f. 47.* Tilers' ordinances.

*f. 47 b.* Skinners' ordinances.

*f. 48 b.* "The co[u]nt of leves written in this book is xlj<sup>d</sup>, with a litle labell in Engleshe.

Si mea penna valet melior mea littera fiet."

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#### GREAT GUILD BOOK. (*Translation.*)

*f. 3 b.* These are the customs and liberties of the town of Beverley from the time of which no memory remains used and approved by the Burgesses of the said town [as appears by the old Register registered on large paper].\*

##### Of the Assize of Bread.

*Inprimis*, that the twelve keepers of the town of Beverley who are elected each year to keep the aforesaid town, at the next Court of the Archbishop after the feast of St. Michael, in full Court at Beverley, present six burgesses of the same town to keep the Assize of bread and beer for that year. Which six burgesses shall swear that they will faithfully keep the Assize aforesaid. And whenever they shall see it necessary and fitting, they shall take loaves, which loaves shall be weighed by the bailiffs in the presence of the aforesaid six burgesses, and there, according to the weight and quality of the loaves at their discretion, defects

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\* The words in brackets show where the Guild Book differs from the Town Chartulary.

shall be adjudged, and by their oath offenders shall be fined and punished, and the fines, if there be any, shall be assessed ("affirentur") by them, and the aforesaid fines shall be delivered to the said bailiffs in accordance with indentures made between the six burgesses and the bailiffs; excepting however on the three feasts of the fairs of the town aforesaid, namely, of St. John in May (7 May, *but the later version has "in yeme"*), of the Ascension of the Lord, of the Nativity of John the Baptist and for eight days following, and except between the feast of St. Peter ad Vincula (1 August) and the feast of St. Michael, at which time let no Assize be held. So that at other times of the year the Assize be kept in form aforesaid.

#### Of the Assize of Beer.

And as to the Assize of beer, the aforesaid six sworn men shall make an Assize of beer at any time of the year when they shall see need. And in the end of the year, namely at the feast of St. Michael, they shall fine all brewsters ("brasiatrices") offending against the Assize. And the fines aforesaid shall be made and assessed by the same six sworn men, and the same fines so assessed shall be delivered by indenture to the Archbishop's bailiffs and be levied by the bailiffs. Except however that there shall be no assize of beer at the times aforesaid. And that the Archbishop's bailiffs shall interfere in no other way than is aforesaid.

#### Of the butchers.

And that butchers be not punished before the Archbishop's steward, or his bailiffs, without special precept and commission of the lord King.

#### Of the punishment of fishermen [and forestallers].

And that no fisherman being a burgess be punished for any default except by fines, and this when he has been convicted by twelve sworn burgesses, and that those fines be assessed only in full Court of the lord Archbishop, and that by the oath of burgesses of the same town sworn for that purpose.

This only excepted, that if any one shall have been lawfully convicted by twelve sworn men as a forestaller in a case in which he is adjudged a forestaller by the statute of the Lord King, That then he or she so convicted be punished according to the law of the land and the quality and quantity of the crime. And that in every inquest to be taken by the Lord's steward to inquire of forestallers the jurymen be expressly informed by the steward or bailiff who are forestallers and who are not.



## Of summonses of burgesses.

And that no burgess be summoned except in his own house and this by both bailiffs at once [by a bailiff carrying a rod and sworn]. And that in pleas of land no burgess be summoned except by both bailiffs in like manner, and in his own house, as anciently has been the custom.

And that no burgess be fined for refuse heaps ("sterquiliniis").

## Of the levying of fines.

And that none be called out to levy amercements or fines except under the seal of the bailiff, and that they be levied by one sworn bailiff.

## Of the attachment of burgesses.

And that no burgess be attached for any trespass for breach of the peace ("pro affray del pees") unless the trespass happen in presence of the bailiff, and the complainant wish to prosecute his adversary; and then the offender shall find pledges to answer to the laws. And if the party complaining does not wish to prosecute, then the defendant go quit as to the suit of the Lord, whether he be a burgess or a stranger.

And that no burgess be arraigned ("arenatur") on the presentation of the constable or bailiff, or anybody else, except at the presentation of twelve men, without the special precept of the lord King.

## [Of the forfeiture of a tenant of a burgess.]

And if any tenant of the burgesses of the town incur forfeiture, and the Lord's bailiffs have seized the chattels of felons, that the burgess shall first be satisfied of his rent if any be in arrear.

And when any one in the Archbishop's Court at the suit of a party do right, for which it is considered that the party should be quit [*here the MS. of the Chartulary breaks off, a leaf having been torn out, and the text is taken only from the Guild Book*] that then the bailiffs of the Archbishop should not take or exact anything from the party of the defendant so quit; where, before the present time, by extortion, some bailiffs have taken 12<sup>d</sup> against the laws.

## Of the sons of burgesses.

Also it is decreed and ordered for ever by the community of the town of Beverley that no one who was born before his father was made a burgess shall enjoy the privileges of burgesses. Thus: A man either a stranger or a denizen ("advena vel indigena") made a burgess who has children begotten and born before he was made a burgess, those children shall not be burgesses or commoners ("communicarii").

## Of the children of concubines.

Also, [if] a burgess keep a concubine and beget offspring from her, out of matrimony, that offspring will not be burgesses or commoners, even if their father afterwards marry the mother of the said children.

## Of children begotten in adultery.

Also it was decreed and ordered that [if] a married man, a burgess, beget children in adultery, those children shall not be burgesses or commoners, unless they make their entry (*i.e.* pay their entrance-fee) in the Guildhall before the Governors and community.

## Mode of election of the Twelve Keepers of the town of Beverley.

Whereas it was long ago ordered and decreed by the community of the town of Beverley that on the election of the twelve keepers of the town of Beverley he who had been nominated and elected a keeper of the town of Beverley, and had refused the office, should pay to the community 40<sup>s</sup>, but because it had not been fully ordered and decreed whether he who refused the said office and paid the penalty aforesaid should be quit and discharged of the said office for two years then next following, or whether he might in the following year be again elected to the said office; therefore on Friday 6 May 1370, the whole community being assembled in the Guildhall of Beverley, it was ordered and decreed by the said community with regard to the premises, That he who relinquished the said office and paid the penalty aforesaid, for that year only should be exonerate and quit of the said office, and that in the year following he might be lawfully elected and chosen to keep the said office. And so of all other offices affecting the community of a lesser and lower degree let it stand and be at all times, for the collection of boxes and such like.

## Penalty of one of the Twelve Keepers elect being absent.

1376. Also, it was ordered on St. Mark the Evangelist's day, A.D. 1376, the whole community being present, with the full consent of the same, that he who is elected to be one of the twelve keepers of the town of Beverley be in the Guildhall, while Prime is ringing ("*pulsante prima*," *apparently equivalent to the phrase still in use at Winchester College of "first peal"*). If any one is later, if he was in the town of Beverley, let him pay without remedy 40<sup>s</sup> to the use of the community aforesaid.

Order of the sealing of letters testimonial: [*as in the small Register*].

*f. 6 b.* Oath of the Twelve Keepers of the town of Beverley.

This swear I, M., that I will keep the town of Beverley from this day to the feast of St. Mark the Evangelist next with all my mind ("sensu") and power, and no man by reason of affinity, consanguinity or friendship unjustly sparing, nor any man by reason of hatred or malice unreasonably aggrieving ("gravando"); so help me God and these Holy Gospels of God. And if he has not taken the oath before, then he will swear:— And that I will be faithful and true to the community of Beverley and will keep secret the counsels of the community.

Oath at the entry of a burgess.

This swear I, N., that I am free, and that I will be faithful and true to the community at Beverley, and that I will keep secret the counsel and secrets of the town of Beverley and the Guildhall, and will be law-abiding ("justificabilis") and obedient to the twelve keepers of the town of Beverley who now are, and to those who shall be hereafter; and will put no animals in any of the pastures of Beverley, except those which are my own, without fraud or craft, and I will keep the customs of the town and of this house. So help me God and these Holy Gospels of God.

*f. 7.* Oath of the Thirty persons.

[*This is in a later hand, but before 1498.*]

This swear I, N.F., I will be true and faithful to the twelve keepers or governors of the town of Beverley for the time or year being, and to the Corporation ("corporacioni") of thirty persons; and at all times, whensoever they require counsel or assistance for any cause concerning our lord the King or our lord the Archbishop of York or the community of this town, I will be prepared with my best counsel and assistance according to my power, and I will keep secret the counsels of the same community and will not reveal them. So help me God and these Holy Gospels of God.

Copies of the Commission and Release of the Twelve Keepers with copy of the release for Cottingham.

1374. Let it appear to all by these presents that we, the community of the town of Beverley, have chosen twelve men of the town aforesaid, viz.: A, B, C, D, F, and G, sworn to keep the town aforesaid from the feast of St. Mark the Evangelist, A.D. 1374, to the same feast of St. Mark the next year, giving to them and granting them, or seven of them, full power to levy and take all and singular the profits and assessments

Wt. 723 b

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("proficua et assessas") touching the aforesaid community. And also for the time aforesaid to keep and maintain all the statutes and liberties and ancient customs of the town aforesaid. And to chastise and punish all those offending, according to the customs and statutes of the town aforesaid, ratifying now and in time to come ("ratum et gratum habentes et habituri"—*the common form for a proxy*) whatever the aforesaid twelve or seven of them shall think meet to be done about the preservation and keeping of the town aforesaid for the time aforesaid. In testimony whereof we have caused our common seal to be affixed to these presents given at Beverley in the said feast of St. Mark, A.D. aforesaid.

1369. Know all by these presents that we, A, B, C, D, F, and G, keepers of the town of Beverley, A.D. 1369, have received the account of H, J, K, L, M, N, and P, keepers of the town of Beverley, A.D. 1368, so that all things being reasonably accounted for we have found the aforesaid and their fellows before named have faithfully administered their office and have rendered to us a faithful account of all receipts, rates ("misis") and expenses incurred by them in the keeping of the town aforesaid. Wherefore we acquit and discharge them by these presents, all and each, from rendering any further account of the premisses. In witness &c.

Know all by these presents that I, R. de G., receiver of the Lady A., Countess of Kent and Lady of Cotyngham, have received and had on the day of the making of these presents of the community of the town of Beverley by the hands of the twelve keepers of the town 40<sup>s</sup> sterling for the term of Pentecost last past before the date of these presents; which 40<sup>s</sup> I acknowledge that I, in the name of my Lady aforesaid, have been fully paid, and I acquit the said community thereof by these presents. In witness &c. Dated &c.

#### Ordinance of the sealing of letters testimonial.

f. 6. 1306. And it was ordered by Richard Holme, Thomas Frost and his fellows, keepers of the town, on St. Mark's day 1306, and confirmed by the whole community, that henceforward no writing made under the common seal for any cause should be delivered to any one before that it be written in the present register; so that the same writing after the term contained in it should be asked for ("petatur") by the keepers for the time being and surrendered to them. And that if any testimonial should be made for any of the burgess-ship ["burgensia". *The later copy in the Guild Book has "burgense"*] that it should be sealed with the smaller leaf of the common seal, and not with any other.

#### Order for the sealing of the Commission and Release of the Twelve Keepers.

1306. Also, it was ordered in the year last aforesaid that the keepers elected on the feast of St. Mark the Evangelist, and for every year in future, that (*sic*) their commission made to them

by the community should be sealed with the whole seal, and should be surrendered on the feast of St. Mark or before they have their release stated. And that their release on their account of receipts and expenses made by the said keepers for the said community should be sealed with the lesser leaf of the common seal, because the said release will remain with them without re-delivery. And that the said release sealed with the lesser leaf aforesaid should be to them in full allowance and delivery for the time for which they held office, for ever.

Of the absence of burgesses of Beverley from the election of the Twelve Keepers on St. Mark the Evangelist's day with penalty.

*f. 6. Chartulary.* 1435. On St. Mark the Evangelist's day, A.D. 1435, it was ordered and decreed to be perpetually observed by the common consent and assent of the community of the town of Beverley gathered together within the Guildhall, That any burgess of the said town who on any St. Mark's day in the future should not have come to the election of the twelve keepers there before the ending of the common bell, namely at eight o'clock, if he have been summoned on the day next before by the common bellman, but shall have absented himself from the same election, shall, each time that he has been found guilty, pay to the use of the community aforesaid 6d., without any pardon, unless he has a reasonable excuse.

Of the summons of Burgesses.

*f. 15 b.* 1354. It was ordered and statuted by Richard Holme, Thomas Frost and the rest of the keepers, with the assent and consent of the whole community, that no Burgess, or neighbour of Beverley, summon or cause to be summoned another for any matter before any ecclesiastical judge outside the town of Beverley, unless he first show and reveal his injury and grievance before the Dean of Beverley; and if he cannot get justice there, then he may lawfully seek ("perpetrare") justice elsewhere. Penalty 6s. 8d.

Ordinance against any Burgess impleading another.

1354. It was ordered [&c.] that no burgess of Beverley implead or cause to be impleaded another by writ, or in any court, for any matter or action, unless he first show and reveal his injury and grievance to the keepers or governors sitting in the Guild Hall. And those who are at variance ("discordes") shall abide by the award, order and judgment of the twelve or seven of them. Penalty 6s. 8d.

Order with regard to the buying of 100 feet [of land].

*f. 7.* 1367. Also, A.D. 1367, it was ordered in the Guildhall at Beverley by the whole community there assembled, that he who thereafter should be free from toll, by reason of buying 100 feet of land, come to the Guildhall before the keepers of the town, and there make known where his land lies, and show his deed, and pay entrance [fee] to the community, 4*d.*, to the clerk, 1*d.*, sergeant, 1*d.*

Penalty for abusing the Common Clerk.

And if any abuse the common clerk of the Guildhall in performance of his duty he shall pay without delay to the community 6*s.* 8*d.*

Penalty for abusing the Common Sergeant ("clientis").

And any one abusing the common "client" while doing his duty shall pay to the community 3*s.* 4*d.*

Of the office of Bellman and four bells.

*f. 15 b.* 1390. St. Mark's Day. William Pyncheon was elected by the community to the office of Bellman of Beverley, and after him Thomas Tyrwhit son of John Tirwhit, and received of the community 4 small bells, price of each 2*s.*, on condition of repairing them for the good of the community as long as he remained in office, at his own costs.

Penalty for surrender of burgess-ship.

*f. 11 b.* 1403. Also it is ordered Wednesday, the feast of St. Mark the Evangelist, 1403, by the twelve keepers of the town of Beverley and the whole community of the same, that if any of the burgesses of the said town hereafter surrender his burgess-ship with this object, that he does not wish to be obedient and law-abiding ("justificabilis") to the twelve keepers of the town aforesaid, that he shall forfeit and pay to the said community £10, as often as he shall have been found guilty of the same.

*f. 8.* 1428. The community of the town of Beverley gathered together in the Guild Hall, Tuesday, 16 March 1428, for a letter sent to the 12 keepers or governors of the town of Beverley undernamed, in the name of Sir Henry Brounflet, knight, and Master John Ellyecarr, the purport of which letter was this: That for reverence of the said venerable persons and at their supplication the 12 keepers should admit William Gelle, fisher ("fisscher"), and make him a burgess. This being shown to the community, they with one consent said that the said William Gelle is a Grithman, and inasmuch as it was ordered and decreed before the said day that they should not for the future make any Grithman a burgess, therefore he cannot be admitted to that

liberty nor any other Grithman for ever. And it was ordered and decreed the same day and year that no burgess of the town of Beverley who is a Grithman shall for the future, to the offence (*it is written* "defence") of the common people, or against the peace of our lord the King, carry on him any knife or dagger ("dagarium") except with a blunted point, nor a club ("baculum") or short sword ("baselardum") within the town of Beverley, on pain of forfeiture of the same to the lord Archbishop, and forfeiture of his burgess-ship to the community of the town of Beverley for ever. And that these ordinances and constitutions may have perpetual force they were ratified and confirmed by Roger Rollyston, &c., the 12 keepers or governors of the community of the town on the day and year aforesaid, with the assent of the aldermen and stewards of all the crafts ("artium") of the aforesaid town and of all the co-burgesses then there present.

*f. 16 b.* 1429. 25 April. Public complaint was made in the Guild Hall by very many burgesses of the town that William Panys is a sower of dissension and discord and mover of unjust actions ("querelarum") between many of the community aforesaid, though wholly ignorant of law, to the grievous loss and expense of the community and the loss of many of their goods. Therefore it is ordered by the common assent of the community that no burgess should retain or employ the said William Panys in any plea or cause henceforward to be brought in any court within the liberty aforesaid, and if any burgess presume to do so he shall lose his liberty without delay.

*f. 21.* 1457. 25 April. The common burgesses of the town in their Guild Hall assembled and coming together ask the honorable men the keepers or governors of the said town to have their ancient contributions, as in the Crafts Register of the said town contained, and the rendering of the account in the presence of the aldermen and stewards of every craft, within a fortnight next after 24 June, and this under penalty of £10 as in the Common Book of Paper specified. Also, that the election of the Twelve Governors shall be made yearly on 25 April of 18 of the more honest and worshipful burgesses of the said town according to the tenor and effect of the Great Charter, as was anciently accustomed.

The names of 202 persons are given as granting the premisses ("concesserunt ad præmissa").

#### Certain Orders.

*f. 21 b.* 1460. 25 Apr. St. Mark's Day 1460, at the special request of the community it was ordered that the keepers or governors of the year last past shall render their accounts before the Nativity of St. John Baptist then next, or within 40 days following, on penalty of forfeiture of £10 to the said community, to be paid without delay, and so yearly render account under the penalty aforesaid. Also it was ordered the same day that every

alderman or steward of every craft can be present on the account day if they wish, when summoned by the common sergeant of the town. Also that every person of every craft of the town, being a brother of the same craft, be a burgess from the day of the making of this order, under penalty of 40s., to be paid to the community. Also it was ordered and decreed that no Grithman of the same town hereafter be a burgess even though he have a royal charter, etc. And that anyone indicted for felony shall not have his liberty until he has been cleared ("declaratus") of the said felony.

#### New Ordinances.

*f. 7 b.* 1461. Ordinances and statutes made and published by Thomas Menskip [&c.] keepers [&c.] with the consent and assent of all the honest ("proborum") burgesses of the aforesaid town, and all aldermen and stewards of every craft and science of the aforesaid town, for the reformation of certain abuses of certain unlawful contributions and customs in use among the burgesses and inhabitants of the town, and for the common good and necessary advantage of the whole community of the town, A.D. 1461, as is more fully contained in the following:—

(1) If any one, of whatsoever estate or condition he be, wishes to dwell within the town of Beverley he shall freely come to inhabit, dwell, and practise his science or art, in the said town, without any exaction or contribution of money to be paid to the said community or any other [of] his science or art for the first year of his coming, except to the lawful and necessary expenses of the castle, and of the light of his art or science, and of the play if it happens that the play be ordered by the governors of the town that year.

(2) After the first year, as long as he shall stay and set up a public shop and occupy, and not be a burgess, he shall pay and contribute yearly to the community until he is made a burgess 12*d.*, and to the alderman of his art or science 12*d.*, besides the charges and expenses of castle, light, and play of his craft incumbent on him as a master: but the wage-receivers, or hired men called journeymen, shall observe the constitutions and ordinances made as to them, as is noted in the ordinances of the burgesses of each art and science in the town in their several places.

(3) The twelve keepers or governors shall in future be called and named by the burgesses the twelve Aldermen, Keepers or Governors of the town of Beverley, and all proclamations, injunctions and orders shall for the future be made under that name, as anciently the same town used to be ruled and governed by an Alderman.

(4) The orders of the Keepers to be observed: penalty 40s.



(5) The burgesses shall not make any assemblies ("conventiculas") or meetings ("congregationes") in the houses of the Friars ("fratrum"),\* or in other places, nor shall come together in numbers ("multitudinem") to the Guild Hall, except when summoned by the twelve governors; penalty 20s.

(6) If any inhabitant, burgess or non-burgess, of any craft, be not present in the taxation and assignment of expenses of castle, light, and play of his craft, and doubt of the true assessment and determination of expenses, and thereof feel himself aggrieved, and wish to complain thereof to the governors, then the governors shall inquire into and examine the truth and adjudge as they shall think best.

(7) Any member of any art or science, not a burgess, who is to be received as master or brother of a craft, shall first, before his reception by the alderman and stewards, be presented to the governors, who shall take from him an oath of fealty ("fidelitatis") to the community of the aforesaid town, and that he will faithfully observe all constitutions and ordinances of his art or science; on penalty of 10s. to be paid by the said alderman and stewards.

(8) Any one of the forty-eight burgesses who has been one of the governors not coming to the Guild Hall for public business when summoned, to pay 6d., unless he has a reasonable excuse, and send it to the governors the same day.

(9) Any dispute taking place before the governors shall as far as possible be settled by the governors; and the disputants shall obey their award, except in cases of debt, in which the governors shall not grant any delay or give time without consent of the parties.

*The rest of the ordinances concern individual trades, as follows :*

(10) No carpenter or tiler, viz., "Tilethakker, Tilewaller, and Plasterer," who has not a regular apprentice who works with him, to employ a journeyman without the consent of the master of the works with whom he works, and the latter may employ any journeyman he pleases, and finish a job begun by one with another.

(11) Carpenters, tilers, and their servants, sawyers, paviours, and their servants and workmen, shall observe these hours :—

From Easter to the Assumption (15 Aug.), from 4 a.m. to 7 p.m., with an interval at 6 a.m. of  $\frac{1}{4}$ -hour to drink; at 8 a.m. of 1 hour for breakfast; at 11 a.m. of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  hour to dine and sleep; at 3 p.m.  $\frac{1}{2}$  an hour to drink; otherwise they shall not be tardy, or absent from their work, on pain of 12d. to the community.

\* It does not appear to mean brethren, i.e. burgesses, as they are not elsewhere so called, though the governors are. It appears elsewhere that the Friars took care of the Common Seal and Treasure Chest.

From the Assumption to Easter they shall begin at day-break, and leave off when the light fails. At this season they may have at 9 a.m.  $\frac{1}{2}$  hour to drink or breakfast; 12 noon 1 hour to eat; 3 p.m.  $\frac{1}{4}$  hour to drink.

(12) No carpenter, &c., shall refuse to work with any burgess who wants him unless previously engaged on some other work; penalty 6s. 8d.

(13) No barber or chandler ("chaundelarius") shall put any resin in waxen images or candles for sale, or in any way carry on their craft to the deception of the people; penalty 20s.

(14) Every carrier ("cariator"), porter or creler wanted by any burgess shall carry for him unless previously engaged by another, and shall then carry for the second as soon as he has finished for the first; penalty 6s. 8d.

(15) When a burgess has been distrained upon for a debt to the community, if the distress be not redeemed in 8 weeks, it may be sold by the governors in the Guild Hall.

(16) No one to have ships, boats ("batellas"), or ketches ("caches") built or repaired on the banks of the great Beck, between Guchmerelane and Parsonbrig, without special leave of the keepers; penalty 20s.

(17) No fishermen, viz. "pansaremen," bringing fish into the town, to take them away for sale until the inhabitants are served: penalty 6s. 8d. All fish to be exposed for sale in the market, and not in their houses or other private places.

(18) No burgess shall present those who have been keepers and governors to serve the office of constable in the Archbishop's Court; penalty 6s. 8d.

(19) On account of the stink, fouling of the air, and destruction of fruit trees, none to make a kiln ("thorale") to burn bricks ("tegrularum") in or nearer the said town than the kilns are now built; penalty 100s.

1465. f. 21. Award (in English) of George [Neville] Archbishop of York, Chancellor of England, with preface in Latin.

Because on St. Mark's Day 4<sup>o</sup> Edward IV. on the day of election of the 12 Governors when the 12 Keepers or Governors of the community and the community were quietly and peaceably proceeding to an election, sundry and divers meetings, insurrections and riots against the peace and against the election and against the King's writ directed to the Governors in this behalf, were made by Thomas Dicson, William Dowthorp, Adam Newcombe, William Richer, Robert Atwod, Robert Payne and William Taillour, shoemaker, then present in the same Hall: Wherefore we John Coppandale [and 11 others, the 12 Governors] with the consent and assent of all the aldermen of the crafts of the town caused the said Thomas Dicson and his fellows to be arrested and imprisoned; and the said Thomas and his fellows continued in their malice a long time till the most

reverend Father underwritten sent for them to Cawood and took their malice into his own hands, and made and delivered his award, decree and judgment under this form, as appears in a paper thereof made and sealed with his seal :—

[Then follows the award, in English, dated 6 Oct. 5 Edward IV., which is given by Poulson I. 244 from the Warburton Papers, with, however, mistakes in names and words, and without the above statement, which shows the reason for it.]

#### Ordinatio Nova.

1498. 25 Apr. *f.* 25. It is ordande and statute on the Feste of Saynte Marc the Evaungeliste in the yere of our Lorde God M<sup>o</sup> cccc<sup>o</sup> lxxxiiij<sup>o</sup> by Thomas Frost, Roger Kelk, Robert Whyte, and their brethyr, ratefyed and confirmed by Adam Newcombe, John Rowmthwayte, John Cole, and ther brether, the same day elect : by the assent and consente of all the Aldermen and of all the Comynalte of the towne of Beverley that day beying present in the Guylde Haule.

Fyrst, it is ordande and statute that no Gentilman, yeoman ne craftsman of the towne of Beverley be takyn to worshyp of the towne : bott allonely that berys charge of clothyng, castell and pageaunte within the sayde towne.

Also that ther shall no man occupy none occupayon, nowther by hymselfe nor by no journeyman noght within the franchises of Beverley, bott allonely that att he is brother withall, and in clothyng : and att evereman be in clothyng with the crafte that he most getts his lyffing by.

Also that evere Burges of the towne of Beverley be fre to bye and to sell hys owne gudes, so that he kepe no oppyn shopp in retaylyng. Nor no man by any maner of merchandyse for redy money to sell itt again in retaylyng : bot it sal be presentyd by the Alderman of Merchaunts to the xii Governors for the yere beying : And itt to be fynabyll by the dyscreyon of the forsayd xii Governors, als oft tymes as any such defawts be founde in retaylynge.

Allso itt es ordande that itt shall be lefull to the Seyrchours of the Smyths to make serch within the towne of Beverley for any maner of thyng belonging to ther occupacion ; And yf thai fynde any defawte, itt to be fynabyll by the dyscreyon of the forsayde xii Governors.

Also it is desyryd by the Drapers that thai shall be in clothyng by thame selfe ; And to have a castell and a pageante as other occupacyons hafe. Such a pageante as the xii Governors wyll assigne thame to, upon payne of forfeittour to the comynalte of xls.

Also that evere man be fre to sell hys owne clothe, whersoever he may fynde his merchaunde.

And att all those ordynaunce aforesayd be kepyd in evere degre with evere occupacyon, upon payne of forfeittoure of x<sup>li</sup> to the Comynalte.

Thyse er the namys of the Aldermen folowyng that ware consentyng to this ordynauce afore regystre, with the consent and assente of the most party of ther brether.

Robert Whyte	-	-	Alderman of	Merchaunts
John Wattkyn	-	-	"	" Bowchers
John Northende	-	-	"	" Baxters
William Cortt	-	-	"	" Wryghts
Robert Waggas	-	-	"	" Smyths
William Sparow	-	-	"	" Taylors
William Rudd	-	-	"	" Barkers
Henry Loursall	-	-	"	" Weavers
Thomas Elsdale	-	-	"	" Walkers [Fullers]
Adam Newcombe	-	-	"	" Lyttsters [Dyers]
William Bryghte	-	-	"	" Wattermen
Thomas Aclyfe	-	-	"	" Shomakers
John Rowmthwayte	-	-	"	" Bowers, Coupers and Fletchers
Elyas Elys	-	-	"	" Glovers
John Kirkham	-	-	"	" Tylers
Thomas Attkynson	-	-	"	" Barbors
Robert Eshton	-	-	"	" Potters
John Haythwayte	-	-	"	" Sadyllers
Robert Weyll	-	-	"	" Fyschars
Thomas Colynson	-	-	"	" Ropers
Robert Gray	-	-	"	" Cokys
Henry Weton	-	-	"	" Crelars
John Lelywhyte	-	-	"	" Paynters
Thomas Graybarne	-	-	"	" Laborers

#### New Order of the Election of the Twelve Governors.

1498. f. 26. All maner of men present and for to com knawe that insomych as itt is founde in wrytyng in alde constitucyons of the eleccyons of xij Kepers or Governors of the Towne of Beverlay Itt hase beyn usyd of late the electyon for to be made in forme underwrytten, that is for to say,

That the xij whych hafe beyn Governors or Kepers of the Towne in the yere next goyng before the Fest of Saynt Marc the Evangelist in the presens of Burgesys therto warnyd afore, And to whome itt shall please to be assystyng in the Guylde Hall in the forsayde Fest of Saynt Marc shall geder to gyder and compare. And then and thare shalbe publyshyd and namyd xij of the nowmer of the xxxvj so that none of them so namyd had beyn in that offyce of other two yerès then next afore passyd; And allso other xij that had beyn in the office aforetymes paste, And allso other vj worschypful and famouse Burgesys of whome none of theym had beyn in the office afore tyme.

And so the forsayd xxiiij and these vj addyd to and now [m] berd makes full nowmer of xxx Burgesys of the Towne ther, of whome xij Governors or Kepers of the sayde towne schuld be elect and chosyn.

And for als mych as itt is consydered by the hole body of the sayd towne that the forsayd nowmer of xxx person is to large to be hed of the electyon for the worschyp and honesty of the sayde towne, Therefore it is ordande and statute in the yere of our Lorde God m<sup>o</sup> cccc<sup>mo</sup> lxxxviiij<sup>o</sup> by the xij Governers, that is to say, Robert Whyte, John Armestronge, Elyas Cass, Thomas Bullok, Johne Thomson, Edward Johnson, Henry Watts, William Grevys, John Owsby, William Curtase, Robert Smyth and John Wryght, by the assent and consent of the other two Bynks [benches], And allso by the assent and consent of all the Aldermen of the sayde towne with ther breder, that the electyon fro now furth schal be made of xvij persons, that is for to say,

That the xij Governers of the towne whych hath had rewyll for the yere next goyng before the Feste of Saynt Marc the Evangelyst in the presens of Burgesys tharto warnyd afore, And to whome itt shall please to be assystyng in the Gylde Hall in the forsayd Feste of Saynt Marc shall geder to gyder and compare. And then and thar shal be publysshyd and namyd xij of the nowmer of the forsayd xxxvj, or iij bynks, so that none of thame so namyd had beyn in that office of other two yeres then next afore passyd: And allso other vj worschypfull and famouse Burgessys taken thurgh the towne att the plesour of the sayde xij Governers. And so of those forsayd xij, And those vj addyd to and nowmerd, that is xvij Burgessys of the towne there; off whome xij Governers or Kepers of the sayd towne shal be elect and chosyn.

Whyke xij so electe and sworne, or att the leste vij of them yf mo may noght be thare presente, shall have full power, Fermys, Rents, and alde assesyns in the same towne to rayse, And alde customys and statuts to kepe and halde, And all rebels and gaynsayers after ther discrecyon to chasty and punysch. And whennever shalbe ordynaunce and statutes with the consent of the body of the Towne of new for to ordane and sett. And yf itt happyn that any of the forsayd xxxvj dye, be seyke, be diffamyd, be falne to poverté, or in any other wyse be febyld, so that he be founde insufficyent, then in hys stede to fullfyll the nowmer shalbe namyd a nother sufficyent Burges in the sayde towne, whersoever he shalbe founde, by all the towne.

And whosowver brakes this electyon from hencefurth, and be foundyn rebell agayns this ordynaunce and statute, whych that may lefully be provyd upon hym, shall forfeit to the Comonte x<sup>li</sup>. withowt any pardon And ther body to prison. And itt to be levyd and raysed by dystres.

[Another statute as to Corpus Christi procession made the same day is given below under the heading of *The Common Plays*.]

For Peter Craw "in senectute sua."

1522. *G.B. f. 22.* Memo. that uppon Monday, 8 Dec. 1522 and 14th yere [&c.] of Henry VIII., Peter Crawe, draper, beyng one of the counsell and corporacion of thys towne of Beverley, For such

infirmities and seknes as he hath in hys body and lymys, so that he may no longer occupy any rowme or rewill within thys said towne, And for the some of xx markes, whiche he hath graunted to pay toward the newe beyldyng of Saynt Mary church in Beverley now leyng in rewyne, Hath graunted by John Wensley and his brethren the xij Governors of this said town, by thassent and consent of the comminaltie of the same, under the common seale beryng date the day and yere abovesaid, That the said Peter Crow shalbe clerely discharged for ever from hensforthwards as to be any of the xij Governors of thys said towne, chirche-wardens, eleccions, quests, sheriff tournys or sessions, or any other rowme or rewill within thys said towne of Beverley whatsomever. Unto the whiche graunte Sir Richard Rokeby, knight, and Roberte Creyk, esquier, have putto ther gode myndys, as by hys forsaid graunte therof, under the common sealle of thys towne to the said Peter Crow therupon made, more playnly it doth appeyre.

The said somme of xx marks ys full content and payd, and the said Peter his executors and assignes thereof acqute and discharged for ever.

1585. *f. 29 b.* (English.) Articles of an order taken in the Star Chamber the last day of November, 27 Henry VIII., by the Lords of His Majesty's most Honorable Council concerning the yearly election of the 12 Governors of the town of Beverley, and for the quietness good order and peace within the said town.

Item, first it is ordained and ordered that the election of 12 Governors made of St. Mark Day shall be frustrate and void; and that upon the vigil of S. Thomas the Apostle next coming the tenants and inhabitants which have, or ought to have, interest of the election of the same town, shall assemble themselves at the place accustomed, and come before the officer or officers of the Archbishop of York, for a new election of the 12 Governors peaceably to be made: And then and there shall elect 12 new Governors, discreet and honest persons, for the good order and rule of the said town, which 12 Governors shall continue [&c.]

Item, it is ordered also that no person that is Governor in the said town one year shall be Governor in the year next following, nor Governor there two years together; and that the Governors being elect for one year shall always for ever make their true account after the year ended to the new Governors that shall be elect, within six months after the year ended.

Item, it is also ordered that none dwelling or inhabiting out of the same town shall be elect or chosen at any time to be any of the said Governors, nor intromit or meddle with the election of the twelve Governors; the officers of the Archbishop of York only except.

Item, it is ordered that no gentleman, now dwelling out of the said town, which from henceforth shall purchase or buy any tenements or lands within the said town of Beverley, shall be hereafter elect or chosen any of the said 12 Governors.

Item, it is ordered that neither Sir Raff Elleker, nor one Oswyne Ogle, son-in-law to the said Sir Raff, shall at any time hereafter, be elect and chosen any of the said 12 Governors of the said town. [*A similar order against Robert Gray and Richard Broune erased in the original.*]

Item, it is ordered that the Archbishop of York for the time being shall have the order and rule of the said town of Beverley in like manner and form as his predecessors Archbishops of York have beforetime had.

[An injunction to old Sir Ralph Ellerker, knight, enjoining and commanding him upon pain of 500 marks that neither he nor any other person or persons for him or in his name or by his procuring from henceforth shall intermeddle with the election of the 12 Governors of the town of Beverley, and that the said Sir Raff observe perform and keep all and singular the articles had made and devised by the King's Most Honourable Council in the Star Chamber at Westminster the 30th November 27 Henry VIII. concerning the said election and commonwealth and Governors of the said town.]

Item, another injunction to the tenants and inhabitants of the town [*to the same effect*] upon pain of 1000 marks.

[Next follows a bond by Robert Gray and Richard Broune in £100 to observe the same articles.]

1536. f. 27. Indenture 5 Nov. 28 Henry VIII., between Edward Archbishop of York and chief lord of the town of Beverley of the one party, and Robert Creke, esquire, John Wright, gent., Robert Ruffulls, Robert Gray, and other the burgesses of the said town on the "tooder partie."

Recited, that the Archbishop had in the town his court called the Sherriff's Tourn or Court Leet, and ought to have all defaults, offences and other things inquirable presented there, and all the fines, amerciements and other profits arising from such presentments: also authority to make, depute, and ordain the Clerk of the Markets and to have all fines and other profits of such office: to make justices of the peace, with the same power of inquisition as those made by the King, and fines and profits of such inquisitions; and the burgesses had no right to intermeddle.

"Yet notwithstanding, the said most Reverend Father in God wishing the increase and advancement of good order and rule to be kept within the said town, and the common weal of the same, And for the tender love and zeal that he beareth to the same, hath covenanted and agreed"—

(1) That the burgesses shall have "their free election and nomination of 36 persons to be one of the Common Council of the said town," vacancies to be filled by the Governors and the rest of the 36, naming "two of the most honest and substantial persons, burgesses of the said town, which be of vesture and castle, and none other, to the commonalty" who choose one.

(2) On St. Mark's day, every Alderman of every occupation and craft shall call their occupations together at the accustomed place, and inquire which of the 24 Councillers or Assistants they will choose as the 12 Governors for the year following, and the names to be presented to the 12 Governors in writing showing the Alderman's name and those present or voting for the 12 chosen; and the Governors "gathering the voices of all the said occupations shall choose" as Governors such as "hath the most voices (*sic*) of all the said occupations." 6s. 8d. penalty for false return by the Aldermen.

(3) The twelve outgoing Governors to make their account to the twelve incoming.

(4) Every one to attend the election "in the clothing of their craft or other their best array," and no person to come into the "Hanshouse or the court or garthe of the same" within 8 days of the election with any "sword, dagger, wood-knife, or other weapon defensive or invasive," on pain of 20s.

Anyone not paying the penalty, or being a maintainer of quarrels, and so found before the 12 Governors, to lose his burgessship.

(5) No two brothers or brothers-in-law to be Governors the same year, and if there are two on the 36 their voice only to count as one.

(6) No retainer in household livery, cognizance or otherwise of any spiritual or temporal lord or person to be of the 36.

(7) All burgesses to have a voice in the election. No gentleman dwelling out of the town to be elected a Governor.

(8) The Governors may at any time summon the 24 for their advice and counsel, and the 36 so assembled may summon the whole commonalty, but not otherwise.

(9) The Governors on the election day, or within 5 days, to elect two of themselves Keepers of the Market to [ap]praise and set price of herrings and other fish and other victuals brought to market.

(10) Two persons of every occupation to be chosen "Searchers of false weights and measures: unlawful tanned leather: corrupt flesh and fish: bread and ale not keeping the true assize or not made wholesome for man's body:" for forestallers and regraters of corn and other things; to be presented to the twelve Governors in the Common Place. And the Governors to present them on oath at the next Sheriff's Tourn or Court Leet to the Archbishop's Steward or his deputy; the fines to be assessed by him with two of the oldest Governors, to be levied by the officer of the Archbishop and the common officer of the town, and to be divided between the Town and Archbishop.

Penalty for the Governors not presenting offences, double the moiety of the fine.



(11) The burgesses to have the appraising of fuel and victuals "as shall come to be sold into the Beck called Beverley Beck, or Grovall."

(12) The Sanctuary men coming to the town to contribute to the upholding of any craft or mystery they practise as men of the town do.

(13) The Burgesses to "have issue and course with their water from their pastures called the Fegang through the township and fields of Thurne to the water of Hull, so that the said issue be not hurtful to the Archbishop."

Sealed with the Burgesses' common seal and the Archbishop's Great Seal.

A new oath was imposed after this concordat (Guild Book *f. 5.*) which is given in Poulson, I. 288, in what purports to be a verbatim and literatim copy, on the part of the Governors and of the Burgesses, specifically undertaking to observe the articles of the agreement. But the following blunders, amongst others, make havoc of the meaning.

"(I shalbe trewe to the comanalety of thys town) and deyn the poorest of thy a place" should be "and leyn (*i.e.* conceal) the secrets of this place" (*viz.*, the Guild Hall). The oath of the Burgesses should begin:—"Thys swer I that I am fre and no gyर्थman (*i.e.* sanctuary man, *not* "gyर्थmired"). And I shalbe trewe to the commonalties of thys town of Beverley, and justievable (*not* "impatalle") and obedyent to the 12 Governors." A line or two further on "coon m" pasture should be "common" pasture.

The constitution thus settled lasted only till 1574, on 24 July of which year the town obtained a Charter of Incorporation under the name of "Mayor, Governors and Burgesses of the town of Beverley"; the day of election being altered from St. Mark's day to Monday before Michaelmas day, and the Governors were made an absolutely close co-optative body, by the vesting of the election of new Governors in the surviving Governors with the Mayor.

#### Purchase of the New Hall in Crossgarthes.

1500. *f. 26 b.* Purchase of the great messuage which was Edward Mynskyps in the Crossgarthes in Beverley from Edward and Thomas Ottyr by Richard Boothe, Alexander Bossall, William Peyrson [etc.] 12 Keepers or Governors, &c., 9 Nov. 1500, for a pasture called the Tunge, as it lies at the Beck end then belonging to the Community, and for £22 6s. 8d.

#### Tuesday, 11 March 18 Henry VIII.

152½. *Guild Book f. 27.* Percevall Robson, draper, being one of the number of 36 of the Council of this town, upon a wrongful slander made upon him by John of Grene, bearward ("barward") to the Right noble Lord Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland, which

bearward by cause that Thomas Robson, son to the said Perceval, let his ban-dog ("band doge") to one of his bears, when he was baiting, and for other grudges that was betwixt them before, spake unto the said Thomas such words, "Take away thy dogs, thou Scots byrde:" whereupon the said Percevall his father incontinent after he knew that he had called his son Scot, complained unto the Governor Robert Whytene, who gave the said Percevall counsel to cause him to be arrested, and intended to have sued him for his wrongful slander, And for avoiding of such suit . . . . . John of Grene . . . . . rode unto my lord Percy to Wresill . . . . . and besought my lord Percy to be so good lord unto him as to write a letter for him unto Master Robert Creyke, receiver to my lord Cardinal's grace, And to the 12 Governors aforesaid, to be good masters unto him concerning his unthrifty behaviour, insomuch as he spoke it but in wrath and at the baiting of his bears, And so my lord Percy wrote a letter. . . . . And Master Percival read and declared it openly in my lord Cardinal's Court, the twelve Governors with many more as well of the town as of the country hearing it, and the said John of Grene being present. And therupon he was rebuked as well of Master Receiver as of the twelve Governors . . . . . and openly denied his slander, and asked forgiveness, which the said Percival was right loth to give, but only at the special instance and desire of the Receiver and the twelve Governors . . . . . forasmuch as it was well known of divers in this town that he was born in Haltwistle ["Hawtwysell"] in Northumberland, and his father called Roland Robson of Conyngwode and born in Haltwistle aforesaid, and that they and all their kin were true Englishmen born. And so . . . . . the said Percival was content to remit the matter upon such condition that the matter might be recorded and registered in this book called the leger ["lygger"] in the Common Hall . . . . .

#### Lawsuits and Debates. Penalty.

*f. 5 b. Chartulary.* When a lawsuit had been begun between Robert of G. of the one part and Adam of S. on the other before the Keepers of the town of Beverley, they came to an agreement to this effect, That if either of them henceforth offended against the other that he who was found in fault should without remedy pay to the community 6s. 8d. And to this they were bound by surety before the said Keepers.

#### Award.

Be it remembered that when a lawsuit had been begun between Thomas of H. and John of B. who had been sworn to keep the peace between themselves by the arbitration and judgement of Sir Thomas Ge, chaplain, &c., They then ordered and adjudged the parties aforesaid being sworn to stand in all things to the order of the arbitrators aforesaid that if either of the aforesaid Thomas and John should thereafter offend against the other [he] should without remedy pay to the community 20s.

*f. 6 b Guild Book.* From the bailiwick ("constabularia") of

Northbar without	-	-	-	-	-	60s.
Northbar within	-	-	-	-	-	£6
Cornmarket	-	-	-	-	-	£10
High Gate ( <i>Alte viæ</i> )	-	-	-	-	-	£4
Walker Gate	-	-	-	-	-	100s.
Fysshmarket	-	-	-	-	-	100s.
Flemyngate	-	-	-	-	-	60s.
Barlyholme	-	-	-	-	-	£4
Laythgate	-	-	-	-	-	£6
Keldegate	-	-	-	-	-	60s.

Sum	-	-	-	-	-	£50
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From bailiwick of

Norwood	-	-	-	-	-	48s. 6d.
Beck	-	-	-	-	-	70s.
Keldgate	-	-	-	-	-	26s. 6d.

Sum	-	-	-	-	-	£7
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From Chapter Fee	-	-	-	-	-	19s. 10d.
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Diminution ("minoracio") of $\frac{1}{18}$ th and $\frac{1}{10}$ th	-	-	-	-	-	58s. 4d.
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Of watching the borough of the town of Beverley ("De vigilacione burgi villæ").

1405.—The reverend men of the community being assembled 11 December, 1405, it was ordered that the community shall watch at such times as seems good to the keepers of the town, and every one who is not personally present at the watch if strong and able, or by some other true and sufficient deputy if sick or impotent, shall pay to the community 6s. 8d. without any pardon, and that every one summoned to watch be ready personally in his best harness ("apparatu") under the penalty aforesaid.

Of the proclamation to be yearly made and the hour of watching.

And let that proclamation be yearly made when it shall have seemed good to the keepers of the town and the steward of the lord that no innkeeper ("hospes"), wineseller, brewster or female seller ("vendatrix") called tipeler permit any inhabitants or strangers to reside or remain by night in their taverns after 9 o'clock has struck in the night, except true and honest persons for whose doings their hosts will answer to the lord the King and the community of the town, under the penalty of all which the King could take as forfeit in this behalf. And that no burgess or other inhabitant of Beverley keep at his house or table any stranger unknown beyond a competent time for coming and going in travelling, unless their hosts in the first week come before the keepers of the town with the same strangers, and make their names and persons there known, and undertake for their

good behaviour, viz., a burgess under penalty of the loss of his freedom, and an inhabitant, of 40s. to be paid to the King. And that no inhabitant wander in the streets beyond the franchises of Beverley by night after 9 o'clock, nor any stranger after 8, without a light, and reasonable cause, under penalty of imprisonment until provision and order shall have been made for the delivery of offenders by the keepers of the community and the servants of the lord.

[A full translation of Queen Elizabeth's charter is given in Poulson II. appendix p. 10, with some mistakes in names of people and places.]

1576. *f. 35b.* Certain ordinances motioned and proposed in the time of the Mayoralty of Richard Bullock and of the 12 Governors then being, viz. Edward Ellerker, Esq. (and others named) and afterwards in the time of the Mayoralty of William Farley by him together with Mr. William Prayler, Esquire, Recorder, with all the rest of the aforesaid Governors, John Raffles being chosen in the place of William Fletcher, deceased, for the good and better government of this borough, confirmed, ratified and fully established 20 April 1576, 18 Elizabeth.

#### Election of Governors.

First it is ordained that the Mayor and Governors or the most part of them every year upon Monday in the morning before the Feast Day of St. Michael tharchangel, by 9 or 10 of the clock, shall and may elect, choose and appoint 3 of the 12 Governors of the same town, whereof one to be such as hath been Mayor not within five years next before, to be and stand in election or like to be Mayor the next year following, and out of this three, the Sunday [following?], the burgesses of the said town or the more part of them shall and may elect the one of them to be Mayor to govern the next year ensuing as Mayor, and he that is so elected Mayor to go on the left hand of the old Mayor until he be sworn.

#### Mayor refusing.

(Penalty for refusing, £10. Penalty for refusing to be Governor, £5.)

#### Five years.

Item, that no person being one year Mayor shall be elected or chosen Mayor again within 5 years following. And no person to be compelled to be Mayor above three times during life time.

#### Mayor's dinners.

Item, that every Mayor shall make in his Mayoralty to the Governors and others at his discretion two dinners, thone upon the day that he is or shall be sworn Mayor, and the other on the day that the new Mayor his next successor shall be elected, upon pain of £10 for every default.

## A face of foynes.

Item, that the Mayor for the time being shall have and wear on his best gown a face or fue called *foynes* and a tippet of velvet, and the same to be worn at especial festival days and times, viz., on the election day, when the Mayor taketh his oath for the execution of his office, on the Fair day called St. John Day in winter, All Saints' Day, Christmas Day, St. Stephen's Day, New Year's Day, Epiphany, Candlemas Day, Easter Day, Rogation Sunday, Rogation Monday, Ascension Day, Pentecost, Trinity Sunday, Midsummer Day, and other times convenient, at the discretion of the Mayor, for the worship of the town, on pain of £12 for every default. And that every other person that hath been Mayor shall wear his gown and tippet of velvet aforesaid at such days and times as the Mayor shall wear his, having notice thereof given (the Sunday and usual Court Days excepted). And that the Mayor for the time being every holiday and Court day shall wear his tippet.

## Minster.

Item, that the Mayor for the time being shall repair and come every Sunday and holyday to hear Divine Service (having no reasonable cause to the contrary), except the Mayor be of S. Mary's Parish, and then he to be only charged to be at the Morning Prayer and service at the Minster. And that every such day two of the Governors, successively in ancienty, upon notice given shall associate the Mayor to the Church from his house, and service being ended to accompany the Mayor out of the churchyard [penalty 12*d.*]. And that the said Governors on the Monday next following shall with the Mayor be at the Monday Court.

## Governors refusing to come to the Mayor.

[Penalty for not coming to the Mayor when summoned by an officer: 1st time, 1*s.*; 2nd time, 3*s.* 4*d.*; 3rd time, 40*s.*; and 40*s.* every time afterwards.]

## Mayor's diet.

Item, the Mayor for the time being shall have paid him by the town for his allowance and diet £80, and also 200 of Westwod kyddes, paying for the same at the town's price, and the Mayor shall find the head Serjeant at the mace and the common officer always meat and drink, which allowance of £80 was likewise so granted by the consent of all the burgesses at the election day of Richard Bullock to the said Mayoralty and to his successors for ever.

## Alehouses.

Item, that the Mayor during the time of his mayoralty shall not resort, use or frequent any alehouse, tippling house, inn or tavern; penalty, first offence 10*s.*, second 20*s.*, every offence after 40*s.* [Poulson gives the penalty as £10, &c.]

[The rest of these ordinances, which are little more than re-enactments of the existing practice as to accounts, officers and the like, together with further orders made next year, 31 July, 1577; and 31 March the same year, are given at length by Poulson I, 322 *seq.*

I now give some extracts from the Register, showing the general power of regulation vested in the governors, first with regard to the common pastures and other common property of the town; then, to the common plays; and lastly to trades, not only by street, market, and other general regulations, but by rules for individual trades, and therein the guild ordinances.

It is not of course always possible wholly to separate these headings, as they overlap, but as it would be equally confusing to follow either the order in the Register, which is none, or the order of date, as the various regulations are spread over hundreds of years, an attempt at order of subject occurs the best, even if it cannot always be maintained with logical precision.]

#### I. COMMON PASTURES.

Provisions for the Pastures of Beverley, and first of Fegang.

*f. 5 b. Chartulary.* Of the pastures of Beverley it was provided as anciently ordered in form underwritten, viz.: That in the pasture of Fegang no bull or bullock ("bovetus") in its third year, nor any beast of burden, should enter to pasture there in any part of the year. Nor shall sheep or pigs or geese enter that pasture, and if any animal be found "wayff" there let it be handed over to the bailiffs of the Lord Archbishop, to whom such waif pertains, so that 12*d.* be paid to the community of the town of Beverley, as was anciently accustomed to be done for herbage. And that all having common in the same contribute for their cattle, and give their portion for making, repairing, and when need shall be for sewerage ("assewiandum") the ditches round that pasture. And that none common in the same, except a burgess dwelling in the town equal and partner in lot and scot ("par et parcenarius ad lottam et scottam") and contributing to the affairs of the community. And that no burgess of Beverley having land in an outlying country-township ("in villa forinsica campestri") bring or cause to be brought the cows which he holds in winter there for the sustenance of his family and lands to pasture in the same pasture in summer time, unless they are being fed for his larder for the maintenance of his house in Beverley. And any one doing so for the same to the community [*i.e.* pay a sum not stated].\*

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\* But in the Guild Book it ends "and if any one do so and thereof be convicted let him be punished by the order of the Twelve Keepers of the town according to the amount of his, &c."

That sheep feed in public streets.

And that the sheep of burgesses of Beverley be fed and kept in the public streets and ways in and out ("introitibus et exitibus") round the town as has been anciently and hitherto the custom.

[Of the pasture of Swynmore.\*

Bulls and beasts of burden to be fed there, but] no entry to be permitted or used from Sandholme and Stork by the bridge, nor otherwise than by the common and ancient entry at the Stone Cross. [Pigs to enter as they have been accustomed.]

Of the share of butchers' sheep in Swynmore.

1362. *f. 8, Guild Book.* Also in 1362 the Keepers of the town with the assent of the community ordered and consented among them to take of each sheep found in Swynmore beyond the due share, viz. 40, the first time 1d.; and if at any time any sheep be found in the same pasture beyond the share aforesaid, that every sheep pay the community every time 4d.

1428, St. Mark's Day. By consent of the community to be for ever observed.

[It is, however, cancelled and "adnullatur" written in the margin.]

Order as to beasts in Swynmore.

1399. *f. 4 Chartulary.* Also it was ordered in 1399 by Nicholas Rise, William of Rolleston, John Warkington, mercer and his fellows, Keepers of the town of Beverley, and also by others their predecessors and the whole community of the same town, that all tenants dwelling in the towns of Stork and Sandholme should have every year fifty beasts only pasturing in the pasture of Swynmore and no more.

Disposition of the money accruing from the common averys for the building of a certain new hall on the Dyngs.

1434. Tuesday 28 May A.D. 1434 in the presence of all the venerable persons of the whole town of B. undernamed assembled in Guildhall, and by the assent and consent of the same and of other their co-burgesses there being present, it was ordered and decreed that the twelve Governors of the town of Beverley for the time being have power during the term of three years next ensuing and fully completed to let the common averys for divers sums of money according to their discretion, and to dispose of the money thereby received for the building of a certain new hall to be made upon the Dynges. And if any burgess of the said town

\* This, as its name implies, was properly the swine pasture, but bulls for the larder, and beasts of burden, but not of draught, were allowed there, and 40 sheep.

should presume to attempt anything against the said ordinance during the said term he shall lose the liberty of his burgessship ("burgensiæ") for the term aforesaid. Moreover it was ordered and agreed by the aforesaid venerable persons and by the consent of their counsel there on the said day and year, That if any burgess of Beverley should for the future be found disobedient or rebellious against any order made by the twelve Keepers of the aforesaid town for the benefit and profit of the community aforesaid, and should have refused that order, that then without remedy he should be discharged of his liberty for ever.

[A list is given of those consenting to the above ordinance headed by Roger Rolleston and 57 other persons without any additions to their names, by the Alderman and two stewards of the craft of butchers, by the Alderman and two stewards and four others of the smiths; by the Alderman, two stewards and five tanners; one creler; the Alderman, two stewards and five tailors; the Alderman, one steward and three barbers; the Alderman, two stewards and one skinner; the Alderman, one steward and five shoemakers ("corvesors"); the Alderman, two stewards and six bakers ("baxteyrs"); the Alderman and six brewers ("brasiers"); the Alderman, two stewards and six "wryghtys." See the annulling of this order in the following year, *infra*.]

#### Orders for Grovall.

1391. *f. 10 b.* Also Richard Hamondson and two others came in the Guildhall of St. John of Beverley, 1391, before the 12 keepers of the town, and took of them the soil of the land called Groval Dyke at a rent of 3,000 tiles called Waltye [*i.e.* bricks] payable at Michaelmas.

#### Of the animals to pasture there.

The same year Richard son of Nicholas of Thoren wilfully put his beasts on Grovalgrene to pasture there. It was resolved by the Keepers of the town that if thereafter his beasts be found there he pay without remedy 6s. 8d.; And that for his offence done he serve the community for 2 days.

#### Of common soil taken there.

1407. 5. July, 1407, John Wright took a certain common soil at Groval between the soil of Thomas Frost and Groval Dyke at a rent of 1s. 6d. John Bentley took soil of the community there at the rent of two shillings.

1370. Friday, St. Lucy's Day, 1370, Thomas Whyt, tiler, took the tilery of Aldebek from Christmas for 4 years at a rent of 6,000 tiles a year.

#### Orders of the pasture of Fegang.

As in old register.



Of Trespasses on the Fegang with penalty.

Also AD. 1407, Robert Puttok with others broke the heads of the gutters called clowses in the Fegang and Swynmore and elsewhere and threw mud from them. Therefore he placed himself at the mercy of the Keepers with Thomas Wayte for surety, and laid down 3s. 4d. because he is poor, and 16d. was charitably given back to him, and he was warned not to trespass again under a penalty of 20s.

Order of Westwod.

f. 7b. Also it is ordered that no bull or sheep enter the pasture of Westwod to feed there, and that none of Southburton have any cattle in the same except demesne pigs which they have by ancient favour and heretofore by grace and permission.

Action between the Prior of Wartre and the Burgesses of Beverley.

1388. Friday next after the Feast of the translation of St. Thomas, 1388, came Thomas Roland, Canon of the Priory of Wartre and Warden of the house of St. Giles in Beverley, because a certain dispute had arisen between the burgesses of the town of Beverley and the Prior of Wartre and the said Thomas his fellow Canon, as to certain loads of thorns yearly every week to be taken from the wood of Westwod for the use of the house of St. Giles by way of charity. And thereupon a day was assigned to the said Prior and Thomas his fellow Canon by consent of John Kelk, Stephen Coppandale, and their fellows sworn to keep the town aforesaid, in the year aforesaid in the hall of the Guild of St. John of Beverley, and meanwhile viz. on Friday aforesaid came the aforesaid Thomas into the hall and asked the said John Kelk, Stephen and their fellows that he might have his loads of thorns for the love of God and the sake of charity, notwithstanding that the said Prior and Thomas his fellow Canon had day to show their charters and muniments by which they claim the loads of the aforesaid thorns until Michaelmas then next, and it was not allowed, nor afterwards did the Prior or the said Thomas come on the day assigned to them.

Licence granted to the Sisters of Kynwaldgraves there.

1399. Also, Friday before the Feast of Ascension, 1399, Alice of Burton, Alice of Ferriby, and Matilda Ryell, co-sisters of Kynwaldgraves, came as well for themselves as for their co-sisters living at Kynwaldgraves, before Richard Ryse, John Bewme, and their fellows, Keepers of the town of Beverley in the year aforesaid, and asked for licence by way of charity to have pasture for one bull, twelve cows and twenty pigs in Westwod this year, and had licence for this year only for the love of God and the sake of charity. And so they ought to ask licence year by year to have cattle there according to the quantity determined by the Keepers.

Licence granted to the Friars Minors there.

1356. Also, Friday before the Feast of St. Nicholas Bishop, A.D. 1356, came Friar John Botiler of the order of Friars Minors of Beverley in behalf of the convent aforesaid before the Keepers of the town aforesaid in the Guildhall, and asked for licence by way of charity to take sand in the forest of Westwod to finish their work, which the Keepers gave for this time only.

Penalty for wandering pigs.

Also it was ordered by the community that no pig be found at large in the roads or streets, and if there be, there shall be paid for it to the community for each time 2*d.* and to the common sergeant ["*clienti*"]  $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* for his trouble if he take any pigs; But sows big ("*grossæ*") and having litters are exempt, and pigs which are going to pasture under charge of the swineherd.

Inquisition taken for the Averys, 1407.

[*f.* 10 *b.* Evidence taken from representatives of each bailiwick as to the land being common and always "*averice*."] ]

Grant of land there.

1445. St. Mark's day, 1445. Grant by Thomas Everyngham and the rest of the Keepers of the town to John Portington, junior, of all the common of the herbage of the community in John Portington's croft called Lady Croft, for ever.

Ordinance for the Common Averys.

1435. That burgesses should not place their animals there before the day appointed.

Friday, 12 August, 1435, it was ordered by Thomas Wylton and others his fellows the twelve Governors of the town of Beverley with the assent of the burgesses, also of the aldermen and stewards of the crafts of the town aforesaid assembled in the Guild Hall there, That a certain order which was lately made by Thomas Mayne and his fellows late Keepers of the town aforesaid with the consent of the co-burgesses of the town A.D. 1434 as to the letting of the common averys for the terms of three years for building a certain new hall upon the Dyngs, as appears in the common Register, be null and void.

Order for Guild Beasts under Penalty.

Also it was ordered that no burgess of the town of Beverley put any animals in any place or close where the said burgesses ought to have the common averys after hay has been made there before the Feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the future.

Also it was ordered that the aforesaid burgesses put and keep their "geld bestis" in three crofts only, namely, on the north part of Swynmore Gate to the King's way leading from Spray Cross there to the town of Hulbryg. And that burgesses of the said town who have placed any animals in the common averys before this order be quit of that trespass.

Also it was ordered that none of the said burgesses place more animals in the common averys after the said feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Mary except as he has, and has been accustomed to have, in the pastures of Fegang and Swynmore.

Order that sheep do not enter the common averys. Also it was ordered that no burgess of the town aforesaid place any sheep in the common averys for the future.

And if any of the said burgesses shall have presumed to attempt anything against these orders or any of them that then he be punished at the discretion of the twelve Keepers or Governors ("custodum sive gubernatorum") of the town aforesaid for the time being so, often as any one of the said co-burgesses shall have been so convicted for the future.

1429, 25 April, *f. 16 b.* Also it was ordered and decreed by the assent of the community the day and year abovementioned that if any burgess holding any close or croft in the liberty in which any burgesses of Beverley have or ought to have their common ("commonam"), in English common averis after hay or grass mown, gathered and carried away, and hinders any burgess of the community against right to have his common in this kind, or favour or adhere to the Lord of whom he holds against any burgess in any plea or action henceforth begun for such common, he shall without delay lose the liberty of his burgess-ship.

## II.—THE COMMON PLAYS.

Order to the Tailors ("Cissorum") for the expenses of the Pageant ("Paginæ") and Corpus Christi Play, with penalty.

1377. *f. 16.* Also, A.D. 1377, they agreed in the Guildhall that all tailors of Beverley should be present at the account of the expenses incurred by the pageant of the play of Corpus Christi, and about the castle and feast on Monday in the Rogation Days. And that every sherman who is poor and does not wear the livery of the brethren of this craft be contributory to the expenses of the castle only. And whoever has been rebellious in this shall pay to the use of the pavage 12*d.*

Order of Corpus Christi Play, with penalty.

1390. *f. 12 b.* Also it was ordered A.D. 1390 by the whole community that all the craftsmen ("artifices") of the town of Beverley viz., mercers and drapers ("tannatores") masons, skynners, taillours, goldsmyths, smyths, plummers, bollers, tornours, girdelers, cutlers, latoners, brochemakers, horners,

sponers, sadilers, furburs, websters, walkers, coverlid weavers, cartwrightes, coupars, fletchers, bowers, cordwaners, baksters, flesshevers, fysshers, chaundelers, barburs, vynters, sadilers, rapers, hayrers, shipmen, glovers and werkmen, have their plays and pageants ("pagentes") prepared hereafter every day in the Feast of Corpus Christi, in manner and form according to the ancient custom of the town of Beverley, to play in honour of Corpus Christi, under penalty of every craft making default 40s.

Penalty aforesaid by the Smiths by reason of their Play not played on Corpus Christi Day.

1392. *f.* 16. Because Thomas Lorymer, Robert Marshall, John Lorymer, near the Cukstole Pit, John Lorymer of the Smiths' row ("Smetherew") and their fellows, made default on Corpus Christi Day, A.D. 1392, in their play, therefore it is considered by John Kelk, Stephen Coppandale, Richard Aglyon and their fellows, Keepers of the town of Beverley, that they pay to the community of the town 40s., as was anciently ordered by the whole community. Thereupon Friday next after the Feast of St. Swithun Bishop in the year aforesaid came Thomas Lorymer by the Cukstole Pit, John Loksmyth, Thomas Loksmyth, as well for themselves as their fellows, and offered the said twelve Keepers 40s. which they had forfeited. And because they acted obediently, therefore the 40s. were re-delivered, on the condition that if the aforesaid Thomas and his fellows defaulted in their play of the Ascension of the Lord on any Corpus Christi Day on which the other craftsmen of the town play, that then they shall incontinently pay to the community 40s. And to this covenant to be well and truly kept the said Thomas Lorymer and his fellows aforesaid and each of them enter into a bond with the said Keepers and their successors for 100s. to be paid within twelve days after they have defaulted in their play aforesaid.

Order of the Play called Paradyse by the Hayrers of the town of Beverley.

1391. *f.* 13. Also, Friday after the Feast of the Translation of St. William A.D. 1391 came John of Erghes, hayrer, in the Guildhall, before the twelve Keepers of the town of Beverley, and undertook for himself and his fellows of the same craft to play a certain play called Paradise sufficiently, viz., every year on the Feast of Corpus Christi when other craftsmen of the same town play, during the life of the said John of Erghes, at his own cost, willing and granting that he will pay to the community of the town for every default in the play aforesaid 10s., Nicholas Fauconer being his surety. And he also undertook to re-deliver to the twelve Keepers of the town for the time being, at the end of his life, all necessaries which he has belonging to the said play under penalty of 20s., viz., one car ("karre"), eight hasps ("hespis"), eighteen staples ("stapils"), two visors ("visers"), two angels' wings ("winges angeli"), one pine pole ("fir sparr"), one serpent ("worme"), two pairs of linen boots, two pairs of shirts, one sword.

Order of Corpus Christi Play to be played for ever.

1411. *f. 12 b.* Also, 3rd April 1411, to the praise and honour of God and the Body of Christ, and the peaceful union of the worthier and the lesser commons of the town of Beverley, moderate dealing was held with William Rolleston, merchant, Nicholas of Ryse, Adam Tirwitt, John of Holme, William Wilton, Adam Barker, and other reverend persons of the worthier sort not having liveries yearly like others of the rest of the crafts, and not taking part in plays otherwise, that the said worthies, though they had not before done so, should on Corpus Christi day erect a pageant, and support it at their own cost, and cause a play to be played honourably and fittingly. Whereupon the aforesaid worthies for themselves and others of the worthier sort, so far as in them lay, submitted themselves to the award and judgment of Richard Aglyon, Thomas Coppandale, senior, William Dalton, William Melburn and their fellows, the twelve Keepers of the town of Beverley, which twelve Keepers rendered their judgment in this form: That the aforesaid worthies toward the Feast of Corpus Christi next following the present year should, by means of four of them and under the supervision of the twelve Keepers of the community for the time being, at their own cost and charges cause to be made an honest and honourable pageant, and an honest play to be played in the same, under penalty of 40s. to be levied from the same worthies to the use of the community aforesaid.

And further, that the honour of God and the honesty of the town might be the more devoutly and honestly exalted, many aldermen and stewards of the crafts of Beverley, viz. mercers, clothmakers, tanners, weavers, shermen, . . . . watermen, dyers, fullers, saddlers, bakers, butchers, smiths, skimmers, and others, for themselves and their crafts and the whole community as far as in them lay, submitted themselves to the award of the aforesaid twelve Keepers, as well for the erection of castles as for the maintenance of the Corpus Christi Play. Wherefore the aforesaid Keepers gave their award thus: That all and singular of the crafts who were wont to have and erect wooden castles to the honour of God and St. John of Beverley, or in future should have them hereafter for ever, should erect and ornament their castles every year in accustomed fashion under penalty of 6s. 8d. to be levied from every craft thus making default. And that every year for ever they should play the pageant of the play of Corpus Christi which they were accustomed to play, and which should be assigned to them by the sworn Governors of the town, when they shall receive reasonable notice from the twelve Keepers of the town. And that the aforesaid worthies of the town in form above declared shall yearly for ever cause to be played the play in their pageant under penalty of 40s. to be levied as well from the worthier as the lesser members of the community omitting it. And if any particular person, whether of the worthier or the lesser, shall have refused to play or cause to be played, he shall pay to the use of the community 3s. 4d. and his share of the 40s. if such shall have been forfeited in common by any craft or pageant.

## Governance for the procession on Corpus Christi Day.

1480. *f. 12 b.* A dispute having arisen between the Aldermen and stewards of divers crafts on the carrying of their tapers or torches yearly before this time in the venerable procession of the Feast of Corpus Christi, Therefore by the assent and consent of all the Aldermen and stewards of all the crafts underwritten and of others assembled together in the Guildhall in the time of Thomas Mayne and his fellows, the 12 Keepers or governors of the town, 19 March A.D. 1480 and 9 Henry VI., it was ordered and decreed to be perpetually observed that in every year for the future on Corpus Christi Day the stewards of each craft underwritten shall pass with their lights in the said procession according to the form underwritten in their order, and no other of the same craft with him, under the penalty hereinafter specified; But yearly in the future, with their Alderman, have, hold and govern themselves after the most sacred Body of Christ honestly and honourably at the beginning of the solemn feast aforewritten.

And any of the crafts underwritten found rebellious against this order shall forfeit to the use of the community aforesaid 40s. without any pardon.

Next to the clergy ("clerum") of the Gild of Corpus Christi, the Gild of the Blessed Mary, the Gild of St. John of Beverley, Merchants, Cloth Workers, Butchers, Bakers, Carpenters, Smiths, Tailors, Skinners, Tanners, Weavers, Sheremen ("Schermanni"), Fullers, Sailors, Barbers, Glovers ("Serotecarii"), Coopers, Fishers, Tilers, the Gild of St. Elen, the Gild of Pater Noster, the Gild of St. John Baptist, the gild of St. John in May, and the Gild of St. Peter Melon (*sic*).

1486, 25 April. *f. 19.* It was ordered by the assent of the whole community that every Alderman and Steward of any craft or rank should be prepared to play with their pageants on Corpus Christi Day 1487 on pain of forfeiture of 40s.

1457. *f. 18.* Memorandum that on Monday, St. Mark's day, 35 Henry VI., the common burgesses of the town of Beverley in their Gild Hall assembled petition the venerable Keepers or governors of the said town to have their plays yearly on Corpus Christi day as they were accustomed to have, and cause them to be played, under the penalty specified above in the order for the play.

1498. *f. 26.* "Allso itt is ordande and statute by the forsayde xij Governors, by assent and consent of the forsayde other two bynks (benches), and allso by assent and consent of all the Aldermen and ther bredyr that be in castell and clothyng (*i.e.* livery), that the forsayde xij for tyme beyng shall go yerly in processyon on Corpus Christi day, or on the morue after, as itt shall happyn, afore all the Aldermen; And evere man of the other two bynks to go with there Alderman of ther occupacyon in thar clothyng belongyng to thar brodyrhed. And yf ther be any broder of any of the forsayde crafts that be founde rebell hereagayne, shall forfeit to the commonte xx. withowte any pardon.

## The Order of the processyon on Corpus Christi Day.

<i>In primis</i> the xij Governors.		Item, Alderman of Wevers	
Item, Alderman of Merchants		„	Walkers
„ Drapers		„	Glovers
„ Bowchers		„	Bowers
„ Baxters		„	Cowpers and
„ Wryghts			Fletchers
„ Smyths		„	Wattermen
„ Taylors		„	Potters
„ Tylers		„	Barbors
„ Shomakers		„	Cappers and
„ Lyttsters			Hatters
„ Barkers		„	Sadyllers."

## III.—ORDERS RESPECTING TRADES.

## Order of the carriage of porters, with penalty.

1374. Also it is ordained by the Keepers of the town of Beverley in the year of the Lord aforesaid, and to this all the porters who then commonly use that art in Beverley consented, that each of them should take for one horse load to the Minster and Eastgate  $\frac{1}{2}d.$ , and to the Crossbridge ("Crossbig")  $\frac{3}{4}d.$ , and beyond the Crossbridge to North bar  $1d.$ , and to Keldegate  $\frac{3}{4}d.$ , to Lathagate  $1d.$

And it was ordained by the said Keepers of the town aforesaid A.D. 1377 that if any of the porters or crelemen should take for his labour in carrying otherwise than as above ordained that he pay each time he offends to the use of the community  $40d.$  [*see more below under the head of Porters.*]

## Penalty for placing flax ("lini") in the common ditches.

[The word is undoubtedly 'lini,' but it evidently ought to be 'limi,' and it has therefore been so translated.]

Also, 10 July A.D. 1369 divers men and women of Stork and Sandholme came to the Guildhall impeached and convicted of placing filth in the common ditch there. They asked pardon subject to the condition that if hereafter they shall be found offending in the premises they should pay to the community  $40d.$

Also, on the said day and year, many dwellers in the Keldegate and Lathagate present in the Guildhall were impeached and convicted of placing filth in the common ditches, and prayed pardon on the condition aforesaid, paying, &c.

Of the carriage of bread out of the town, with penalty.

*f. 5. b. Chartulary.* Be it remembered that it was found that John H. carried his bread to Hull when the town of Beverley was not oversupplied with bread for sale. Therefore it was ordered by the Keepers of the town of Beverley and with the full assent of the aforesaid John that if the said John should send bread for sale to any place outside the town of Beverley if the town of Beverley was not fully supplied ("suffulta et repleta") with bread for sale, then the same John shall without remedy pay to the community 6s. 8d. for every time that he shall have been found guilty of such an offence.

Order against snarlars (*sic*) and hawkers.

1398, *Gild Book*, *f. 15.* *Chartulary*, *f. 5.* It was presented in the Archbishop's Court by the twelve Keepers of the town of Beverley A.D. 1398 that there are several foreign peddlers ("mercenarii") called *snarlars* and *hawkers* wandering through the streets of the town, who often have bought divers chattels and jewels stolen in the town, to the grave loss and deception of the common people: And on this it is ordered by the Court and community of the town that no such peddler, alien or denizen ("alienigena nec indigena") shall thenceforth wander within the liberty for the purpose of selling or buying such goods, but shall have stalls in the Lord's open market at the time of selling their chattels, and not elsewhere, under pain of imprisonment and the loss of 6s. 8d. as often as any of them shall have been caught.

Order for sale of things saleable at the Beck ("Torrentem"), with penalty.

1405. Likewise 16 January A.D. 1405 it was provided, and on the Feast of St. Mary then next by the whole community decreed, that no burgess or stranger who carries and brings faggots, astilwode, coals, or other like fuel, or salt, to the Beck of Beverley to sell, shall sell to any one any of the goods aforesaid or the like before they be priced by two of the twelve Keepers, under penalty of the loss of 9s. 4d. to the use of the community as often as they shall have been convicted of the same. And that no burgess or other inhabitant of Beverley shall buy any of the goods aforesaid before they have been priced, under the penalty aforesaid, nor forestall them or buy in gross to resell by way of regrating ("in regratea") before the commons shall have been served; under the penalty above mentioned; Nor buy on the Beck in fraud of the community saying that he buys elsewhere outside the liberty.

Order of the Butchers' Market.

1365. *f. 11.* Also it was ordered, A.D. 1365, by Richard Holme and the other Keepers that no market for sale of meat be held elsewhere in Beverley except in the Butchers' market and Barlyholme, market days only excepted.



Of meat kept and sold out of season.

Also that if any butcher sell or offer for sale meat over seeded (?) ("superseminatas"), or kept unseasonably, or which died of murrain, or carrion, that every time any of them be properly convicted on any of the charges or offences aforesaid he pay without remedy 6s. 8d.

Of blood or other corrupt matter put in streets.

Also that if any butcher or their servants put scarne (*sic*), blood, or other corrupt matter in the high streets or Walkerbek, or any other places except those assigned by the community, that every-one so offending pay to the community 40d.

Of keeping Butchers' dogs.

1377. Also owing to divers quarrels arising from butchers' dogs, ordered A.D. 1377, by the Keepers that if any butcher's dog be found in the road without any keeper, or bite anyone or the pig or dog of any stranger, the owner of the dog so offending pay 40d.

Of the sale of meat.

1370, Also it was proclaimed in the Lord Archbishop's Court on the Feast of St. Mary Magdalen, 1370, that every butcher sell all dead meat in his own shop, and not send it to another butcher to sell, on pain of forfeiture of 40d.

Also that every butcher sell his meat within 4 days of time of killing or on the fourth day salt it, under the penalty aforesaid.

Of the Butchers' and Bakers' Market.

Also that the town butchers stand at one end of the Lord's market to be chosen by them, and that the outside butchers stand at the other end, so that the bakers be between them on market day, and the butchers do not enter together and at the same time.

Order of the Shoemakers' ("Sutorum") Market.

1364. *f. 11 b.* Also it was ordered and agreed by the whole community of the town of Beverley and the counsel and bailiff of the Lord Archbishop of York A.D. 1364, that all shoemakers of the town and also strangers of that craft shall henceforth use stalls in the market assigned for that purpose called the Shomarket, as they used anciently to have them there on Market days and Fairs and in no other place in the same town.

Of chains remaining.

1391. Also be it remembered that John Trippok, Thomas Yole and their fellows, Keepers of the town of Beverley, A.D. 1391 Thursday before Pentecost in the year aforesaid, delivered to John

of Holme, Adam Barker, John Carleton and his fellows, Keepers of the town aforesaid first, a chain at the Bek containing 52 links, a chain in Flemyngate having 50 links, a chain at North bar containing 44 links, and two chains lying in the Guildhall, viz., one containing 36 links and the other 26 links.

Of the Shoemakers' Market ("foro").

1364. Also it was ordered A.D. 1364 that no shoemaker dwelling within the town of Beverley sell shoes in the time of fairs or other market days anywhere outside his house, except in the Market Place, where it was ordered anciently as above, under penalty of 6s. 8d. to be paid to the community for each offence. And all cobblers ("allutarii") consented accordingly that if any of the brethren infringed any order contained in their Domesday Roll, he should incur the penalty aforesaid to be paid in like manner. Also, 1375, it was ordered and agreed by the cobblers of the town of Beverley that none of the Gild of the Cobblers of Beverley be clothed anew in any other clothes except of the suit of his co-brethren on the day in which they assembled in their castle against the coming of Blessed John of Beverley under penalty of 20d. to be paid to the light of the aforesaid Gild, and 20d. to the community of Beverley.

IV. GILD ORDINANCES.

Butchers ("Bochers") \* (*Latin*).

1365. *Gild Book*. f. 58. Orders and ancient constitutions of the craft of butchers ("artis carnificum") in use ("usitata") from A.D. 1365, together with constitutions ordained anew to the praise of God and honour ("honestatem") of the whole craft A.D. 1416, by the consent of the whole craft, and by the licence, permission and will of the 12 Governors of the town of Beverley confirmed ("affirmantur") and granted to be registered, as below described.

(i.) *Inprimis* that every year for ever a solemn mass be sung on Mondays before the beginning of Lent ("diebus lunæ Carniprivii") at the Friars Minor for the souls of the brethren and sisters of the craft aforesaid, at their common cost, and that it be ordered by the Alderman and stewards of the same, as hath been anciently accustomed.

(ii.) And that they have among them an Alderman and two stewards to be chosen yearly from among them on Sunday next after the feast of Corpus Christi to govern the craft aforesaid for a whole year. And whoever shall refuse the office of Alderman when elected shall pay a stone of wax to the use ("opus") of the said craft. In like wise whoever shall refuse the office of Steward shall pay half a stone of wax, without any pardon.

\* An English version made in 1510 which follows on f. 44 b. of the same book is here appended to this abstract, at p. 76, to show the variations.

(iii.) Moreover they shall have amongst them as many meetings ("congregationes") a year as shall be necessary or useful for the good and honour of the craft, at the discretion and order of the Alderman and stewards. And everyone summoned to any meeting the night before and not coming shall pay 1lb. of wax, unless he can reasonably excuse himself to the Alderman and stewards. And if he shall go into the country ("patriam") without leave obtained from the officers ("officiariis") he shall pay to the use of the craft 2lb. wax. And if he have leave to go into the country to a certain place and shall fraudulently go to another place he shall pay 2lb. of wax without delay, as they used to do from old time.

(iv.) And anyone who shall dishonourably abuse ("reprobaverit inhoneste") his Alderman elected as aforesaid in his office shall pay to the use of the *community* [this word is inserted in a different hand] and the craft 40*d.* without remedy or pardon. And anyone who shall abuse his steward 20*d.* in form aforesaid; to be levied by distress as anciently accustomed.

(v.) It is also decreed and determined ("statutum et ordinatum") that if any discord, quarrel, insult ("contumelia") or dissension shall have arisen between the brethren of the craft, then he who shall have expressed or felt himself aggrieved shall declare his loss or grievance with evidence ("evidenter") to the Alderman and stand to his governance in law ("recto") before he complain elsewhere. And if he shall have held himself otherwise, he shall pay to the use of the community and crafts 3*s.* 4*d.*, as was from old times decreed and hitherto finally agreed.

(vi.) In the beginning moreover of any brother of the craft newly entering, he so entering shall pay his entrance fee [viz. 20*d.* in hand, and for the rest shall make a tally and seal it, and have a day (for payment) at the free will of the Alderman, as has been ordered from of old]. (The part in brackets is cancelled, and instead is written, "yearly to the community and his craft, until he shall be a Burgess, 2*s.*")

(vii.) And everyone of the craft aforesaid who has been clothed in the livery ("secta") of the brethren for Rogation days, and has given away, sold or alienated his livery ("liberatum"), within 2 years, shall pay to the use of the craft aforesaid 12*d.* And he shall use his clothing ("vestura") at the principal feasts during his first year, and not on others, as was anciently decreed.

(viii.) 1416. And now at Easter, 1416, John Spenser, Alderman, it is unanimously ordered and decreed that no one of the said craft shall kill any meat for sale on any Sunday between Easter and S. Peter ad Vincula (1 Aug.) in any year for the future, unless some chief Lord of the King shall have come suddenly to the town and want victuals; on pain of 40*d.* to the maintenance of the burdens of the craft and 20*d.* to the use of the community of the town of Beverley, as often as he shall be convicted. And that none of the same craft shall sell or

cause to be sold flesh for sale in the open windows of their shops, nor allow the same windows to be or to stand open for sale from the ninth hour of the clock striking to the 12th striking, on any Sunday between the feasts aforesaid on pain of the aforesaid penalty. It is lawful for them however between the feasts of St. Peter ad Vincula and S. Michael every year to kill and sell meat and make their profit as well on Sundays as other days, as they have anciently been accustomed to do. And between the feast of S. Michael and Carnipriviūm they shall shut and keep shut their shop windows without selling flesh in them on Sundays from 10th to 12th hour under the penalty aforesaid. Nor shall they kill meat on Sundays in the meantime on the pain aforesaid.

(ix.) Moreover it was ordered and decreed in time of William Sleforth, Robert Toffts, John Wellis, Richard Dawson, Stephen Gildehouse, John Clark, John Barton, and their fellows the 12 Keepers or Governors of the community of the town of Beverley, on the petition of John Wod, Alderman of the craft of Butchers of the town aforesaid, Richard Kittson and Richard Shirburn, stewards of the same craft, and the greater and wiser part of the craft aforesaid, that every brother summoned on the night before by the power of the Alderman to come to any meeting for the good of the said craft in any fit place to be fixed by the said Alderman and at a time to be named, who does not come, shall forfeit to the said craft each time 6*d.* or 1 lb. of wax at the choice of the Alderman of the said craft for the time being, unless he have a reasonable excuse known to and approved by the said craft.

(x.) Also, that every brother of the craft aforesaid who buys any flesh living or dead of any foreigner, coming to market, or being in the market, shall forfeit 6*s.* 8*d.* so often as it shall be proved, viz., half to the Guild Hall of Beverley and the other half to the craft aforesaid equally, to be paid without delay.

(xi.) Also, that every brother of the craft aforesaid who unlawfully and dishonourably abuses or blames any brother of the craft by any words through which the said brother incurs loss or grievance, or by any other words tending to the dishonour ("in sonum dishonestacionis") of his said brother, or shall commit an assault on his said brother ("affraiam fecerit") or shall unlawfully and dishonourably quarrel with the same, if this shall be lawfully proved by the greater and wiser part of the craft aforesaid, shall forfeit to the Guild Hall and craft aforesaid for each offence 6*s.* 8*d.* to be paid in equal portions, without any pardon.

(xii.) Also, that every brother of the craft aforesaid who keeps shop, as a master, in the town of Beverley aforesaid and is able to be a burgess and will not be a burgess, if the same brother is able to be a burgess according to the discretion of the 12 Keepers of the town aforesaid for the time being, shall pay yearly to the use of the community aforesaid for the common expenses of the craft aforesaid 6*s.* 8*d.*, to be equally divided, etc

And if the same brother, according to the discretion of the 12 Keepers of the town aforesaid for the time being, is not found to be able to be a burgess, that then he shall pay yearly to the common expenses of the craft aforesaid 12*d.*, until he is made a burgess.

(xiii.) Moreover it is ordered by the 12 Keepers or governors of the community aforesaid, with the consent and assent of the said Alderman and stewards, that whenever the Alderman or his successors, Aldermen of the said craft, punish or correct a brother for any transgression whence a penalty arises, that then the Alderman shall at once present the default to the said community in the Guild Hall aforesaid without concealment; or if not, shall forfeit to the said community every time 3*s.* 4*d.*, to be paid without delay.

(xiv.) And moreover it is ordered that every butcher aforesaid who is grithman (sanctuary man), and is not able to be a burgess, though willing to be, shall pay yearly as long as he follows ("occupaverit") the same craft for the common expenses of the craft aforesaid to the Alderman, 12*d.*, to be paid without delay.

(xv.) 1469. It was ordered and decreed by John Pierson (etc.) A.D. 1469, on the petition of John Danby, bocher, Alderman of the craft of butchers at Beverley, all the brethren consenting to it, that in the beginning of any brother of the craft aforesaid entering the same craft and newly following it, that he so entering the said craft shall pay to the hands of the Alderman in whose time he entered the said craft, 3*s.* 4*d.*, and 1*lb.* of wax for the maintenance of the light of the said craft.

(xvi.) And that every servant of the said craft, *Anglice*, a Journeyman, shall pay yearly to the hands of the Alderman of the said craft for the time being towards Rogation Monday, 8*d.*, or his master shall pay it out of his wages.

(xvii.) 1490. It is moreover ordered and decreed 19 November, 1490, by Adam Newcombe, etc., on the petition of Thomas Bowmer, Alderman, etc. of the craft aforesaid, that the searchers of the said craft shall search all foreign butchers coming to market with any flesh to sell: and if the said searchers shall find any flesh tainted, or carrion, they shall present the said flesh before the 12 Keepers for the time being, and the said searchers shall have for every defect so found and reported to the said 12 Keepers 4*d.* paid by the said delinquent who makes the transgression.

(xviii.) 1497. Moreover it is ordered by Thomas Frost [etc.] on the petition and supplication of John Wattkyn, Alderman of the said craft of Butchers, John Hayles and George Bewshyr stewards, and by the consent and assent of the greater and wiser part of the said craft, that whatever brother of the said craft fraudulently without showing the same to his Alderman or brethren goes or shall go out of the town and country to the

deception of the people of the lord King shall be expelled and for ever disburthened of the said brotherhood and clothing; and if the said brother return to the said town to dwell he shall never be received for a brother of the said craft nor in clothing, but only as a contributory.

(xix.) 1494. *f. 60 b.* It was also ordered and decreed, A.D. 1494, by John Seglystorne [*etc.*], by the consent and assent of John Steynson, Alderman, Edward Settryngton and Edward Hogg, stewards, and all their brethren, that the said Butchers shall hold their election of Alderman on Sunday next after Corpus Christi Day, as has been anciently accustomed. And this election shall be kept of five of their brethren who have been and the one who is Alderman, till one of them shall be discharged by the hand of God, as in the form underwritten, viz.—

The Alderman who has served for the year shall put on election two of the senior five brethren aforesaid, and from them the said brethren shall elect one to be Alderman for the year following; and so yearly continuing till one of the said five brethren dies or is discharged ("disoneratur,") and then they shall keep the election of the number four; and when one of those aforesaid four brethren dies or is discharged, then the brethren aforesaid shall elect among themselves another discreet man and able, who has been a searcher of the craft, and no one else, on pain of forfeiture to the community and craft aforesaid of 13s. 4d., to be equally divided between them. And any of the brethren who now are or shall be found rebellious to this order, and will not keep it, shall forfeit to the community of the town of Beverley 40s. without any pardon, so often as he shall be found guilty thereof.

(xx.) 1501. *f. 60 b. (English.)* It is ordained and statute in the year of our Lord God 1501 by Roger Hethe [*etc.*], that every butcher shall be at his liberty to buy stuff where and of whom he will, and to kill stuff mickle or little according as he shall think for his most profit, without any stint, and whosoever be founden contrarious and gainstanding to this ordinance he shall forfeit to the commonalty of Beverley 20s. without any pardon, &c.

[*The later English version follows.*]

#### BOCHEOURS.

*f. 44.* [From 1365.] Ordynaunces and olde customes of the facultie of Bocheours within the Towne of Beverley from the yere of our Lord 1365, used to the praise [*louange*] of Almyghtie Gode and honestie of the said facultie unto nowe (1510), and by consent of the same facultie and license and gudwill of the xii Governors of Beverley aforesaid, to be affirmed and regestred for ever.

(i.) First, that the Alderman and his stewards of the said craft yearly for ever, shall cause a mass ("messe") to be songen at one of the places of the Friars within Beverley aforesaid, at the pleasure of the Alderman of the said craft, upon Monday next after Corpus Christi Day, for all the souls of brether and sisters of the said faculty at their own common expenses.

(ii.) Also, it is ordered by the said Governors that the said Butchers shall take four of the most ancient men of the said craft to elect their Alderman yearly, the Sunday next after the feast of Corpus Christi, to govern the said faculty by one whole year, and he so elect refusing the office shall forfeit unto the said Governor and faculty 6s. 8d. equally to be divided, without any pardon.

(iii.) Also, the said Brether shall assign four of the same sort [to] be of election [of] stewards, of whom two shall be chosen stewards by the said brether. And they so elect refusing their office shall forfeit 3s. 4d. in form aforesaid, to be divided, without any pardon.

(iv.) Also, in like manner as the said Alderman is elect, the Searchers of the said faculty shall be elect, and they so elect refusing their office shall forfeit 6s. 8d., in form aforesaid, to be divided.

(v.) Also, it is statute and ordained by the said Governors and brether of the said faculty, except the two persons afore except, [that] the Alderman of the said occupation shall have rule and correction as well of the contributors and journeymen of the same craft within the said town as of brether of the same, and that they shall be obedient to the said Alderman in all lawful commandments, [and if they shall be disobedient] when soever they shall be summoned by the stewards of the same faculty or by any Bedill by them assigned, their office doing, in any lawful commandment [ap]proved lawful of the said Alderman and four of his brether, shall forfeit to the said Governors and faculty 6s. 8d. equally to be divided as oftentimes as any of them shall be found defective.

(vi.) Also, it is ordered by the said Governors that the Searchers of the said faculty shall search all foreign ("forencez") and within the said town Butchers, bringing to the market within the said town any manner of flesh to sell; the which by the said Searchers found foul and not able, they to present the said flesh to the foresaid Governors, and the said Searchers shall have for every fault so found and showed upon the trespass 4d.; and if there be any person of the said craft within the said town, or without, that will not obey the Searchers of the same, doing their office, they so disobeying the said Searchers shall forfeit 3s. 4d. in form aforesaid, to be divided, without any pardon.

(vii.) Also, it is ordered that every Butcher being a foreigner, coming over four market days with any manner of flesh to sell within the said market, shall pay to the said faculty yearly 4d.

(viii.) And it is ordained by the said Governors that he the which slew ("slooe") any manner of flesh to sell from the Saturday at even to Monday at 9 shall forfeit 2*s.* to the said Governor and Alderman, equally to be divided, fair-time except and the coming of a great man.

(ix.) Also, it is ordained by the said Governor that if any of the said brether buy any manner of cattle of flesh of any foreigner coming to the said market of the market day he shall forfeit 3*s.* 4*d.* to the said Governors and Alderman, equally to be divided.

(x.) Also, it is ordained by the said Governors that every Governor [brother?] coming new unto the said craft at his entry shall pay to the Alderman 3*s.*, and every Sanctuary man at his entry 12*d.* and so yearly after, 12*d.*, And every apprentice at his entry 2*s.*, And every journeyman to pay unto the said Alderman yearly upon Cross Monday in the castle [*i.e.* the wooden castle erected by the craft that day, from which to view the procession] 6*d.* And every contributor shall pay yearly to the said Alderman 2*s.*

(xi.) Also, it is ordained [*etc.*] that if any brother of the said craft be summoned over night by commandment of his Alderman to come to any congregation or "geddering" for the weal of the said craft, at the hour and place to him assigned by the said Alderman or his stewards, and come not, he shall forfeit to the said craft every time so failing 6*d.*

(xii.) Also [*etc.*] that any brother of the said faculty, the which goes out of the said town and country without knowledge making to the Alderman and brethren of the same faculty, in deception of the King's people, shall be discharged for ever of the brotherhood and clothing, and never after to be taken but as a contributor.

(xiii.) Also, it is statute that if there be any person of the said craft that by the Alderman of the same and his brether be found able to be Burgess, and will not be so presented able to the said Governors, he shall forfeit yearly, unto the time he make him Burgess, to the said Governors and Alderman 4*s.* equally to be divided, for his contribution.

(xiv.) Also it is ordained and decreed in the year of our Lord 1510, by Stephan Gaits [*etc.*] Governors [*etc.*], that the Butchers of the same shall kill no manner of beast without the shops, nor hang no beast to sell without the same having the skin upon him, upon the pain of 3*s.* 4*d.* Nor the said butchers shall wash the offal of their beasts in Walkerbeck within the said town, except they be "temed" nor cast any manner of offal as blood, horns, bones, guts, in the street upon a like pain. And the said butchers shall kill no bull unbaited, nor cast at the Bars belonging to the said town blood unburied, upon a like pain. And all the foresaid penalties to be forfeit to the said Governors and Alderman for the time being, equally to be divided.



(xv.) Also, it is ordained by the said Governors [that] if there be any butcher, within the said town or without, that kills any pork from May Day to Michaelmas in any year hereafter ensuing, and brings the same to the market to sell, he shall forfeit 2s., in form aforesaid to be divided.

[*This is crossed out.*]

f. 44. 1554. (xvi.) Also it is statute and ordained in the year of our Lord God 1554, by Launcelot Alford, esquier [*etc.*], Governors, at the instance and desire of the Alderman of the Butchers and his brethren of the same occupation, that every man of the said occupation shall be obedient to all the lawful commandments of the Alderman by the stewards for the time being, upon pain of forfeiture of 6s. 8d. for every default.

(xvii.) Also [*etc.*] that if any man of the said craft do rebuke the Alderman with opprobrious and unseemly words in doing his office lawfully, he shall forfeit for every time 6s. 8d., to be divided [*ut supra*].

(xviii.) And it is likewise ordained that if any man of the said craft do rebuke the stewards or searchers in doing their offices lawfully [he] shall forfeit 3s. 6d. [&c.]

(xix.) Also, it is ordained by the said Governors that the searchers any day in the week shall search for corrupt victual in any shop within the town, and who that interrupts or lets the said searchers so doing shall forfeit for every time 3s. 4d. [*etc.*]

(xx.) Also [*etc.*] that if any of the said craft do ride forth on the Sunday to buy any victual except it be on common fair day, he shall forfeit for every time 6s. 8d. [&c.]

(xxi.) Also [*etc.*] that if any of the said company do not spar in their windows every Sunday at nine ("neen") of the clock afore noon he shall forfeit for every time 3s. 4d. [&c.]

#### MERCHANT GILD.

##### Ordinationes Gildæ Mercatorie Beverlaei.

(*Abstract translated.*)

f. 72 b. 1446, 18 May. The ordinances and statutes ("constitutiones") of the brotherhood of the Merchant Gild ("Gilda Mercatoria") of Beverley were exhibited in the Gild Hall of Beverley, and diligently inspected by Edmund Portyngton, Nicholas Brompton, Thomas Wayte, littester, Master William Hardyng, John Skipwith, Robert Jakson, William Trentham, William Penycoke, Richard Halytreholm, John Newton, and their fellows, Governors [*etc.*] 15 May, 1446, and because they found in them certain difficulties to their consciences or reason they ordered the underwritten ordinances to be registered and observed for ever in the following form, at the petition of Roger Cokirham, Alderman, Richard Coryn and John Middilton,

stewards, of the brotherhood of the Gild aforesaid, also with the assent and consent of William Spencer, Thomas Skipwith, Thomas Whyte, Walter Barbone, Richard Pattynghon, John Bawm, John Conlon, Edward Brakynburgh and their fellows, brethren of the Gild aforesaid :—

*Inprimis* : Every one newly setting up shop as a master in the craft ("arte") or faculty of Merchants, Mercers and Drapers ("Pannariorum") known as an apprentice of the craft, shall pay yearly to the common expenses of castle, light and other charges ("onerum") 8s. 4d. until he shall be of the livery or clothing of the Gild. If he has not been an apprentice and is not a brother he is to pay 5s. Penalty for non-observance, 6s. 8d. to the community and 6s. 8d. for the expenses of light, castle and pageants ("pagendarum") of the craft, to be levied by distress by the Stewards of the craft, or if refused to them, by the Common Serjeant.

1492. 4 April. The same formula is entered as to constitutions of the Gild of "Merchaunts, Mercers and Drapers." Every draper belonging to the brotherhood and livery of the said Gild may fit, sew, and make gaiters ("caligas") in his shop and have a boy or apprentice to keep his shop, without contributing to the Shearmens' Gild : but if he make any other articles of clothing except gaiters he must contribute to that Gild.

Any one living in Beverley who frequents Fairs and Markets to buy clothes to resell and retail in Beverley to pay contribution to the Gild as abovesaid.

f. 82 b. 1494. (*Latin.*) Ordinances and institutions of the Brotherhood of the Merchants and Mercers of the town of Beverley newly made by Adam Newcombe [*etc.*], Governors, 22 May 1494 on the petition of John Seglystorne, Alderman of the Gild, and with consent of Robert Whyte and ten others (*named*), brethren.

The brethren shall find a light from old time founded and accustomed ("usitatum") in honour of the Holy Trinity in the charnel ("carmelo," a mistake for "carnello") in the chapel of B.V.M. They also made ordinances for the good governance of the same, and the maintenance of the honour of the castle of Merchants and Mercers, yearly set up in honour of God and the glorious confessor St. John of Beverley.

Any one absent from the election of Alderman on Sunday after Ascension Day, or at any Prime Gild ("gildam primam") or any meeting duly summoned, to pay 1 lb. of wax.

Any brother or sister dying in Beverley can have the light and decoration of it ("lucem et decus ejusdam") on payment of 1 lb. of wax.

And any one dying a pauper to be buried at expense of the Gild.

Every one elected justly for the honour and good governance of the craft and castle, and not in mere derision, elected Alderman and refusing to serve, to pay 6s. 8d. to use of community, light and castle.

Every brother newly liveried in honour of St. John of Beverley to keep his livery 3 years, using it on Feast Days, and if he alienate it before that time to pay 2s. to the community, and 2s. to the light and castle.

Every brother outside the castle on Monday in Rogation Week after prime, or the same day or afternoon not riding with the brethren, if in health and able to ride, shall pay 3s. 4d.

Every brother to have a new livery when the rest do, if able; and any one refusing, through pride or envy, to be liveried, to pay 3s. 4d. to Gild Hall, and 3s. 4d. to the castle.

Any one absent from the Prime Gild, or disputing the election of Alderman or Stewards after the majority have decided, to pay 20d. to the Gild Hall and 20d. to light and castle.

Penalties for quarrelling, slander, &c.

If Alderman and Stewards or the Brethren make new Ordinances without consent of the Keepers of the town they shall pay 6s. 8d., half to town, and half to light and castle.

Election of two Searchers ("supervisores vocati Seyrcheours") to be elected to test all measures of weight and ells.

Accounts to be rendered yearly on Sunday after Translation of S. Thomas the Martyr. Any brother absent to pay 1s. "to the ornament of the light and maintenance of the castle."

Every newly elected brother to humbly give security of his faith to the Alderman to obey the statutes of the Gild. Entrance fee 6s. 8d.

Every merchant or mercer being a brother but not a burgess to pay 4s. 8d. yearly; and if a burgess but not a brother 2s. 4d.

f. 88. 1502. *English.* Ordained by Roger Kelk, Robert Whyte, &c. Governors, at the petition of Robert Whyte, Alderman of the Marchands and his "breder" (13 *named*), that the Alderman for the year shall pay the Trinity Priest, for the year that he occupieth, 2s., those on the election with him 1s. 6d., and every brother beside 8d.

Agreed and ordained by assent and consent of the Alderman and his brethren that they and their wives shall have at the Alderman's house an honest dinner upon the account day, every brother and his wife to pay 6d. and no further to be charged.

After the election made all the brethren to go home with their Alderman and drink with him at his house, and he that comes not shall pay 1*lb.* of wax.

*t. 83 b. 1508. 19 Dec. (English.)* Ordained and statuted by Thomas Pierson [*etc.*] at the petition of John Cok, Alderman of the confraternity of Marchiands and Mercers, and of all his brethren, that if there be any man within the town that occupies buying or selling of merchandize in a year 5 marks or above, he shall pay whole contribution, 2s. 8d., without any assessment ("sessyng"); under 5 marks to be presented to the 12 Governors to be assessed.

Ordinance for the Brotherhoode of Merchaunts or Mercers in Beverley in the countie of York, 1582.

*f. 51. 1582. (English.)* In the honour of Almighty God and for the worship of this town of Beverley, the common wealth of the said town, and the laudable order and good governance of the Brotherhood and Company of Merchaunts or Mercers, these orders and constitutions and ordinances following as well of ancient time used, ordained and founded by the assent and consent and supplication of the company of Merchants and Mercers within this said town of Beverley, and granted by the Twelve Governors of the said town A.D. 1210, As now renewed, augmented and amplified, made and agreed upon by the Mayor and Governors of the said town of Beverley in the time of Richard Garbray, now Warden of the said company of Marchaunts or Mercers aforesaid, for ever hereafter inviolably to be kept and observed among the brethren of the said Brotherhood and Company, the contributors of the same, and others exercising and using the said trade or any part thereof within the said town of Beverley; That is to say by the Right Worshipful Robert Ingleton, now Mayor of the said town of Beverley, Edward Ellerker, Esq., Richard Bullocke, [*and nine others named*] the Governors and Council of the said town at the instance, supplication and request of the said Richard Garbray, Warden of the said Company and Brotherhood and one of the Governors and Council of the said town with his stewards, Richard Booth and Richard Wright; Together with the assent, motion and consent of Raulph Knaggs [*and ten others named*] and others the brethren of the said Company and Brotherhood, the —(*sic*) of September A.D. 1582, in the 24th year of our Sovereign Lady Elizabeth &c.

1. . . . . according as in time past without memory of man hath been used, there shall be one fraternity . . . . . as there hath been and is of other brotherhoods within this town . . . . .

Upon the Sunday next after Trinity [*instead of Translation of St. Thomas the Martyr*] they shall elect one Warden [*instead of Alderman*], two Stewards and 2 Searchers [*as before*].

Penalty for refusing to serve as Warden 40s., as Steward 6s. 8d., to be divided between the Governors and the Company.

2. Searchers to be "substantial, honest and credible men of the said science," to search weights and measures of all "using, practising and exercising the said trade or misterye of merchaunts or mercers or any part thereof."

3. Penalty for disobedience to Warden, 6s. 8d.
4. —for rebuking the Steward, 3s. 4d.
5. —for rebuking of one brother by another, 3s. 4d.
6. —for rebuking the Searchers, 6s. 8d.
7. Discord between one brother and another.

In any case but treason, murder or felony, complaint to be first laid before the Warden, who shall refer it to arbitration of Warden and four brethren. Penalty for not abiding by arbitration 6s. 8d., but with appeal to Mayor and Governors.

8. Absence from the election of Warden ; penalty 3s. 4d.
9. For making Prime Gilds.

Warden at his discretion to "appoint an Assembly or meeting, one or more, of the said Occupation, called a Prime Gild or Guilds, at any time or times when he shall think most fit."

Penalty for non-attendance 6d. to the Company.

Penalty for absence from marriage or burial of any Brother or Sister 2s. 6d., divided as before.

10. For Brother dying in poverty.

A Brother or Sister in such case to be buried at the Company's expense.

11. The payment of a Brother at his marriage to the Occupation 2s., and at his or their burial 2s. 6d.

12. Upsets.

Every one "setting up or occupying the trade, viz., in buying, selling and retailing of wares and merchandize of what kind soever they be, to the value of £10," to come to the Warden and bind himself to observe the ordinances, and pay 10s. to be divided between Town and Occupation. Contribution of a stranger "not able to be a burgess" 6s. a year, and to be admitted to brotherhood paying 10s. entrance-fee.

But any native or other who has served a full term of apprenticeship with a freeman, according to the Statute of Apprentices, setting up as a master, to pay 10s. only, and if he become a contributor without becoming a brother, to pay 4s. a year only and for brotherhood 6d. [?] only.

13. The contribution of him which is in brotherhood with any other.

Any one, whether a brother of another trade or not, exercising any part of the science of a Mercer to the value of 6l. 13s. 4d. a year, to pay as contribution 5s. a year.

14. Apprentices. Apprentices to be for not less than 7 years according to the Statute ; and on entrance to pay 2s. 6d. to the Occupation.

15. Enstruction (*sic*) of persons.

No one not a brother and burgess to take an apprentice on penalty of 10s.

16. Smiths: Buying and selling iron not altered or wrought by them "according to their science" to pay a yearly contribution of 6s. 8d.

17. Contributor shall be brother if he be able. Penalty 10s.

[*The numbering and headings cease here in the original.*]

## 18. Livery:

The Warden and six of the ancientest brethren chosen by the Company to "appoint and ordain clothing and decent apparel for all the brethren . . . as in time past . . . of like suit . . . to be made ready on this side Cross Monday next."

Penalty for not providing "clothing and vesture" or for selling or conveying the same away, expulsion.

Penalty for not attending Prime Gilds in livery, 1s.

19. Absence from Company from malice, 20s.

## 20. Warden's Dinner

To be given to all the brethren and their wives on the Audit Day; "viz., second Sunday next after the Feast day of St. Thomas immediately following the Feast day of St. Peter the Apostle," [this description is owing to the disappearance of the "traitor Saint" Thomas, *i.e.* Becket, from the reformed Calendar] on penalty of 40s. to the Company.

Brethren to pay for the dinner 6d. for self and wife, whether present or not.

21. Account Day, as above, to be held at the "Common Hall or Hanshouse of Beverley" or some other honest place.

Warden to pay up, or give security for, all moneys belonging to the Company, so that nothing remain to be collected by the new officers, under penalty of £3 6s. 8d.

22. Back-biting and slander of brethren.

Penalty 3s. 4d. and compensation to the aggrieved party.

23. Renewing quarrel after settlement, 3s. 4d.

24. Disobedience in matters affecting the Company and its officers, in refusal to pay fines, 3s. 4d. besides penalties above stated.

25. New Warden to find two sureties, brethren, to render true account for his term of office. Penalty (*sic*),—

The form of the Oath to be ministered at the receipt of every new brother.

This swear I, A.B., that I shall from henceforth during the time that I shall inhabit and remain within this said town of Beverley be obedient to the Warden of my Company and Occupation, and obey and perform all the commandments of him concerning the honesty, wealth and commodity of the same ; And will not by any means to my power or ability withstand, interrupt, break or disannul any the ordinances, rules and grants or any of them in this present original contained, being granted or which shall be granted and confirmed by the Worshipful Mr. Mayor and his brethren, the Governors of this town of Beverley for the time being.

And shall not be obstinate but always willing to my power and abilities, when I shall be commanded by my said Warden for the time being, to aid and support my said Warden against such person or persons, being in brotherhood in this Occupation, or in brotherhood with any other Occupation in this town, and using this trade or any part thereof, as shall refuse, rebel, disobey, or neglect the ordinances and grants aforesaid, now made or which hereafter shall be made and granted for the causes aforesaid. So help me God and by the contents of this Book.

God save the Queen.

#### BAKERS.

##### Ordinance of Bakers as to loss of burgess-ship.

*f. 13b.* 1364. It was ordered by the Community that if any of the Bakers thenceforth be a delinquent ("delinquat") to this Community or against the usages ("usus") and liberties of Beverley that without remedy he lose his liberty or burgess-ship.

1366. John Maxay, John of Gillyng, John Harold, William of Stafford, Thomas of Kexby, bakers of the town of Beverley, allow for themselves and their whole craft ("artificio") before the Keepers of the town that if any of them thenceforward be found rebel and disobedient or contrary to the majority of the craft in that which is ordered by the community of the craft for the common advantage of the craft, he who is found blameable in the premises, shall, without remedy, pay to the Community of the Town 3s. 4d.

##### Of the hire of mills.

And it was ordered by the whole community that no baker hire a mill for any term, under penalty of 40s. to be paid to the community, as often as he be found blameable.

##### Of buying corn in the market.

1401. It was ordered by the Keepers that no baker enter the Cornmarket before prime ("horam primam") to buy any grain, under penalty of 6s. to be paid, &c.

## Of rebellion against the Alderman.

1413. It is considered by petition of a bill of the Bakers and complaint of William Symonds, Alderman of the Bakers [*and five other bakers named*] and others of the same craft, that, whereas it was ordered that whosoever should be found disobedient or rebellious to the Alderman, searcher and brethren in things concerning the honour of the craft and government of the community should lose 3*s.* 4*d.* to the use of the community and 3*s.* 4*d.* to the use of the castle of the craft; which penalty Richard Ayre, baker, lost and is adjudged to pay, because he is in arrear for 3*s.* 4*d.* out of 6*s.* 8*d.* for his entrance fee; therefore according to the ordinance of the whole craft, he is adjudged to pay the 3*s.* 4*d.* with the penalty aforesaid.

## Payments of Journeymen.

The bakers asked in the petition aforesaid that bakers' servants should contribute to half the costs on Rogation days and Corpus Christi day; but that they should not be charged for the new fabric of their castle or pageant; which petition is postponed until the 12 Keepers have better deliberated on it.

## Bakers' penalty.

1418, 10 Sept. John Bell and eight others [*named*], bakers, present, each separately swore that he will not enter Beverley market to buy wheat there on any Saturday in the future, nor will they buy wheat coming on Saturdays to market, nor will take or house ("hospitabit") wheat on Saturday in their houses; and this on penalty to the community of 6*s.* 8*d.* &c.

## Bakers' ordinance.

1413. Considered on the petition and complaint of William Tynmouthe, Alderman of the Bakers [*and five others named*] and others of the craft—[Enactment of penalty of 3*s.* 4*d.* for being rebellious to the Alderman.]

[It is rather strange after all these ordinances and references to the Craft as a quasi-corporation, and its castle, to find in the year 1428 the following Ordinances of the Bakers, beginning as if the Brotherhood was then first founded.]

f. 68. 1428. (*Latin.*) "Inprimis, it is ordained and decreed, and by the assent and consent of the 12 Keepers confirmed, that there be of the same Bakers one co-Brotherhood to maintain a certain wooden castle to be erected on Rogation Mondays next the castle of the Fullers, when the venerable procession with the shrine of the most holy Confessor of Christ is carried to the Chapel of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and the Alderman and Stewards of the craft aforesaid shall yearly erect the said castle and honourably cover the same, under the penalty specified in the common Register of the town of the erection of castles."



All the brethren to be clothed in one suit, new every second year, at prime for the coming of the procession, and to ride after it in the afternoon.

A meeting to be held on Sunday after Corpus Christi day for election of an Alderman and one steward.

"And it is ordained that the aforesaid Bakers and their successors shall for ever find and maintain yearly on the day of the procession of Corpus Christi two torches of wax burning and to be borne before the most holy Body of Christ, under penalty of 6*s.* 8*d.*"

Then follow the common-form ordinances about disobedience and quarrelling.

"Moreover it is ordered that the brethren aforesaid shall play or cause to be played the pageant of Maundy as often as it shall be ordered to be played by the Governors of the town, under the penalty specified in the common register.

Moreover it is ordained &c. that every craftsman of the same craft who shall occupy with a master, called Journeyman, who takes for his wages in a year 90*s.* shall pay to the maintenance of castle and pageant 3*d.* And every servant called journeyman who takes beyond that sum, 4*d.*

f. 74. Also it is granted that the said Searchers for the future shall faithfully present all loaves for sale of whatever kind found by them within the common inns called Common Ostryes before the Governors without any concealment.

And that the common bakers of the loaves aforesaid dwelling and living in the town aforesaid be brethren in the brotherhood of the craft aforesaid, or contribute 8*s.* 4*d.* to its expenses on Rogation Monday."

Any rebellious to the Searcher in his office to pay 13*s.* 4*d.*

Further it is ordained and granted for ever that any common baker not a brother or contributory may be charged by the Searchers to be such or to contribute to the expenses at the discretion of the 12 Governors.

"It is moreover ordained and perpetually established that the Alderman and Stewards of the craft aforesaid shall render their accounts at the house of the Alderman for the time being on Sunday after Corpus Christi day, and whatever remains of the receipts after deducting the expenses shall immediately be shown. And if not, they shall forfeit to the community and the craft each 3*s.* 4*d.* and nevertheless be bound to satisfy the account."

#### Ordinance between Bakers and Innkeepers ("Hostilarios").

1458, 13 Feb. With consent of the Warden, Stewards, and six others [*named*] and others of the craft of Bakers, and three [*named*] and others, Innkeepers, ordered by the Governors that "the said Innkeepers shall not bake nor cause to be baked in any way any horse-bread, but shall buy it from the common bakers aforesaid and of no one else :'' penalty 3*s.* 4*d.*

"The common bakers shall yearly for ever serve the said Innkeepers with such horse bread good and sufficient, viz. 15 to the dozen, as often as required by the said Innkeepers:" penalty 3s. 4d. "Provided always that if any of the innkeepers aforesaid offer to redeliver to any of the bakers aforesaid any of such horse bread delivered to him and not used, the said baker shall take back the said bread," if the redelivery is made within four days in summer, and six in winter.

f. 77 b. 1467. No baker to bake on Sundays unless a lord come or an honourable man ("probus") of the town die, or for other cause allowed by the Governors. None to take into service anyone born in Scotland, unless he has his parchment ("cartam").

1547, 19 June. (*English.*) "No brother of the said craft nor no inhabitant within the town of Beverley nor no foreigner shall occupy any market with bread to sell but only the Saturday market;" if any do, the bread to be presented to the 12 Governors, and go, half to the King [as Lord of the Manor] and half to the Commonalty.

"Every foreigner that brings bread to Beverley to sell, shall pay yearly to the Alderman of Bakers toward the charges of vesture and 'pageand' of the Occupation 4d."

None to carry bread from house to house to sell which is called "halkyng," but only to the King's market called Saturday market; who that doth the contrary, the Searchers to take his bread and present it in the Common Hall before the 12 Governors [&c. as above].

Any "that doth occupy any man's mark upon his bread but only his own mark, being once monished thereof, shall for every time pay 20d. to the craft, and 20d. to the commonalty."

1572, 4 June. Any foreign baker or foreigner that brings bread to sell in Beverley, to pay 2s. contribution to the Alderman of Bakers, and for that to be able to sell on Wednesday, Friday and Saturday in open market and not elsewhere.

#### New penalty of Bakers.

155 $\frac{1}{2}$ , 4 Feb. Ordered by the 12 Governors, William Sanderson, Robert Thomson, Christopher Farrer and others, with the consent and assent of the greater and wiser part of the Council of the said town, viz., Richard Tailor and twelve others, that no common baker or other bakers called "boule Baker," their wives, servants or apprentices, enter the Cornmarket on any Saturday before 1 p.m. to buy any corn, or any wheat coming into the market on Saturday, beyond two bushels for store of their own houses, after 1 p.m.; nor take or house any wheat on Saturdays on penalty of 6s. 8d., &c.

## GOLDSMITHS.

Order of the Goldsmiths for marking silver under penalty.

1365. p. 5. (*Latin.*) And be it remembered that Symon de Corby, W. of S. &c. on Tuesday before the Feast of St. Martin in winter A.D. 1365, swore before the said Keepers that no silver of worse alloy than is English money ought to be worked. And that they would not allow any vessels or other works worked, or to be worked, by them to pass out of their hands, unless they had been marked with their own accustomed mark under penalty of 40*d.* to be paid to the community for every default. And the said Symon was sworn as overseer to keep the said ordinance.

Order of the Overseers of the Goldsmiths' craft.

G.B. f. 14. 1409. (*Latin.*) Also it was ordered in the Guild Hall of Beverley, 25 Feb. 1409, by William Adleston, &c. the Twelve Keepers [&c.] on the petition and request of Thomas Burton and three others [*named*], goldsmiths, that two overseers ("supervisores") of the said craft called 'serchors' should be assigned, and swear to search and oversee that the gold and silver made in the town of Beverley be pure and assayed ("examinata") and of true alloy ("aloy") without fraud, and to present defaults, and that the marks of each of them be known in the Guild Hall.

And that every goldsmith found in deceitful default by the overseers pay to the community 12*d.* and to the maintenance of St. Dunstan's<sup>o</sup> light 12*d.*; and every master newly setting up shop, as well those now as those in time to come, pay to the maintenance of the said light 20*d.* And every craftsman of the said craft who shall work ("occupaverit") with any master, called "journeyman," shall pay at the beginning of his employment to the maintenance of the said light 10*d.*

And the said Goldsmiths shall yearly maintain a candle in honour of God and S. Dunstan, and a torch in the procession on Corpus Christi day for ever.

"Payntners, Goldsmyths, Masons, and Glasears."

f. 80. 1455, 8 Oct. To be one brotherhood "and have yearly a pageant of Three Kings de Celane, and find before the image of St. Christopher a wax candle of 11*lb.* weight to burn on Sundays and other feasts in the nave."

All typpellers dwelling in the town not married to pay 2*d.*

## SHEARMEN.

Order of the clothing of the Shermen.

f. 11 b. 1396. Also, Tuesday before the feast of St. Mark the Evangelist, A.D. 1396, came Walter Rasket, Robert Sherman, and [*seven others named*] before the Twelve Keepers of the town of Beverley, and prayed that this year they might not be

[\* St. Dunstan was the Patron of the London Goldsmiths also.]

burdened with any clothing at the feast of the Ascension of the Lord, because the time was too short, but they granted, by full assent of the same, before the Twelve Keepers, that henceforward every year every one of them should be clothed anew every year in a like suit of clothing in honour of St. John of Beverley, and if any of them make default in any year he shall pay to the community of the town aforesaid, for every default, 6s. 8d.

#### Order of the clothing of Fullers.

f. 12. The same day John Bole and [*ten others named*] came before the Twelve Keepers and of their free will granted that every one of them be clothed in a like suit of clothing in honour of St. John of Beverley, that is to say every year at the feast of the Ascension, and they prayed the same Keepers that if any of them thenceforward should be found rebellious against his brethren, he should pay to the community of the town of Beverley 3s. 4d. and for the repair of the castle of the Fullers 3s. 4d.

#### COBBLERS.

##### Statute between Tanners and Cobblers.

f. 11 b. 1364. (*Latin.*) Also it was ordered by the whole community that no cobbler should exercise the art of a tanner together with the art of a cobbler, under penalty of a fine of 40s., to be paid to the community as often as he shall be found blameworthy. Also it was ordered by the said community that no tanner should exercise the art of a cobbler together with the art of a tanner under penalty of 40s., to be paid in form aforesaid.

#### CORDWAINERS.

##### Statutes of the Cordwainers or Shoemakers

("Allutariorum constitutiones").

f. 67. 1394-1427. Memorandum of the ancient customs which belong to the craft of Shoemakers of the town of Beverley, anciently used and founded in honour of Blessed John of Beverley, with some new ordinances made for the rule and government of the Gild of the brethren shoemakers aforesaid, now anew recited by the assent of Henry of Walton, Alderman of the Gild, Richard of Walsyngham and Robert of Cotom, stewards, Adam of Ripon and twelve others and their fellows, John of Moreton and [*ten others named*] and others ;

Which customs are now ratified and confirmed by John Trippok, &c., Keepers of the town, A.D. 1394.

And that these statutes and ordinances may keep in force for ever, now ratified and newly confirmed by William Cokerell, &c., Keepers of the community of the town 1427, in the time of John Sutton, alderman, Thomas Abraham and William Sterlyng, stewards.

First, that in every meeting ("congregatione") held for the good of the said Gild all the co-brethren obey the Alderman for the time being in things which pertain to the good of the Gild, under penalty of 1*lb.* wax.

Item, that every year at the first ("principali") meeting six co-brethren be elected by all the co-brethren at their discretion, to assist the Alderman and Stewards for that year to rule the said Gild, and to administer justice ("justificandum"), and punish rebellious co-brethren, if any such there be, according to the statutes and ordinances of the said Gild, under penalty of 1*lb.* wax.

Item, that all the co-brethren be present at the making of the castle and covering it, and be all sitting or standing in the castle at the hour at which the shrine of S. John of Beverley is carried ("bajulatum") to the bridge called the Crossebrig, under penalty of 1*lb.* wax.

Item, that every brother warned by the Alderman's deputy to be in any place assigned by the Alderman for the good of the Gild, if in the town of Beverley and in good health, no way absent himself, nor delay after the hour assigned, under penalty of 1*lb.* wax.

Item, that no co-brother in any meeting fall out upon ("egrediatur") his co-brother with insulting or angry words, but hold his tongue and be silent when ordered by the Alderman: penalty 1*lb.* wax.

Item, that no co-brother summon or cause to be summoned any of his co-brothers before any judges whatsoever for any cause until he have revealed his grievances to the Alderman and those associated with him, who shall renew peace between the parties if they can; and if not, then they shall give evidence to the Keepers of the town against him who shall have refused to conform to equity. Penalty 1*lb.* wax to the profit of the Gild.

Item, that no co-brother give any work to any of his servants to be done out of his master's house, unless to his own hired servant.

Item, that if any one give any work to any one outside his house after being warned once by the brethren of the Gild, that he pay 40*d.* to the use of the Gild.

Item, it is ordered that none of the co-brethren of the Gild aforesaid be clothed anew in any other clothing except of the livery ("secta") of his co-brethren on the day on which they are assembled in their castle against the coming of Blessed John of Beverley, under penalty of 40*d.*, 20*d.* to the light of the Gild and 20*d.* to the community of the town.

At the death of the co-sisters of the Gild, every co-brother of the Gild to be present while *Placebo* and *Dirige* are being celebrated ("sunt in celebratione"), so that they be seen there while the Alderman and stewards are there, under penalty of 4*lb.* wax.

Item, it is ordained that every workman called a *coriour* pay yearly to the repairs of the castle of the Shoemakers and use of their Gild 6*d.*

And it is ordained as well by the Keepers of the town of Beverley as by the co-brethren of the said Shoemakers, that if any of the said *coriours* or the said servants be found rebellious or opposed to this ordinance he shall pay to the community of the town, 6*d.*, and to the repair of the castle, 6*d.*

Item, it is ordained that every co-brother of the craft of Shoemakers newly entered into the co-brotherhood of the same craft shall come to the Alderman of the aforesaid craft, and hold up his hand to the said Alderman that he will obediently do the orders of the Alderman of the Gild abovesaid lawfully and honourably, and pay to the repair of the said castle and the use of the Gild abovesaid 12*d.* and 1*lb.* wax.

Also it is ordered that every master of the craft aforesaid who takes any apprentice to serve him, if he come before Ascension day shall pay on Tuesday before Ascension day 20*d.*

[*The two last articles are crossed out.*]

Also it is ordered that any Alderman of the said Gild for the time being shall choose to himself six co-brethren to appoint lawfully and honourably all the woollen cloth in which the co-brethren of the said Gild who are able shall be clad, and shall deliver that clothing ("indumentum") to every master who shall be able to be clothed, paying for the same according to the true discretion of the Alderman and his fellows. Rebels to pay 12*d.* to the castle, 12*d.* to the Gild.

Also that if any co-brother of the said craft, being in council with his co-brethren to make ordinances for the good of the Gild, unlawfully scandalize that council, he shall pay 3*s.* 4*d.* to the community and 3*s.* 4*d.* to repair of the castle and use of the Gild.

*f.* 67 *b.* Further ordinances 12 Sept. 1488, that the election day of Alderman and Stewards be Tuesday before Ascension day: penalty for absence 1*s.*, rebellion at the election 10*s.*, refusing office if elected of Alderman or of Steward 3*s.* 4*d.* between Gild and community.

12 Feb. 1440. Ordered by the Twelve Keepers that any brother or craftsman of the craft who presumes to work at the door of any church outside the town of Beverley with shoes or other necessities of the craft for sale there on any Sunday except from 1 Aug. to 29 Sept. shall pay 3*s.* 4*d.*

*f.* 5. 1462, Friday after 1 Aug. The Shoemakers thenceforward to have and keep their tables for selling shoes in a lane called Shomarket lane, standing in order on the south side of the said lane on market days and other markets and fairs, and in no other place except in their own shops where they live, as has been heretofore accustomed. And every shoemaker shall stand in his priority as he entered the craft, beginning at John Danby's shop.

1468, 2 March. Every new master to lift up his hand to the Alderman that he will be obedient, and to pay 3*s.*, or if a Grithman 12*d.*

1501. Every new brother to give security to the Alderman to obey the craft regulations.

1502, 15 Nov. Craft to elect two Searchers on same day as Alderman and Stewards.

*f.* 74 *b.* 1530. All the brethren consent to an ordinance that new masters setting up shop pay 3*s.* 4*d.* They are named, and number 17.

*f.* 75 *b.* 1542, 17 May. No brother or contributor of the said occupation shall at any time hereafter go to any church doors within the town or without the town with any ware to sell, except it be a cried Fair and Market : penalty 20*d.* 15 agreed to this ordinance.

#### New ordinance of "Jorneymen" of Shoemakers.

(*English.*) 154 $\frac{1}{2}$ , 4 Feb. Ordained by consent and assent of the Alderman of the Maisters of Shomakers and of all his brethren, and also of the Alderman of the Journeyman and of all his brethren, that all such duties as hath been paid heretofore to the "Gyld of Saint Peter" either by brother, journeyman, or contributor, shall henceforth be paid to the Alderman of the "Syrmen" for the time being to the use and profit of the said occupation and craft. Any one who "repungs against this" to pay 2*s.*

#### WEAVERS.

##### The Weavers' Ordinances.

*f.* 68. 1406. (*English.*) To the honour of God and the honorable feast of the Assumption of the most glorious Virgin Mary, and to the honour of the glorious Confessor St. John of Beverley and all God's Saints, the Masters of the craft of Woollen Weavers of Beverley, desiring to solemnize and exalt the aforesaid feast of the Assumption, with their common consent and the assent of the community of the town of Beverley, have founded a certain light ("lucem") and honour by the name of a Gild for themselves and whosoever others wish to venerate the aforesaid feast.

Also they consented to make and decree ordinances for the good government of the same Gild, and for the maintenance of the honour of the Weavers' castle yearly erected for the praise of God's glorious Confessor of the town which follows 4 November, 1406, to be observed through times to come.

And first, they have ordained that a certain solemn Mass should yearly on the aforesaid feast, in the chapel of the most Blessed Virgin Mary of Beverley, be solemnly celebrated for the brethren and sisters of the same Gild living and dead ; and a light, viz. a

principal candle and four lesser candles of the same Gild, be lighted there at the Mass time. And all and singular brethren and sisters be summoned ("somoniri") by the summoner of the Gild, and be present, and offer at the time of oblation whatever may be of devotion. Those absent to pay 1*lb.* wax.

They ordained also that every brother of the craft who should be absent on the said feast day of the Assumption at the election of the Alderman, Stewards and Summoner or at any prime Gild ("primam gildam") or at any assembly called ("congregationem factam") by the Alderman and Stewards for the good of the Gild, being summoned, shall pay without delay 1*lb.* wax.

They decreed also that every wife of a brother of the Gild if she die in the town shall have the light and decorations of the Gild as her husband should have; but the husband to pay 1*lb.* of wax to the light.

And if any brother or sister of the Gild die in poverty, not having of his own whence to be honourably buried, he shall be buried at the cost and charge of the Gild.

[Order as to abusing the Summoner; or refusing office; and as to quarrels.]

Moreover they ordered that if any of the servants of the same craft called a journeyman (*sic*) is accused of fraud before the Keepers of Beverley or officers of the craft, he shall serve no master of the craft unless he shall be able to prove a lawful excuse before the said Keepers and craft.

[Penalty for abusing Alderman and Stewards.]

If any master of the same craft through anger or envy shall make any one's wife fetch and take away her web out of the house of him who first has it for weaving and has warped it, he shall pay 40*d.*

Every master of the craft newly clothed with the suit of the brethren in honour of the most glorious Confessor St. John shall keep that clothing for two years without selling it ("sine alienatione") using that clothing the first year on principal feasts and when any lord of the magnates of the realm come to town: any one giving or selling it within 2 years outside the craft to pay 20*d.* to the community and 20*d.* to the castle.

Every master of the craft who newly sets up his weaving tools shall pay to the use of the castle 2*s.* and be a brother in the Gild.

[*This is crossed out and 'dampnatur' written in the margin.*]

. . . . .

If a master of the craft owe a servant called journeyman any wages, that servant shall complain thereof to the Alderman, and if he shall not be able to compel the master to give satisfaction by his order, then he shall complain to the Keepers of the town, and if they shall consider the wages due then let there be a distraint by the Common Sergeant for payment.



Ordynauce of Weavers. [*In English.*]

f. 84. 1496. For thys matter it is ordande and statute 1496 by John Rowmthwayte &c. (11 of the 12 Governors &c.) by assent and consent of Christopher Attkynson, Alderman of the Weavers . . . and all the maisters and bredyr of the same craft, except William Cowper and John Bylton, that the Alderman of the Gylde of the Apostyls Petyr and Paule sall be chosyn from hensfurth of one of thise 8 maysters following, that is to say Robert Dakres, Roger Moyses, Richard Attky[n]son, John Oversall, William Kynge, Harri Watts, Christopher Attkynson, and John Lyghtfote during their dayes. And when one of thame be discharged or dysseste anothyr to be takyn by the consent of the hole crafte so att (*sic*) the Alderman of the day of the eleccyon shall sett two of those forsayde eight maysters of the eleccyon after the customs of the sayd towne; And so one of those two to be chosyn to be Alderman by the journeymen bredyr of the forsayde gylde.

[Penalty for refusing, 6s. 8d.]

That thai shall sett four of the bredyr of the forsayde gylde of the eleccyon for stewards, of whome two shall be chosyn for stewards by the forsayd maysters and bredyr of the forsayde craft.

[20d. for refusing.]

All those journeymen that now is in the town, and also all those that are for to come unto the town, shall be searched by the Alderman and his searchers ("seyrours") if they be able to work as a journeyman except he have been prentice in the town. And all those that are able to work as a journeyman shall pay to the Alderman and his searchers for his search 4d., and all those that are not able, they shall either be bound ("fest") prentice for a time, or else be hired to work for such wages as they think of their conscience that they be worthy for to have to time by that they be able to work as a journeyman. Also all those journeymen that are in St. Peter's Gild and in clothing that they shall be set of work before any other that are not in clothing, if so be they will work as good cheap as another man will.

1500. [Instead of the provision of 1496 for the election of Alderman, which is crossed through, it was ordained—]

That the Alderman of the foresaid Gild at the day of his election shall make his election of two worshipful men of the said masters at his pleasure, of the which two the journeymen shall choose one to be Alderman of the said Gild for the year following.

## SMITHS.

## Smiths' Ordinances.

1400. (Newly confirmed, 1490.) Election day, morrow of St. John Baptist.

Two meetings yearly called "Prym Gildes" on Sunday in Passion Week and Sunday before the Exaltation of the Holy Cross. The castle to be between that of the Carpenters and Tailors.

If any smith work or use bad iron or steel in any work of the craft to the deceit of the people of the King, or by which any one can incur loss or prejudice, all that work so found blameable by the overseers shall be forfeited to the use of the craft, and the smith shall pay 3s. 4d.

No brother of the craft may hire any servant of a co-brother before he have first had an honest talk with the said servant's master, and looked into the matter whether the same master and servant are at one or not, and whether the same servant may lawfully serve another master or not, and if there have been any quarrel between them the said master and servant shall abide by the right order of the said Alderman and Stewards, under penalty of 6s. 8d.

Any smith working on an iron stethy (*sic*), except goldsmiths, shall obey the Alderman and Stewards of the said Gild in all lawful and honest commands.

Sunday after 24 June is to be the General Account Day.

f. 63. 1465. Every master of the craft who newly works ("occupat") or shall work in the same craft and is not a burgess shall pay to the use of the expenses of the craft 20d. until he be a burgess; and if on the presentment of the Alderman it appear to the Twelve Keepers that the master is [able to be] a burgess and will not, then he shall pay to the community and the craft 3s. 4d. to be equally divided.

Every master who is a burgess and sets up a forge shall pay the first year to the repair of the castle 3s. and to the maintenance of the light 1*lb.* wax.

Every master of the craft who sells anything belonging to the craft of smiths of Beverley in the country at the doors of any church or elsewhere on any Sunday, except at public fairs and in the autumn season, shall pay &c. 2s.

Every contributor of the said craft shall pay his Alderman yearly when the Corpus Christi play is played 4d. to the maintenance of the pageant, and every journeyman 2d.

*This article has 'vacat' in an Elizabethan hand written against it.*

#### COOPERS.

O.R. f. 41. [Before 1413.] To the reverend discretion of Thomas C., Thomas Ma. and their fellows, the Twelve Keepers, &c., humbly petition John S. and William J., "serchours" of the craft of Coopers, for themselves and all coopers burgesses of the town aforesaid and others dwelling therein, that whereas they are by

no means able, being only six of them burgesses, to support the charges of their castle and other charges of the town, they may be relieved by the help and counsel of the Governors in form underwritten.

First, whereas those who are yearly elected from them [to be] two Searchers, burgesses, are not able to do their office because of an ordinance made in the Guild Hall, therefore they ask that those who are not burgesses and are honest and able persons, their estate considered, viz. Ralph S. and Thomas T., may be induced to become burgesses, and likewise John S. comfrer with them.

They ask also, whereas they, as is aforesaid, are heavily charged in the town aforesaid, and many coopers dwelling in the country come into the town, and there yearly almost continuously work and take profits and gains in the said town, but are not charged at all with the burdens of the town, that the said Searchers may yearly levy 3s. 4d. from every stranger working in the town with your leave, viz. of everyone working for a quarter 10d., for half a year 20d., and so on according to the time of their occupancy.

[The Coopers, with whom were coupled the Bowers and Fletchers, Joiners, Pateners (wooden clog makers), and Turners, seem to have been less intent on common celebration than on functional regulation of the trade and putting down bad work. The Coopers' earliest recorded regulations are dated 1409, as follows.]

(f. 61.) 1409, 23 July. The first rule provides for the election of two Searchers to "search and oversee and rule all of the art in Beverley." Penalty for bad work 20s.

Whoever of them shall have improperly and deceitfully made a "cimam," *Anglice* saw ("sau"), shall pay 12d., whether it be a defect of craftsmanship or of the materials. In deceitful fashioning of a wheel 12d., a chair 12d., a bucket ("bokett") 4d., and of a great . . . or other vessel the defect shall be assessed by the Searchers. And none shall make buckets or saws with 'royne,' on the penalty aforesaid.

141 $\frac{1}{2}$ , 3 March. Every master of the craft of coupers who shall newly occupy shall pay on his entrance to the use of the craft and costs of Corpus Christi play 2s., and every master who takes an apprentice shall pay in the first year 6d.

1416, 24 March. Granted, that in everything pertaining to the castle of Bowers and Flechers, viz., in performing the offices of Alderman and Stewards and the like, and in the expenses, the said Coupers shall be with them equal co-brethren and partners, and therefore shall be free from contributing as they used to do to the Carpenters.

And all Joynors and Turnors living in Beverley shall be with the Coupers in all costs and ordinances and their craft and pageant.

And in like manner with the Coupers' consent John Redburn, couper, is released from their brotherhood and shall be charged with the Carpenters.

1418, 22 April. All Pateners shall be equal brethren and partners with Bowers and Flechers and Coupers in castle and clothing and all their ordinances registered which relate to their castle; and to this consented William Derykson, patener and brewer ("bere brewer"), Hugh Cayser, patener, and Walter Palmer, patener.

1422, 8 July. Every one of the craft of Coupers who finds ashes and "stowres" for "garthes" belonging to his craft at the Beck, although they are bought, is to be partner with the buyer, although he was not present at the purchase, paying for his share according to quantity as the first purchaser paid or agreed to pay.

*f.* 63. 146 $\frac{2}{3}$ , 1 January. Ordinance as to setting in casks, etc.

#### BOWYERS AND FLETCHERS.

*f.* 57 *b.* 1413 is the date of the Bowers and Fletchers ordinances, registered 28 March, 1428.

The said Bowers and Flechers shall be charged yearly for ever to find a wax light in the choir of the chapel of B.M.V., to burn before Christ's Sepulchre [the Easter Sepulchre] from the day of the Passion to Easter, and thence throughout the whole year on Sunday and Principal Feasts on the candlestick appointed. Every master newly occupying the craft to pay 1 *lb.* wax to the light.

Election of an Alderman and one Steward Sunday after Corpus Christi Day.

The crafts aforesaid shall play, or cause to be played, a certain pageant on Corpus Christi Day of "Abraham and Isaac," when the community on St. Mark's Day consent that the pageants generally shall be played.

Two "Prime gildes" a year, Sunday after Easter and Sunday in the Octave of Christmas. "Those who in any way use the making of new bows, clubs ("baculorum") or arrows and the like which properly belong to the aforesaid crafts" to be compelled to contribute.

Usual provisions as to rebels, the refusing office, &c.

1416. The Flechers to have among them a wooden castle on Rogation Mondays to be erected and placed at "Bull-ryng" opposite the castle of the Butchers; and to offer and ride next after the brotherhood of Shearmen, with whom they were formerly associated.

Another edition of the ordinances of Bowers and Fletchers appears at *f.* 77 under date 1411, but there is something queer about this date, as the craft purports to include "Bowers, Fletchers, Cowpers, Patenners, Botchers, Bolge-makers, Turners, Carvours, and Joynners," whereas from the

ordinances above given the Coopers would not appear to have combined with them before 1416, and the ordinances are said to have been renewed ("innovata") in 1473.

These ordinances provide for two Stewards instead of one; and for the play of "Fleyng into Egip" as well as for "Habraham and Isaak," and that at the castle on Rogation Monday every brother should appear with a "fit bed-covering" ("cum coopertura lecti habili"). It is also provided that "String-makers et staf-makers" are to pay 2*d.* a year.

In a later hand it is said that "Boll-sellars and Dysch-sellers" (dishes were then wooden trenchers), "lepyys and scuttyll-sellers" contribute 5*d.*, and still later, in English but without date, that "All wrights by their craft that can carve or join and occupieth making cupbords, tables, or any other thing not parcel of a house to be contributors with Bowers and Fletchers."

f. 82. 1514, 16 Sept. Bowers, Fletchers and Coupers and Carpenters. (English.) Award of the Twelve Governors. The Carpenters to withdraw their suit in London; the Bowers &c. their suit in Beverley.

Every carpenter being brother with the Carpenters shall be free to occupy carving, "enbowinge, rabitting, jonynge, and seelinge" without any contribution to the Bowers.

Every such one that occupieth making of "cophurds, cownters, chists, awmbres, or pressur" shall yearly pay to the Alderman of Bowers for his contribution 8*d.*; if no brother 20*d.*

#### SADDLERS.

f. 65. 1409. Their ordinances begin with a rather remarkable preface.—In honour of the highest and undivided Trinity, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. Amen. Thursday after 24 June, 1425, 4<sup>o</sup> Henry VI; for the common good of the people lieges of the King of England in all things which concern the craft of Saddlers ("Sellariorum") in the town and liberty of Beverley, by the common consent of all the masters of the said craft, the underwritten ordinances were ordained A.D. 1409, lest the common people by crafty subtlety or evil ingenuity of those exercising the craft should be any way defrauded; to which ordinances 8 "Sadillers" (two of them with the surname of Saddler and one of Fustor) consented, and which afterwards Robert Stokton and others the Twelve Keepers granted to be registered the day and year above written (*i.e.* 1425).

In the first place, it was ordained and decreed, and with the assent of the Keepers of the town confirmed, that every master of the Saddlers of Beverley who shall hereafter buy trees made for saddles, in English called *sadiltrees*, of fustors or any one else shall diligently examine them that they be good and well strengthened with nails and glue ("glew"), as they ought to be, so that they may be of proper service to the purchasers and their horses without fraud, under the penalty below contained.

When the said saddle-trees are bought and in the saddlers' hands, the saddlers shall well and sufficiently strengthen them with leather thongs ("nevirs"), so that no defects may be found in them by the inspectors of the craft called *Sercheours*.

And all masters of the same craft shall well and sufficiently cover their saddles for sale; viz., housed with hides called *Salisbury-lethyr*, *calf-lethyr*, *swyn-lether*, *brynt-lethir*, or other leather fitting and sufficient, but not with unfitting and insufficient leather, and this without fraud or any deceit of the people. No master of the said craft shall work any tanned leather in reins. [This was the Loriners' business.]

All pommels ("ponelli") of saddles for sale made by them shall be sufficiently doubled, of calf or sheepskin. None of them shall work tanned leather in pommels and in *stirap-lethirs*, unless the leather has been well and sufficiently tanned, by the overseer *Sercheours* (*sic*).

Penalty for defaults in the above 3s. 4d. to the community of the town and 3s. 4d. to the costs of the pageant of the craft.

No master shall work horse-leather in any part of the craft aforesaid, except in making *sewing-thwanges*.

1441, 18 December. There shall be of the aforesaid Saddlers a brotherhood yearly as of the other crafts, and they shall maintain a wax light before the image of St. Michael the Archangel in the church or chapel of B. M. V. of Beverley, on the N. side of the High Altar. Election day, Tuesday after Ascension Day. One Searcher only.

And the said Saddlers shall play or cause to be played yearly on Corpus Christi Day the pageant of the Creation of the World, as often as by the 12 Keepers or Governors of the town plays shall be ordered ("adjudicabuntur"), under the penalty in the Common Register of the town specified. Every maker of saddle-trees called "Feustor" to be a brother: also every workman or craftsman called "cod maker" to pay 12d. for light, pageant and other charges of the craft.

In the year of John Pierson, John Lorymer, John Siglesthorne, etc., Governors, ordered that every master newly setting up shop shall swear fidelity to the Alderman, and pay 2s. and 1lb. wax; if he afterwards become able to be a burgess and do not, to pay 4s. a year equally between commonalty and craft. Every one taking an apprentice to pay 20d. to the craft.

A journeyman retained for a month to pay 12d.; for a year, to pay 6d. a year.

1493. Every maker of "lade sadyll panels" to pay to maintenance of play and light 8d. a year.

#### TANNERS.

f. 42. b. 20 Oct., 1416; written in 1539. Ordinances and constitutions of the Tanners' crafte in Beverley as well of olde tyme used and ordeyned as of newe tyme, and founded as well by the

consent and supplication of the Tanners underwrytten as also by the grante and licence of the xij Governors of the towne and comminaltie of Beverley the xx<sup>ti</sup> daye of Octobre in the yere of our Lord God m<sup>l</sup>ccccxvj.

Fyrst, that ther be a fraternite and brotherhood of the maisters of the Tanners aforesayde in the honor of the blyssed Trinite and of the Feaste of Corporis Christi and of the blysse[d] and holy confessor Saynt John of Beverley and of all saynts in heven.

And that the foresayd Tanners shall susteyn and uphold for ever on *Searge* (i.e. taper) of waxe in the chapell of our Lady Saynt Mary in Beverley afore the high alter, in the north side of the qwer there, to be brynned upon Sondayes and other festyvall dayes; and two torches of wax yerly and for ever to be born in procession in the Feast of Corporis Christi, and at the obyt of every brother, and ther to be brynned as well at *Placebo* and *Dirige* as at *Masse*.

Item, yt ys ordeyned and statuted that the brether of the sayd crafte of Tanners shall have yerly two congregacions called Prymer Gylds, the one of them to be of Tewesday in the Rogacion week to elect Alderman and two Stewards, the other on Sunday after Innocents' day.

Item, it ys ordeyned and statuted yerly for evermore to be kepte, That the presayd crafte of Tanners shall raise upe on castle of tree upon Monday in the Rogacion weeke, in the honor of Gode and the glorious confessor Saynt John; and the sayd brether of Tanners to sytt in the same castell at the hour of prime and the tyme of processyon in clothynge all of one suyt, as nygh as yt maye be hade and gotten.

And also the brether shall ryd at afternoyn in the sayme suyt, as other crafts doo, after ther old auntyent and laudable custom. And what brother as ys absent and comys not to sytt in the castell, nor rydds not at afternoyn, as ys aforesayd, he shall forfeit and paye to the comminaltie of the towne of Beverley *xxd.* and to the charges and expenses of the sayd occupaycon of Tanners other *xxd.* for ether default.

And whosoever refusyth to be cled in the same suyte, and is found able by the Alderman, stewerds and iiij of his brether in suche tyme and space as they doo agree to be cled in, shall forfeit and paye for the said defaulte to the comminaltie *xxd.* and to the expenses of the sayd crafte other *xxd.*

f. 43. 1478, 21 April. Ordinances as to payments by non-burgesses not apprenticed.

1494, 6 March. What journeyman that shall werke within the towne of Beverley without any maister of the said craft by the space of xiiij dayes, be he ether brother or contributor, shall paye yerely to the Alderman for the tyme beyng to the expenses of the said crafte when the Playe of Corpus Christi ys played in the said towne of Beverley viij*d.*, and yerly when that play is note played, v*d.*

*f.* 48 *b.* 1539, 2 Sept. Fine of 1*lb.* of wax for not attending Prymer Gild.

1544, 15 Jan. Alderman may summon Prymer Gild when necessary.

1° Edw. VI., 7 June. Ask to be registered "as well in the lyer [leiger] in the comon place as in ther booke of ordynaunces."

Penalty for refusing office of Alderman.

1554, 22 Jan. Regulation as to buying of hides.

#### CUTLERS, BRAZIERS, &c.

*f.* 78. 1475, 20 Feb. In honour of God the Father Almighty, and the most glorious Virgin Mary, and to the honour of the glorious confessor St. John of Beverley, and All Saints, Robert Rider, "braciar," Alderman, and William Cardmaker and Robert Lovell, stewards of a certain pageant of the Crucifixion of Christ accustomed to be played on Corpus Christi Day, because divers men of divers crafts who ought to contribute to the playing and maintenance of the said pageant have refused, and refuse, to do so; Therefore they made the ordinances and constitutions underwritten, with the consent and assent of John Wells, &c., the Twelve Governors, 20 Feb., 1475.

First, that of all Cutlers, Furberors, Plumbers, Braziers, Cardmakers, and Pewterers [*written in a different hand* "and Pynners"] in the liberty of Beverley there should be one Brotherhood, and that they and each of them should support the charge of the said pageant, and should perform and cause the same to be played for ever.

To have an Alderman and two Stewards, &c. Every "card-cobler, cuttiller vocatus *an hawker*, plomars, furbiorers, and pewtrers qui vendunt aliqua bona infra villam per hawkyng" to contribute 6*d.* to the pageant.

A candle before St. Andrew's Image in St. Mary's: and a torch in the Corpus Christi Procession.

Every "horner et tynkler et wiredrawar" to contribute to maintenance of the light 12*d.* a year.

#### PORTERS AND CRELERS.

*f.* 19. 1452, 24 Aug. All Porters and Crelers of Beverley who commonly use that craft in the town, and their successors for the time being, to take for the carriage of every 100 faggots for sale:—

From the Beck to the Minster ("Monasterium") and Estgate 2*d.* and to Keldgate Bar 3*d.*

From the Beck to Crossebrig 3*d.*, and thence to North Bar and [North Bar without] 4*d.*

For carriage of every chaldron of sea coals:—

From the Beck to Minster and Crossbridge 3*d.* and thence to North Bar and without 5*d.*



For carriage of every 1,000 blocks of peat ("terricidiarum") :—

From the Beck to Minster 1*d.*, thence to Keldgate Bar and Crossbridge 1½*d.* and beyond to North Bar and without 2*d.*

For carriage of a fother of 'cartorf' :—

From the Beck to Minster and Keldgate Bar and Crossbridge 1½*d.* and North Bar and without 2*d.*

For carriage of 1,000 thatch tiles and wall-tiles (bricks) :—

From Beck to Minster 3*d.* and thence to Keldgate Bar and Crossebridge 6*d.* and beyond to North Bar and without 8*d.*

For carriage of every 100 of astilwode :—

From Beck to Minster 1*d.* and beyond to Keldgate Bar and Crossbridge 1½*d.* and thence to North Bar and without 2*d.*

Eighty names, of men of various trades, are given as assenting to this order.

1476, 1 April. Porters and Crelers not to carry any astilwode or fagotts for sale from the Beck to the town with their carts but only on sledds, and not to have more sledds for one hand to fill than one: and not to carry any astilwoode or fagots with sledds to the "hye brig" in gross, and afterwards into the town in their carts: and not to place them in caches ("catcheys") until the bellman comes from North Bar to High Bridge.

1494. To have a solemn Mass at the Friars Preachers on Sunday after the Assumption and to give a shilling for the same to the Friars.

#### COOKS.

f. 79. 1485. Their Play the "Redemption of Adam and Eve, called le Coke Pageant."

"Those who sell certain things belonging to the Cooks craft as the Pye-bakers, Pasty-bakers, Flaune-bakers, and Chese cake makers to pay yearly 6*d.*, and Otemele makers 4*d.*, and the Dyners makers 2*s.*"

#### MILLERS.

1491, 20 May. Pageant of the Resurrection of Lazarus.

A wax candle of 1*lb.* before the image of the Lord lying in the sepulchre in St. Nicholas' Church.

Every hired man called journeyman who occupies the said craft shall render his account, viz. in water-mill, wind-mill, or horse-mill. Every miller who for 14 days works in "billyng or layng" to pay 4*d.*

#### DRAPERS.

One more specimen is given of these ordinances, which is undoubtedly the creation by the 12 Keepers of a new Craft Guild, viz. that of the Drapers, who had hitherto formed part of the first and chief Guild, the Mercers.

It clearly shows that the distinguishing marks of a separate Craft or Guild was the having a separate light in a church, a separate castle at the Rogation Procession, and a separate scene or pageant at the Corpus Christi Play.

Ordinatio Pannariorum.

f. 25. b. 1493. "In the Fest of Saynt Marc the Evaungelist in the yere of our Lorde God m<sup>o</sup>cccc<sup>o</sup>lxxxiiij<sup>o</sup>, Itt is agreyd by all the commynaltie of the Towne of Beverley

That the Drapers shall have a confraternite emong thame self, and a Castell as other crafts hafe, And att (*sic*) thai shall be ordande and statute by the xij Governors that day chosyn and elect, that is for to say by Adam Newcombe, John Rowmthwayte, John Cokk, Thomas Jakson, William Blakden, Hugh Leversall, John Nuttall, Henry Sawnderson, John Kyrkby, and Robert Elys, and ther felawse.

And thus it is ordaned and statut, And by the assent and consent of all the Aldermen of thys towne fully concludyd and here registerd, that in worship of God and of our Lady and Saynt John of Beverley yerly on Cross Monday the sayde drapers shall have a castell honestly coverd as other crafts hafe, sette by twyx the castell of the merchaunts and the castell of wryghts, And that day after the processyon thai shall go nextt after the merchaunts, and so att the afternone shall ryde.

And what Alderman of the towne of Beverley that be found rebell agayns this ordynaunce shall forfeit to the Gylde Hall xs. And what Burges of Beverley so ever he be that is fownd rebell or contrary agayns this ordynaunce shall forfeit to ye Gylde Hall vjs. viijd."

The full ordinances in Latin of the same date are given on f. 81.

Their wax candle is to be at St. Mary's before the image of St. Michael Archangel.

The Play, "Demyng Pylate," *i.e.* the Judgment of Pilate.

"These great costs and charges are now newly charged on the said Drapers, where before they had no such charges: and therefore it is considered by the said Twelve Governors and the said Alderman and by them granted, that the said Drapers who now are and shall be in the future may make gaiters ("caligas") and keep apprentices and servants sewing in their shops, without any hindrance, or payment of any contribution to the craft of the Tailors ("cissorum"), as was anciently registered in the Guild Hall."

Their election day is to be Tuesday in Rogation week and they are to have two "Pryme Gilds," viz., S. John the Evangelist's day at Christmas and Second Sunday after Easter.

Every one, burgess or not, newly occupying the buying and selling of cloth by retail in his open shop, to pay for the "upsett"

Every one selling cloth in a shop by retail to the value of 4 marks in the year, not in the Drapers' livery, to contribute 2*s.* 4*d.* a year.

Every one keeping open shop for retail, and not a burgess and brother, and able to be so but not willing to become such, to pay 3*s.* 4*d.* a year to the town, and 3*s.* 4*d.* to the craft.

To elect two searchers to scrutinize "le yerd-wands" and other defects or injuries to the craft of Drapers.

1494, 5 Dec. Order between Drapers and Tailors. A certain great altercation and matter of discord is referred to the award of the Twelve Governors.

Every tailor buying and selling cloth by retail beyond 4 marks a year to pay 2*s.* 4*d.* to the Drapers, but their apprentices and servants to be free to occupy the craft of drapers under their masters without further payment.

The Drapers to be at liberty to make gaiters ("caligas"), women's boots and "le soles" without contributing to the Tailors, but if they make any other clothes to pay 2*s.* a year: their apprentices and servants to be able to fit and sew without any payments.

#### TOWN MINUTE BOOK.

*f.* 1. The first leaf is nearly all torn away. It begins "In festo S. Marci Evangelistæ A.D. 1436. Th. Rogerus," and records the election of the Twelve Keepers or Governors of the community of the town: the Common Clerk, John Thorn; Common Sergeant ("sergiens"), William Sylbur; and four "collectores Pariagii" for a year. The back of it contains a mutilated entry as to the election of two Waits ("spiculatoribus") for a year at 40*s.* and the delivery to them of two silver shields, with sureties for their safe custody and re-delivery.

*f.* 2, and apparently several more pages, cut away.

*f.* 3. "Nominantur pro sagittariis. Extra barras boriales. Ista billa liberatur David Chambir et sociis suis."

Then follows a list of 33 names, headed by David Chambir, and opposite the last two in the margin is written "Willelmus Warner, sagittarius." Below that, "(r)ecepta summa 20*s.*"; in the margin a cross with "sol(uta)." Below the receipt is "Will. Warner sagittar'." Warner's name does not appear among the 33 names. It would appear that the list is that of those who were to contribute to Warner's wages, and he receipts it at the foot.

"Infra Barras Boriales. Ista billa liberatur Willelmo Lincoln et sociis suis." Then follows a list of 40 names, which do not include William Lincoln. Opposite the names are placed various sums varying from 12*d.* to 2*d.*, including 4*d.* against the name of William Warner. The sum is 20*s.* and that is entered as paid to John Ostiller, sagittarius, whose name appears in the list, first

as John Hostiller, crossed out, and then as John Ostiller, contributing 8*d*. His name appears again at the end as Joh. Ostiller, sagittarius: with a cross and "sol[uta]" in the margin.

Similar lists follow under the headings of the names of other streets or wards; each paying 20*s*. and some showing the particulars, some not. The numbers are as follows:—

North Bar without	-	-	-	-	-	33
North Bar within	-	-	-	-	-	40
Walkergate	-	-	-	-	-	36
Cornmarket	-	-	-	-	-	35
Highgate ("Alta Via")	-	-	-	-	-	50
Lathgate	-	-	-	-	-	41
Fischmarkett	-	-	-	-	-	44
Keldegat Archiepiscopi	-	-	-	-	-	31
Feodum Præposituræ in Keldegat	-	-	-	-	-	23
Feodum Præposituræ in Norwode	-	-	-	-	-	18
Flemmynggate	-	-	-	-	-	73
Barlyholm	-	-	-	-	-	41
Feodum Præposituræ at Beck (Torrentem)	-	-	-	-	-	38
Cum feodo Capituli (at Beck)	-	-	-	-	-	22

625

Those bracketed together contribute together for a single archer.

(The main numbering of the book begins here.)

*f.* 1. x die Jul a° xiiij<sup>mo</sup> Henrici Sexti. Transgressio purdonatur.

Will. Gelle, fischer, foris stallavit ij salmone de ij extraneis incognitis die Sabbati per tres ebdomadas elapsas ultimo præterito ante dictum diem, in præjudicium communis et in deceptionem communis populi. Qui venit et submisit se in gratiam viij custodum quinto die Octobris, et habet diem Veneris proximum in xiiij dies ad concordandum cum dictis custodibus pro dicta transgressione et iiij aliis transgressionibus super ipsum ut infra, præsentatis: pro quibus transgressionibus exposuit iij*s*. iiij*d*.: et condonatur gracie quia pauper, et quia in futurum in consimilibus transgressionibus versus communitatem non transgrediatur.

Johannes Fery, corvesour, fecit fidei securitatem Johanni Sleforth et sociis suis custodibus anni instantis xvj die Julii fideliter solvendi Johanni Cossy ad festa Assumptionis Beatæ Marie Virginis et Michaelis, aequaliter, xs. vid. Soluti xs. vjd.

Idem Johannes Fery fecit fidei securitatem prædictis custodibus dicto die fideliter solvendi Thomæ White, draper, in festo Natalis Domini proximo futuro post dictum diem, iij*s*. iiij*d*. Soluti iij*s*. iiij*d*.

Judicium inter Thomam White et Johannem Smyth, lymbrenner (*lime-burner*):—

Thomas Skipwith, Johannes Sleforth, Johannes Couton, Willelmus Kirkeby, Ricardus Cokyrham, Willelmus Northopp, Johannes Bavwme, et Johannes Cokke, ordinaverunt et simul

1

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*f. 3.* "Sagittarii assignati ad homines armatos." The twelve archers whose names were given in the former list are assigned by couples to each of the six armed men.

"Solutiones constabulariarum ad sagittarios assignatos." The names of the 12 archers, and the 12 constabularies to which they are respectively assigned, are given. It is added, "Sciendum quod quilibet prædictorum sagittariorum recipit pro se de qualibet constabularia superius specificata, ut patet per billas inferius scriptas, *xs.*" The 'billæ' are those before given. It would seem that the pages have been bound up out of order.

*f. 3. b.* "Liberatio armaturæ communitatis.

Roger Rolleston habet ij paria vambrace, j par rerbrace et j par poleyns. Thomas Fleteham habet j loricam communitatis, Will. Petons habet de xij Gubernatoribus extra Aulam j basenet, j brestplate, j par vawmbrace, j par rerbrace et j par serotecarum. Edward Lamb habet, j basenet, j par serotecarum, j brestplate, et j par poleyns. Robert Rasyn habet j brestplate, j par rerbrace, et j par serotecarum, pertinentes communitati, et j polax. Johannes Colton habet j par serotecarum, j par vawmbrace, et j par rerbrace, j par poleyns, j basenet, et j brestplate. Willelmus Kelk habet j basnet, j brestplate, j par serotecarum, j par vawmbrace, et j par rerbrace."

All the entries are scratched through, and "quia reliberantur" written in the margin, except that of Roger Rolleston. Kelk's name is not in the list of armed men or of archers: Thomas Fleteham is one of Petons' archers; the rest are the "armed men."

"Liberatio equorum appreciatorum.

j equus Willelmi Walleys, pretii xvjs., liberatus Thomæ Fleteham, sagittario, sine sella.

j equus Elizabeth Bolys, pretii xijs., liberatus Willelmo Warner, sagittario, sine sella.

j equus Johannis Sixhill, pretii xxs., liberatus Johanni Brereton, sagittario, sine sella.

j equus Randolphi Scotyr, pretii xviiiis., liberatus Rogero Rose, famulo Rogeri Rolleston, sine sella.

j equus Roberti Poumfret, sine sella, pretii xjs., liberatus Thomæ Lumbard.

j equus Ricardi Vyolf, cum sella et freno, pretii xxs., liberatus Johanni Colton.

j equus Roberti Kokke, pretii xxs., liberatus Briano Holm et Edmundo Lund pro cariagio suo.

Sursum redditio officii Pastoris de Westwode.

Nicholaus Bird venit hic coram Rogero Rolleston, Thoma Skipwith, Thoma White et sociis suis, septem custodibus villæ Beverlaci, xvj<sup>o</sup> die Augusti, et sursum reddit officium suum pastoris de Westwode, quia convenit cum Willelmo Petons, Armato, ad

equitandum cum eodem Willelmo versus Scotiam. Qui quidem Nicholaus xxj<sup>o</sup> die Augusti disoneratus est de officio prædicto, per assensum viij de Custodibus prædicto die simul in gilda aula existentibus, Rogero Rolleston, Johanne Colton, Ricardo Cokerham, et Johanne Cokke, tunc absentibus."

Various fines for trespass of cattle in the Common Averys.

f. 4 b. "Radulfus Ward habuit j equum in Comon Averys in crofto vocato Bisschopscroft contra ordinationem, et sciendum quod dictus equus fuit in dicto crofto per spatium xi dierum ad minus. Ideo consideratum quod dicta poena (*sic*) ceperunt.

Die Martis, xj<sup>o</sup> die Septembris anno xv<sup>mo</sup> regni Regis Henrici Sexti, Thomas Lumbard de Beverlaco venit coram Rogero Rolleston etc. (xij custodibus) et recognovit se debere 10l.," and gave security for payment.

Poena versus carnifices. (12 butchers.)

"Thomas Penreth, Thomas Eddilston, Nicholaus Masseharn, Walter Boyton, Thomas Lawe, Johannes Person, Ricardus Vyoll, Radulphus Abraham, Johannes Danby, Peter Spaldyng, Thomas Fleteham, Robertus Newebald, jurati sunt quod si aliquis eorum in futuro ponat scarne (*sic*), sanguinem, seu aliquid aliud corruptum in publicis stratis, seu Walkerbek, seu in communibus seweris villæ Beverlaci, seu in aliis locis publicis, præterquam per xij Custodes assignati fuerunt, quod extunc quilibet eorum sic delinquens solvat ad usum communitatis xls. sine pardonatione aliquali."

Award.

f. 5 b. "Johannes Hornse, Robert Thonham, pro se et xvj aliis, nominatis in j cedula, submiserunt se awardo et judicio Roberti Hoppell et Willelmi Rayner, yoman, pro parte dictorum querentium electorum; et Henricus Abbott, defendens, hic præsens, submisit se awardo et judicio Johannis Nower et Nicholai Masseham arbitrorum electorum pro parte defendentis, ita quod prædicti arbitri finalem finem facient inter partes prædictas die dominica proxima post datum præsentium de omnibus actionibus inter partes pendentibus.

Dat xxviii<sup>o</sup> die mensis Septembris anno xv<sup>o</sup> regni Regis Henrici Sexti.

Ad curiam Domini Archiepiscopi [*blank in MS.*] die Septembris anno xv<sup>mo</sup> regni Regis Henrici Sexti.

Ponderacio Panis.

Johannes Cokke, baxter, habuit j panem album  
deficientem in pondere - - - - - ijs. vjd.

Idem Johannes habuit j alium panem album  
quadrantis deficientem in pondere - - - ijs.

Fin. iiijd. [This applies to each of the two above mentioned.]

Will Brown, baxter habuit [etc. as above] - ijs. vjd.  
 Idem Willelmus habuit j. alium panem [etc.] ijs.  
 Idem Willelmus habuit j panem integrum [etc.] iijs.  
 (ditto) (ditto) - iijs.  
 Roger Kedall habuit j panem album [etc.] - iijs.,  
 (5 times) ijs., iijs., ijs., iijs., iiijd.  
 Idem Rogerus habuit j panem integrum quad-  
 rantis deficientem in pondere - iijs.  
 (ditto) (ditto) - iijs.  
 Idem Rogerus habuit j symnell [etc.] - iijs. viijd.  
 Fin. viijd. [This applies to each of the bakers mentioned,]  
 Ricardus Malery habuit j panem album [etc.] iijs.  
 Idem Ricardus etc. (4 times) ijs., xvijd., ijs. xxd.  
 Fin. iiijd.  
 Ricardus Goos habet [sic] [etc.] - xxd.  
 Willelmus Burdon habuit panem nigrum [etc.] ijs.,  
 (4 times) ijs., iijs., iijs. iiijd.

Et sciendum quod panes supradicti ponderati fuerunt ad  
 quarterium frumenti ad iijs. vjd.

Et super hoc præceptum est dictis pistoribus ad pistorandum  
 secundum pretium quarterii frumenti ad summam prædictam.

f. 6. xx die Octobris anno xv<sup>o</sup> regni Regis Henrici VI.

Trans[gressio] pardonatur. Nota.

Johannes Ostiller emebat j sem piscium maretimorum,  
 videlicet codlyng et kelyng, de Thoma Baxter de Paule in  
 præjudicium et forestallationem (etc.) in grave dampnum  
 totius communitatis etc.

Qui venit et disoneratus fuit per juratum suum etc.

#### Walkers.

Johannes White	} Walkers, jurati sunt supervisores et scrutatores artis prædictæ pro anno futuro, xxiiij die Octobris.
Willelmus Hyndeley	

xxv die Octobris.

Transgressio 3d.

Johannes Dameson, listeter, vel servientes ejus projecerunt  
 fimum (et cineres struck out) in Walkerbek contra ordinationem,  
 et poena iijs. iiijd. Pro qua transgressione submitit se (etc.)  
 Inde recepti iijd. ad usum communitatis, et jd. liberatus Willelmo  
 Warner pro præsentatione ejusdem transgressionis.

Johannes Payn attachiatur pro xiiij bidentibus captis in le Averys  
 contra ordinationem, etc. et pardonatur pro modica transgressione.

Petrus Spaldyng attachiatur pro xj bidentibus. (Fine ijd.)



Robertus Newebald attachiatur pro xiiij bidentibus ut supra, etc.; transgressio pardonatur, quia juravit quod capti per ascap[ium].

Uxor Ricardi Malery projecit exitus boum in Walkerbek post proclamationem, et poenam iij*s.* iiij*d.*; pro<sup>o</sup>qua (etc., fine 3*d.*)

Elena Waldeby projecit exitus boum et sanguinem in alta via sive in communi venella juxta domum mansionis suæ vocata Schomarketlane, contra ordinationem et poenam prædictam.

Johannes Bawme et Ricardus Cokerham ordinati sunt supervisores Fagottariorum de Westwode hoc anno, capiend*o* pro labore suo *x*s.** de denariis communitatis.

vj die Novembris.

f. 6 b. Famulus Willelmi Wellys, vyntner, succidit quercus vocatos *saplyngs* in Westwode, pro qua [etc.] et habet diem Veneris proximum ad exponendum poenam iij*s.* iiij*d.*

Johannes Payne et Ricardus Kirkeby, jurati Fagottarii in Westwode pro anno futuro, et quod habeant nullum Berhoongs (*sic*).

Johannes [Dameson], littester, juxta Cukstolpit, projecit et lavavit exitus boum in Walkerbek contra ordinationem et poenam iij*s.* iiij*d.*, pro qua [etc.] vij*d.* ad usum communitatis et j*d.* Willelmi Warner, præsentarii dictæ transgressionis.

*Nota bene cariatorum fagottarum.*

Willelmus Silver retentus est cum communitate communis cariator fagottarum de Westwode pro anno futuro, capiend*o* pro qualibet carecta usque Crossebrig, iiij*d.* et ulterius usque Monasterium, Keldgate, et Mynstermoregat, iiij*d.* ob.; et ultra in Flemyn-gate, Barlyholme et le Bekside usque ad altum pontem, *vd.*

*Scrutatores piscium et aliorum jurati.*

Johannes Garthorp -	}	Jurati fuerunt scrutatores et super- visores piscium maritimorum, carnium, et aliorum victualium venientium ad villam, et defectus fideliter præsentandos.
Willelmus Warner, Taylour		

*Plegia pro medietate cantariæ Johannis Kelk.*

Johannes Esthorp, capellanus, venit hic x die Novembris, et inducit Thomam Humbercott, gentilman, et Willelmum Esthorp, scherman; qui quidem Thomas et Willelmus devenerunt plegia ipsius Johannis Esthorp tam pro reparatione medietatis terrarum et tenementorum cantariæ Johannis Kelk, quam pro solutione *xx*s.** ad usum communitatis secundum formam indenturarum inter ipsum capellandum et communitatem factarum.

f. 7. Taxatio secundæ partis xv<sup>m<sup>ae</sup></sup> et x<sup>m<sup>ae</sup></sup> Domino Regi in ultimo parlamento concessarum, solutarum ad festum Sancti Martini Episcopi anno xv<sup>m<sup>ae</sup></sup> dicti Regis Henrici.

## Extra barras Boreales.

Johannes Dryng	} Constabularii	} Summa xijs. iiijd. ob.
Robertus White		
Radulphus Ward		
David Chambir		
Petrus Graybarn		
(and so for each constablenesship, 2 constables and 4 sworn men.)		

The sums assessed were :—

North Bar within	-	-	-	-	xxxxs.	
Corn Market	-	-	-	-	xxxixs.	xd.
Walkergate	-	-	-	-	xxvijs.	
Alta Via	-	-	-	-	xxs.	
Fishmarket	-	-	-	-	xxvijs.	xjd.
Keldgat Abp.	-	-	-	-	xiijs.	iiijd.
Lethgate	-	-	-	-	xxvijs.	jd. ob.
Flemyngate	-	-	-	-	xxvijs.	vjd. ob.
Barlyholm	-	-	-	-	xxvijs.	xjd. ob.
Feod. Præpos.	-	-	-	-	xvs.	
Apudle Bek in Norwood	-	-	-	-	xijs.	vjd.
Keldegate	-	-	-	-	vijs.	vjd.
Feod. capitale	-	-	-	-	iiijjs.	xjd.

*Submissio.*

f. 7 b. Willelmus Silvyr, communis sergiens, pro Margareta uxore sua submisit se in gratiam communitatis pro transgressione facta tam communitati quam Willemo Kepik, subulco, et uxori suæ; pro qua transgressione exposuit in gratiam, nomine xls., xxjs. xd. Inde soluti dicto Willelmo Kepik pro damnis et expensis suis vijs. vjd., et Waltero Dunham et Thomæ Bridyng pro feodo curiæ Domini attornatis ijs.

xxvij die Novembris.

Praesentatum erat quod John Couke, baxter, hospitavit frumentum die Sabbati ultimo prædicto contra ordinationem et poenam vjs. viijd. pro qua (etc., fine 4d.)

Uxor Willelmi lavavit etc. in Walkerbek (etc.) sed postea transgressio pardonatur quia probatum fuit per vicinos de Walkerbek quod non lavavit.

Dimissio trium anteriorum schopparum et j posterioris in lez Dynges: (Lease for 40 years at 48s. 4d. a year.)

*Captio panis.*

Ad Gildam Aulam in vigilia Natalis Domini anno regi Regis Henrici vi<sup>e</sup> xv<sup>mo</sup>.

Roger Kedall habuit j Fewes, (*sic*) long, jd. deficient. in pondere. xxd.

Idem habuit j alium Fewes, etc. (twice) iijs. and vs.

Et sciendum quod prædicti panes ponderati fuerunt ad quarterium frumenti ad iijs. vjd.

Sersours [Searchers].

Johannis Hornsea	} electi sunt scrutatores et supervisores artis Cissorum, et jurati sunt primo die Februarii.
Robertus Thornham	

Tonge. Johannes Goodsall, mercator, venit hic prædicto die et sursum reddidit in manus communitalis communem pasturam de Tong erga festum Purificationis proximum, et solvit firmam ejusdem pasturæ xxvjs. vijd. pro anno ultimo elapso.

f. 8 b. Johannes Brighouse, webster, pro rebellione et injusta gubernatione sua versus Aldermannum artis suæ submisit se in gratiam xij Gubernatorum, xvij<sup>o</sup> die Februarii, et exposuit ijs. iiijd. tam ad usum communitalis quam artis prædictæ, et transgressio pardonatur etc. sub conditione quod amodo in future non facturus.

Supervisores. Johannes Bayledon et Willelmus Belasys electi sunt scrutatores et supervisores artis Textorum pro anno futuro; et jurati sunt prædicto die a<sup>o</sup> x<sup>mo</sup> H. VI.

Conditio obligationis inter Abbatem de Ryvaux et Marger-(etam) Tirwhit, Willelmum Sowleby de Beverlaco in comitatu Ebor, gentilman etc., et Thomam Davell de Beverlaco prædicto, gentilman, in xx", 5 Mar. 15 H. VI.

Conditio istius obligationis est quod si prædicti Willelmus et Thomas et eorumque uterque stent et stet ordinationi et judicio xij Gubernatorum, vel septem eorum, de quâdam transgressione pro qua Abbas de Ryvaux prosequitur breve regium contra Margaretam Tyrwhitt et Willelmum Sowleby de Beverlaco, necnon de titulo, jure et possessione cujusdam ripæ in qua dictus Abbas supponit transgressionem ipsam fieri, ita quod eorum judicium reddatur citra festum Paschæ proximum, et uterque prædictorum Willelmi et Thomæ prædictum judicium perimpleant, quod extunc prædicta obligatio pro nulla habeatur, alioquin in suo robore permaneat et virtute.

*Littera sub communi sigillo.*

Una littera sub communi sigillo majoris folii liberata erat domino Henrico Grove, Sacristæ ecclesiæ collegiatæ sancti Johannis Beverlaci, pro declaratione innocentie j mulieris apud Lincoln pro suspitione felonie ibidem captæ et incarceratæ. Et sciendum quod dictus dominus Henricus xxij die Martii anno supradicto pro dicta littera manucepit reliberari post festum Sancti Michaelis proximum.

*Sursum redditio pasturæ communitalis dictæ Tonge "at Beck end."*

Willelmus Goodsall, famulus Agnetis Brompton, venit hic coram Rogero Rolleston et sociis suis xxij die Martii, et sursum reddit eisdem ad usum communitalis pasturam vocatam Tonge in fine Torrentis, nomine dictæ Agnetis etc.

Licentjata est Alicia Alkebarow prædicto die ad promovendum communem legem versus Willelmum Warner, yoman.

Johannes Person, corvesour, venit hic coram Custodibus anni instantis, et manucepit indictare Johannem Thomas de Swyne, barker, pro defectu in una pecia corii non sufficienter tannati: et quod habeat ipsum Johannem Thomas coram dictis Custodibus die Martis proxima in xiiij dies, ad expectandum gratiam dictorum Custodum in omnibus ordinationibus suis pro transgressione prædicta. Qui quidem Thomas venit hic et submisit se in gratiam et exposuit vs. Inde recepti vjd. [etc.]

Johannes Fery, corvesour, pro defectu in j pecia corii non sufficienter tannati submisit se [etc.] Et idem Johannes dicit quod prædicta pecia corii fuit Johannis Thomas, barker, qui venit [etc.] Inde recepti vjd. ad usum communitalis et vjd. ad usum artis Tannatorum, et residuum [etc.]

*Transgressio pardonatur.*

Præsentatum erat de Johanne Ostiller quod ipse est communis foristallator piscium marinarum in Beverlaco, et specialiter de Symone Est de Halltham juxta Skipsee, ita [quod] ex conventionem facta inter ipsos præfatus Johannes habebit liberationem piscium marinarum per dictum Simonem apud Stanfery, Wannfery, et Weelfery, in grave dampnum et præjudicium communitalis, et deceptionem communis populi, etc.

Conceditur caritative Johannæ Cotom et Aliciæ Douce duos lectos (*sic*) in le Masyndew apud Crossebrig.

Famulus Thomæ Bevyngton, barker, forisstellavit pelles bovium et vaccarum apud Hulbrigg contra legem [etc. fine ij<sup>d</sup>.]

*f. 9 b. Dimissio iiij<sup>or</sup> anteriorum schopparum et j posterioris in lez Dynges.*

Robertus Jakson de Beverlaco, draper, de novo cepit de ix de xii Custodibus anni instantis, vj<sup>to</sup> die mensis Aprilis anno xv<sup>mo</sup> regni Regis Henrici VI, quatuor schoppas anteriores in australi parte dez Dynges in Beverlaco et unam schoppam posteriorem ibidem; unde una schoppa anterior et alia schoppa posterior die confectionis præsentium est sub tenura Johannis Cokke, draper, secunda schoppa sub tenura Willelmi Cokke, tertia schoppa sub tenura dicti Roberti Jackson, et quarta schoppa sub tenura Rogeri Cokyrham, mercer. Habendum et tenendum [etc.] a festo Martini Episcopi in hyeme ultimo præterito ad finem quadraginta annorum [rent 5s. 4d. of silver at Pentecost and Martinmas]. Et idem Robertus Jakson

et hæredes sui post festum Nativ. Sancti Johannis Baptistæ proxime futurum post datam præfixam de novo competenter ædificabunt, seu ædificabit, totam australem partem de les Dynges prædictas cum una aula et duabus cameris. Et hoc erit per assensum et supervisum prædictorum xij Custodum qui sunt, vel successorum suorum qui pro tempore fuerint. Ad quam quidem ædificationem idem Robertus Jakson et hæredes sui invenient meremium et artificium ac omnia alia prædictis aulæ et cameris necessaria, suis propriis costagiis et expensis: et post ædificationem prædictarum aulæ et camerarum, sic ut præmittitur, per ipsum Robertum Jakson vel hæredes suos competenter finitarum, extune xij Custodes sive Gubernatores villæ prædictæ qui pro tempore fuerint prædictas aulam et cameras ac omnes alias schoppas superius specificatas, in omnibus quibus oportunum fuerit reparabunt, sustentabunt et manutenebunt bene et competenter, sumptibus et expensis communitatis durante toto termino supradicto.

*Disoneratio burgensiæ uxoris nuper Roberti Lambard, laborer, et filiorum ejus.*

Memorandum quod uxor nuper Roberti Lambard venit hic coram vij Custodibus, et sursum reddit totum proficuum burgensiæ suæ in pura viduitate sua pro disoneratione solutionis xs. communitati per ipsum Robertum debitorum de arreragiis burgensiæ suæ. Et ulterius dicta vidua juravit quod filii ejus disonerantur de libertate sua virtute disonerationis dictorum xs. in futurum etc.

*Claves:* Walterus Barbour habet clavem Johannis Sleforth. Thomas Swanland habet clavem Willelmi Northorpp.

Memorandum quod Willelmus Jamys, thaylour, promisit solvere Custodibus anni sequentis in festo Natalis Domini proximo de arreragiis burgensiæ suæ, iij s. iiij d.

f. 10. [*Torn away.*]

f. 11. *Porters et Crelers:* Willelmus Kirkeman, Willelmus Wedirby, et Ricardus Blitton retenti sunt in officio portitorum et crelers pro anno futuro, et jurati sunt.

Thomas Ulceby et Johannes Gilbert retenti sunt in officio de crelers pro anno futuro, et jurati sunt modo consueto.

Thomas Garnthorp et Willelmus Warner, taylor, retenti sunt in officio supervisorum victualium venalium pro anno futuro, et jurati sunt.

*Raker:* Willelmus Pape retentus est in officio scobatoris communis mercati pro anno futuro, et juratus.

*Naylers:* Rob. Williamson (*and 6 others*) Naylers concordant cum Custodibus anni instantis in crastino Ascencionis Dominicæ pro ijs. quia nesciunt declarare quot milliaris habuerunt. Ideo totum captum.

*Lectus apud Crossebrig:* Robertus Waltham admissus est caritative ad unum lectum vacantem in domo Trinitatis apud Crossebrig et juratus est [etc.] xij. die Maii.

Præsentatur de Roberto Potager et Johanne Ostiller quod ipsi insimul foristallaverunt vj . . . piscium maritimorum ij hominum de Scardeburgh, videlicet xij semes kelyngs, buttes, scates et aliorum piscium, die dominica post nonam proxima ante dies Rogationis ultimos præteritos ante datam præsentium, [ad] grave dampnum etc. Qui quidem Robertus et Johannes venerunt et juraverunt quod nullos pisces de dictis hominibus non (*sic*, a double negative) emerunt, et sic per juramentum suum recesserunt quieti, etc.

Præsentatum est de Willelmo Gelle quod ipse prædictis diebus Rogationum foristallavit de j homine de Filay certas kelyngs modo præmisso.

f. 11 b. xxiii<sup>o</sup> die mensis Maii anno xv<sup>mo</sup> Henrici VI. Will. Barton, barker, attachiatur pro j equo capto in Westwode et reliberatur per plegium H. Tasker, et pardonatur sub conditione quod die Martis proximo veniet hic et inducet plegium pro burgensia sua.

Adam Agodshalf de Burton, swynard, pro j equo capto in Westwode (etc., fine vjd.).

Will Cokke pro j equo geldyng. Pardonatur quia juravit quod veniebat per escapium extra Walkyngton Wode.

John Wallys pro serviente suo submisit se in gratiam pro eo quod ipse succidit ramos quercus in Westwode contra ordinationem, et juravit quod nescivit. Inde ideo disoneratur de transgressionem.

Serviens Ric. Vyoll, bocher, [the same is pardoned, as for a trivial fault].

*Sewer.*—Ordinatum est quod quilibet manens super seweram et Cukstolpitt usque Walkerbek mundabit partem suam post diem Veneris proximum in xiiij dies, sub pœna cujuslibet in contrarium facientis xijd.

*Forestalling salmon.*—Præsentatum est ultimo die Maii anno supradicto quod Robertus Skipsee emebat unum salmonem de j homine citra burghum, pro xd., et revendidit communitati pro xxd. in regratura et grave dampnum communitatis et communis populi. (Fine 2d.)

*Stinking fish.*—Item quod mater Johannis Ostiller, fischer, vendidit pisce[m] fetid[um] unius hominis de Klynese. (Fine 2d.)

f. 12-13. Subscripti nominati assignati sunt pro sagittariis inveniendis versus Scotiam ultimo die Junii anno xv<sup>mo</sup> Henrici Sexti.

[The names given amount in number to:—

83 Extra Barras Boriales  
42 Infra „ „  
35 Walkergate  
34 Cornmarket  
50 Alta Via  
43 Fischmarkett

48	Lathgate
30	Keldegate Archiepiscopi
22	Keldegate Præposituræ
18	Feodo Præposituræ in Norwode
73	Flemmyngate
41	Barliholm
38	Feodo Præposituræ ad Torrentem
22	„ Capituli

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Total 529]

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f. 14. Anno xv<sup>o</sup> regni Regis Henrici VI.

Joh. Tapping, baxter, venit hic ultimo die Junii, et fatetur ix de xii Custodibus, quod ipse emebat de Agnete Geer, vidua, dimidium quarterium frumenti die Sabbati ultimo præterito ante diem præscriptum, et dictum frumentum hospitabat dicto die contra ordinationem et pœnam vjs. viijd. [pro qua etc.; fine ijd.]

*Scrutatores Fabrorum*: V<sup>to</sup> die Julii, John Dryng et Willelmus Smith de Keldegat.

xij die Julii, Johannes Carter, potter, reprobavit Radulphum Ebirstone, Aldermannum suum, verbis contumeliosis et inhonestis, pro qua (etc.) habet diem Martis proximum. Idem Johannes habet dictum diem ad exponendum in gratiam xii Gubernatoribus xxs. eo quod ipse vendidit ollas ad lez Tynkelers et aliis hominibus contra ordinationem et pœnam. Willelmus King, potter, fatetur dictam transgressionem et pardonatur quia pauper.

*Captio panis*. Ad Gildam Aulam xxvj<sup>to</sup> die Julii a<sup>o</sup> xv<sup>o</sup> r.r. H. VI. Ric. Ayer, baxter, habuit ij panes nigros, utrumque eorum de quadrante et deficientem in pondere utrumque eorum, iijs. viijd. Et sciendum quod prædicti panes ponderati fuerunt ad quarterium frumenti vjs.

*Dimissio*. Sibbota, littester, venit hic in Aula et cepit de viij Custodibus anni instantis unum tenementum communitatis extra barras boriales proximum juxta domus elemosinarias Beatæ Mariæ Virginis ibidem, ad finem quatuor annorum . . . Reddendo inde . . . viijs. Et communitas dictum tenementum reparabit. Dat. sexto die mensis Augusti a<sup>o</sup> r.r. H. VI. xv<sup>o</sup>.

xx<sup>o</sup> die Aug. Thomas Lawe, Walterus Boyton, jurati sunt scrutatores artis Carnificum.

f. 14 b. Taxatio iiij<sup>tas</sup> partis xv<sup>mae</sup> et x<sup>mae</sup> solutæ in festo S. Michælis Archangeli anno xvj<sup>mo</sup> r.r. Henr. VI. (Same amounts as before.)

f. 15. Famulus Thomæ Hondisworth, glover, fugavit j equum magistri sui ultra foveam de Swynmore, xxvij<sup>o</sup> die Augusti, pro qua (etc.; fine ijd.)

Willelmus Esthorp, scherman, scidit dimidium pannum laneum magistri Thomæ Skipewith non aquatum, ideo forisfecit ad Gildam Aulam xld., et arti de Schermannorum xld., pro qua transgressione summonitus erat ad respondendum tam communitati quam arti prædictæ sub pœna vjd., et non venit. Qui venit xij die Novembris et exposuit vjs. viijd. Inde recepti ad usum communitatis xvjd. et ad usum artis xxd. [etc.]

*f. 16 b.* Nich. Masham fugavit j carectam cum fœno ultra catenam apud Eastgate sine licentia. (Fine 4d.)

j<sup>o</sup> die Octobris licentiatus est Johannes Sesaa ad prosequendum legem versus Johannem Brereton.

iiij<sup>to</sup> die Octobris conceditur Ricardo Malery et sociis suis pistoribus villæ Beverlaci quod pistorabunt panes venales ad xjs. quousque aliter eis præceptum fuerit per vij Gubernatores anni instantis.

Joh. Barker, sporyour, fugavit j carectam ultra catenam pendentem in Eastgate super novo paviamento. (Fine ijd.)

Rogerus Kedall reprobavit gubernationem xij Custodum in ponderatione panis ad Aulam domini Archiepiscopi, et dixit quod ubi ipsi ponderaverunt panes ad vs. vjd., deberent ponderare ad vjs.

*f. 17.* Nicholas Brid receptus est ad officium subulci Beverlaci in festo Omnium Sanctorum ad festum S. Marci proximum futurum.

Captio panis ad Gildam Aulam v<sup>o</sup> die Nov. a<sup>o</sup> xvj r.r. H. VI.

Ad quam diem Ricardus Malory habuit j	
panem album oboli, deficientem in	
pondere - - - - -	ijs. vjd.
Idem Ricardus habuit alium panem	
nigrum oboli, &c. ( <i>twice</i> ) - - - -	vs. and xxd.
Will. Brown ( <i>twice</i> ) - - - -	xxd. and ijs. vjd.
Rogerus Kedall - - - -	vs.

Et sciendum quod panes supradicti ponderati fuerunt ad pretium quarterii frumenti ad xijs.

*Collector paviagii ad Torrentem.* Rob. Grene, barber, electus est de novo ad officium Collectoris Paviagii ad Torrentem et juratus est xvij die Novembris.

*f. 17 b.* Taxatio mediatæ partis xv<sup>mae</sup> at x<sup>mae</sup> solutæ anno xvj<sup>mo</sup> regni Regis H. VI. ad festum S. Martini Episcopi.

[The sums are double those on *f. 7.* above.]

*f. 18. Pastura de Westwode.* Willelmus Burton de Stock retentus est cum communitate ultimo die mensis Januarii a dicto die usque in festum S. Marci Evang. tunc proximum sequens, et juratus (etc.) quod faciat gappos circa dictam pasturam sufficienter, et quod fideliter præsentet defectus et transgressiones factos tam per burgenses quam per alios; et invenit plegia Johannem Bellysore, barker, et Thomam Braddok, webster.



*Dimissio Thoralis Calcis viri.* Ultimo die Feb. [Patrick Knight surrenders the quicklime-kiln and quarry thereto belonging. Leased again for 4 years at 40/- a year.]

iii<sup>o</sup> die Martii 1487, Joh. Kirkeby de Mollescroft posuit in Parrok lx bidentes contra ordinationem. Fine 20*d.* (full fine 2*d.* a bident.)

*Dimissio medietatis venellæ juxta Briddal myddyng* (let at rent of 6*d.* a year).

Ric. Clifton, webster, pro defectu artificii sui invento in medietate j panni lanei Ric. Halytreholm, barber, submitit se in gratiam pro dicta transgressionem, et habet diem Martis proximum ad exponendum vjs. viij*d.* ad usum communis et artis prædictæ.

Johannes Briggehous, webster, pro defectu artificii sui invento in medietate alterius panni lanei Aliciæ Marshall, nuper uxoris Ric. Marshall, mercer, submitit se in gratiam (etc. ut supra). Et fullones Beverlaci noluerunt operare dictum pannum quia non erat habilis: ideo ipse Johannes Burgeys posuit dictum pannum ad unum fullonem patriæ in deceptionem et defraudationem communis populi etc. Et summa prædicta remanet in communi bursa quousque xij Custodes inde melius avisiantur. Inde recepti xx*d.* xviii<sup>o</sup> die Aprilis, et residuum condonatur gracie sub conditione qua supra, quod amodo non faciet.

*Ponderatio panis ad curiam domini Archiepiscopi ultimo die Martii anno xvj<sup>o</sup> r.r. Henrici VI.*

Fine.

iii <i>d.</i>	Will Brown habuit j wastell long oboli deficientem in pondere	xx <i>d.</i>
iii <i>d.</i>	Idem (do.) j alium wastell (ditto)	xx <i>d.</i>
ii <i>d.</i>	„ „ j panem album „	xi <i>d.</i>
v <i>d.</i>	Ric Goos habuit j wastell long (etc.)	xiii <i>d.</i>
v <i>d.</i>	Rog. Kedall „ j panem album	ijs. vii <i>d.</i>
ii <i>d.</i>	Idem „ „	xvii <i>d.</i>
ii <i>d.</i>	Idem „ „	xi <i>d.</i>
ii <i>d.</i>	Joh. West „ „	xi <i>d.</i>
ii <i>d.</i>	Ric. Malery „ „	xi <i>d.</i>
	Secundum pretium frumenti prædicta pondera fuerunt ad	xiijs. v <i>d.</i>

Quarto die Aprilis anno supradicto Rob. Halytreholm monitus est ad exponendum in gratiam xij Custodum die Martis proximo futuro xl*s.*; pro eo quod ipse præsentavit nomina Willelmi Spenser, Walteri Barbour, Stephani Tilson, Nicholai Brompton, Thomæ Neweburgh, et aliorum burgensium villæ Beverlaci in curia domini Archiepiscopi pro finario posito in Aldegat; per quam præsentationem ipsi indictati existunt, [in] grave dampnum partium prædictarum et præjudicium totius communis.

f. 19. Th. Braddock } websters, viij<sup>o</sup> die Aprilis, electi, scrutatores.  
Ric. Baty - - - }

*Dimissio communis pasturæ de Tong.* John Ousterby, marchant, takes "communem pasturam communis vocatam le

Tong prout jacet ad finem torrentis Beverlaci," for 2 years; rent xxvjs. viijd.; he to repair "ripas et foveas": the community to have "proficuum omnium salicium."

*Electio.* 15 names, including "Magister Thomas Driffeld," of whom 12 marked "juratus."

<i>Claves.</i> Johannes Shipworth habet clavem	} communis cistæ in Thesaurario.
Walteri Barbour	
Will Lorymer do. Th. Swanland	

*f. 19 b. 1488. Kynwaldgraves.* Conceditur caritative confratribus et sororibus de Kynwaldgravys, et licenciatur eisdem, habere x vaccas et j taurum ad pasturandum infra pasturam de Westwode pro hoc anno tantum, et nullos porcos.

*Collectores paviagii.* Rob. Kirkeham retentus est in officium collectoris Paviagii ad Kelgat-barre, et juratus est, et habet pixidem.

Ric. Richemong et Will. Marton...ad Barras boriales

Grene ... ..in Norwode

Rob. Grene ... ..ad Torrentem et habet pixidem.

*Belman.* Joh. Ridyngs retentus est in officium communis campanarii pro anno futuro, et juratus est modo consueto.

*Raker.* Will Pape retentus (etc.) mundatoris et scobatoris communis mercati.

Five of the Twelve Governors "habent claves communis cistæ in Thesauraria."

Joh. Thorn retentus [etc.] communis clerici.

W. Silver ,, ,, sergentis.

*Pastores.* Johannes Ridynges retentus est in officium Pastoris de Swynmore pro anno futuro et juratus.

Thomas Arows retentus est cum communitate in officium Pastoris de Fegang pro anno futuro, et juratus est quod bene et fideliter custodiet animalia communitatis sibi liberata, et pro eis respondebit per plegia Philippi de Thorne et Roberti Belton, barbour, etc.

Et ordinatum est ij<sup>do</sup> die Maii anno xvj<sup>mo</sup> r.r. Henrici sexti per assensum ix de xij Custodibus infra Gildam Aulam existentium quod si uterque prædictorum Pastorum recipiat animalia communitatis Beverlaci in pasturis prædictis nisi tantum recipiat, et uterque eorum per se recipiat, pro quolibet animali ijd., extunc ipsi vel ipse qui contra hanc ordinationem præsumpserit (*sic*) solvant seu solvat pro quolibet animali infra dictam pasturam invento per Custodes prædictos xijd. ad usum communitatis, sine pardonatione aliquali.

*f. 20 b. Spiculatores.* Willelmus Johnson, Symon Herforth, et Johannes Wardelowe retenti cum communitate in officium Spiculatum Beverlaci xij die Maii anno supradicto, usque festum S. Marci Evang. proximum futurum, capiendo nomine salarii sui de denariis communitatis xxxvjs. viijd., et quod quilibet dictorum Spiculatum habebit j scutum de communitate, et jurati sunt quod serviant communitati in officio suo præscripto usque

festum S. Marci supradictum etc. Et liberantur prædictis Johanni Wardelow et Willelmo Johnson, Spiculatoribus, ij scuti communitatis argentei per plegiam Johannis Colton, yoman, præsentis, et Nicholai Brompton absentis. Postea Symon Herforth supradictus devillavit; pro quo dicti Spiculatores habent j puerum loco dicti Symonis, pro quo puero allocabitur pro labore suo vjs. viiij*d.* usque festum S. Marci proximum. Et sic dicti Spiculatores habuerunt pro se et puero suo hoc anno tantum xxxiij*s.* iiij*d.*

Nicholas Bird retentus est in officium subulci Beverlaci pro anno futuro modo consueto, et juratus est.

Die Veneris ij<sup>o</sup> die Maii anno supradicto Nicholas Brompton et Ricardus Halitreholm electi sunt et ordinati supervisores defectuum pasturæ de Fegang pro anno futuro, et ordinati sunt appreciatores bonorum ad Torrentem provenientium hoc anno (etc.)

Robertus Jakson et Ricardus Cosyn electi sunt supervisores defectuum pasturæ de Swynmore (etc.)

Johannes Skipwith et Willelmus Lyncoln ordinati sunt supervisores pavamenti Beverlaci, et defectus corrigendi etc.

Johannes Bewme et Walterus Middleton ordinati sunt supervisores reparationis cantariæ Johannis Ake apud Crossebrig hoc anno. (*The last named 8 were Governors.*)

*Dimissio crofti extra Barr. Borial.* Ric. Biale and John Danby, barber, take a croft belonging to the Gild of S. John of Beverley for a year. Rent 20*s.* Governors to have free access to "les gravel pitts" to bake clay ("argillo").

*Naylers.*—John Grene, William Pees and 4 others, naylers, "concordant cum Custodibus anni instantis in crastino Ascensionis Domini pro ijs. vjd., quia nesciunt declarare quot milliaria habuerunt; ideo totum captum." [This is in effect a regular payment made by the Naylers for pavage instead of so much a thousand of nails made or sold at the fairs.]

f. 21. *Crelers.*—Th. Ulceby, Ric. Blyton ordinati sunt cariatores rerum venalium ad Torrentem, et jurati sunt pro anno futuro quod bene et fideliter mensurabunt et cariabunt omnia ibidem venientia etc. et quod habeant saccos et creles ad serviendum communitati etc.

f. 21 b. Ponderatio panis. Ad curiam domini Archiepiscopi x die Junii a<sup>o</sup> xvj<sup>mo</sup> H. VI.

Misericordia in omnibus viiij <i>d.</i>	{	Willemus Brown, baxter, habuit panem		
		album, oboli, deficientem in pondere -	-	xvj <i>d.</i>
		Roger Kedall ditto ditto -	-	xvj <i>d.</i>
		" ditto ditto -	-	xvj <i>d.</i>
	{	Richard Malery ditto ditto -	-	xx <i>d.</i>
		Idem Rich., habuit j. ditto ditto -	-	xx <i>d.</i>
		" ij. ditto uterque -	-	xx <i>d.</i>
		" ; alium panem ditto -	-	xvj <i>d.</i>
		Et panes supradicti ponderati fuerunt		
		secundum pretium frumenti ad	-	xliiij <i>s.</i>

iiij Julii. Robertus Barton, taylour, pro defectu in j toga mulieris per supervisores artis cissorum præsentatus, submitit se (etc.) (Fine 3d. and 3d. to craft.)

Ricardus Gilmyn, husband[man], posuit j boviculum ij annorum per spatium ij annorum infra pasturam de Westwode contra ordinationem. Exposuit iij s. iiij d. (Fine vjd.)

f. 22. *Lectus in Masyndew.* Johanna Robynson nuper commorans in Estlyngton admissa est caritative ad unum lectum infra domum sanctæ Trinitatis apud Crossebrig, et jurata est xxvii<sup>o</sup> die Aug. anno supradicto.

*Transgressio: recepti xijd.* Alicia Barbour, vidua, pro j equo capto in le Averys (etc.) quia multum transgressa fuit versus communitatem in falcatione herbagii communis foveæ in Spay Dyk sine licentia, ideo totum captum ad præsens etc.

*Lectus.* Joh. Ratheby to "Domus S. Trinitatis, xxij<sup>o</sup> die Augusti."

f. 22 b. Taxatio secundæ medietatis xv<sup>mæ</sup> et x<sup>mæ</sup> anno xvij<sup>o</sup> r.r. Henrici VI. [The same sums as last time.]

f. 23. *Admissio capellani.* xij Septembris. Johannes Walkyngton, capellanus, admissus est unus capellanorum cantariæ Johannis Kelke in omnibus sicut W. Holme capellanus nuper habuit; et pro onere et reparacione medietatis terrarum et tenementorum prædictæ cantariæ devenerunt plegiis (sic) et manucaptiores [four named] coram ix de xij Custodibus, etc.

*Supervisores de Westwode.* Rob. Jakson et W. Pengcok ordinati sunt supervisores fagottarum de Westwode hoc anno.

#### *Fagottarii.*

Hugo Batirby	{	jurati sunt ad faciendum fagottas de
Ricardus Kirkeby		Westwode fideliter hoc anno, et habebunt
		nullam berharnes, et ad illud officium
		(etc.) jurati sunt.

*Plegii Johannis Esthorpp, capellani.* J. Esthorp, capellanus, venit hic coram vij de xij Custodibus xv die Novembris, et inducit Joh. Barbour, capellanum cantariæ capellæ de Hulbrig, et W. Esthorp, qui quidem devenerunt plegii et manucaptiores dicti J. Esthorp tam pro reparacione medietatis cantariæ Johannis Kelke quam pro solucione xxs. ad usum communitatis ad terminos usuales, secundum formam indenturæ inter ipsum (etc.) et communitatem factæ.

[Hitherto copious extracts and often the whole entries have been given. As the rest of the volume is mainly a repetition of the same kind of entries, only those having some novelty or specially noticeable are hereafter selected.]

f. 23 b. Richardus Langham, sadiller, venit hic coram Thoma Mayn et viij aliis dictorum xij Custodum penultimo die Januarii et

submit (etc.), eo quod ipse fecit rescussum contra communem sergentem . . . facientem officium suum; pro qua transgressionem habet diem Veneris in quindenam proxime futuram : . . . Condonatur.

Robertus Downys, corvesour, prædicto die submit (etc.) eo quod ipse consilium fraternitatis suæ illicite scandalizavit, contra ordinationem . . . Postea probatum fuit quod non transgressus fuit: ideo ad præsens sit inde quietus.

*f. 24.* Ponderatio Panis. 15 Feb., 17 Henry VI. Price per quarter, 15s. "Et omnes pistores habent in mandato quod pistorabunt secundum quarterium frumenti ad xvjs. vjd."

St. Gelicroft let for 12 years for 4 marks a year.

Rob. Jackson, draper, "cepit de sociis suis Custodibus superius nominatis unam posteriorem schoppam in les Dynges supra quam ædificatum est unum Campanile" for 25 years at 4s., the Keepers to repair the Belltower.

26 *b.* "Memorandum de divisione tenementorum pertinentium cantariæ Johannis de Kelk xxvj<sup>o</sup> die Junii, A.D. 1439.

"Pars Johannis Colman, capellani": 2 crofts 12s. and 24s. a year, a grange, and 3 cottages in North Bar Without; a cottage, 2 tenements, and a dovecot on west side of the street; 2 cottages in Couper lane, 3 cottages in Wodelane, 2 cottages in Lathgate, one in Fishmarket moregatelane, a tenement in Cornmarket, one in Smiths' row ("rangea Fabrorum") a waste piece in Shomarketlane, a stable in Podynglane; two rents from the Churchwardens of S. Mary's, one in Mercer's Row. Total, £9 0s. 4d. Outgoings—To William Ledys, 13s. The Archbishop, 8s. 2½d. Executors of John Ellicutt, 7½d.

John Colman admitted Chaplain this same day.

John Easthorp re-admitted.

*Pars Domini J. Esthorp.* Two crofts, 8 cottages and a grange in North Bar Without, a tenement and cottage in Lathgate, 2 cottages in Couper lane, 3 in Wodelane, a cottage in Keldegate, tenement in Highgate, tenement of a "coverlite webster" at corner of Bowbriglane by Walkergate, 3 tenements in Ladygate, small tenement in Bakhouslane, cottage in Podynglane. Total, £8 9s. 6d. Outgoings the same.

*f. 25.* S. Mark's Day 1439. Among the 12 Governors is Master Thomas Driffeld, who was one of the Canons Residentiary of the Minster.

*f. 25 b.* "Willelmus Sixhill habet j pixidem cum carta Domini Regis nunc, et aliis evidentiis sigillatis cum sigillo J. Ulceby."

"Rob. Kirkham cepit j gardinum, partem domus Leprosorum extra Keldegatbarr."

*f.* 29. Last day of Oct. John Colman resigns Kelke's Chantry. xiiij<sup>o</sup> Nov. 18 H. VI. John Barbour inducted by J. Esthorp to half of Kelke's Chantry.

31 Oct. Price of corn 6*s.* 6*d.* To bake at 8*s.*

*f.* 29 *b.* 4 Dec. Buyers of oats not to enter Beverley Cornmarket before 12 noon.

18 Jan. Price [of bread] 8*s.* 6*d.*

*f.* 32. "Pena tarde venientium, A.D. 1440. Ordinatum est et firmiter concessum die prædicto (*viz.* S. Mark's day) quod quilibet de xij Custodibus juratis qui præsens in villa aliquibus diebus sessionum et non venerit ad horam primam, nona percussa, post tertium ictum super mensam, solvet iiij*d.* totiens quotiens; exponet indilate. Et in dicta ordinatione x de xij præsentibus in aula, Edmundo Brakynburgh, Johanne Baum tunc absentibus.

Una equa gray Ricardi Aumfray de Cotygham liberata pro wayf ad ballium Domini Præpositi Beverlacensis post proclamationem inde factam vj<sup>o</sup> die Maii anno prædicto; idem Ric. venit hic et concordavit cum ix de xij Custodibus pro herbagio et costagio factis per communitatem xij*d.*, sicut ex antiquo ordinatum fuit. Inde recepti iiij*d.* et residuum condonatur gracie.

*f.* 32 *b.* A.D. millesimo cccc<sup>mo</sup> xl<sup>o</sup>. In festo Sancti Marci Evangelistæ Johannes Wardelow, Robertus Congilton et Thomas Seman retenti sunt cum communitate in officio Spiculorum Beverlaci a dicto die usque ad festum Sancti Marci Evangelistæ, capiendi nomine salarii sui xxxiijs. iiij*d.* ad terminos usuales, per plegia David Chambir pro dicto Roberto et magistri Thomæ Driffeld pro dictis Johanne et Thoma etc. Postea liberantur dictis Spiculoribus iiij scuti argentei cum pertinentiis communitatis prædictæ, ponderis xiiij unciarum, dimidiæ, et dimidiæ quartæ unius uncie; precii xxxvjs. vijd. Et soluti pro operatione dictorum scutorum de denariis communitatis xijs. per plegia ut supra.

*f.* 33. 3 Supervisores pasturæ de Fegang operis Torrentis et pavamenti in Flemyngate et appreciatores bonorum venalium pervenientium hoc anno ad Torrentem.

3 Supervisores operis de Dynges et pavamenti juxta ecclesiam Beatæ Mariæ.

2 Supervisores et Gubernatores pauperum Domorum Elemosinarum apud Crossebrig.

2 Supervisores operariorum de Westwode.

2 Supervisores defectuum pasturæ de Swynmor.

*f.* 33 *b.* John Poynton admitted to half Kelk's Chantry at stipend of 6 marks; and John Esthorp re-admitted to other half at stipend of 6½ marks and to have his mother's house at 5*s.* rent.

f. 84. John Ulceby, jun., bocher, "vendidit carnem bovinam de carion die Dominico ultimo præterito ante dictum diem," (9 August); fine 8d.

Ponderatio Panis. 18 May, price 8s. 6d. a quarter, 2 July, price 7s. a quarter.

*Disoneratio Burgensia.* "Willelmus Hardynges, magister scholarum, venit hic vj<sup>o</sup> die Septembris anno xix<sup>o</sup> H. VI. Habet diem Martis proximum in viij dies ad exponendum in gratiam xij Custodibus anni instantis, xxs., pro injusta gubernatione sua contra ordinationem de vaccis lacteis positus in pastura de Fegang ut infra. Qui venit hic coram Rogero Rolleston, Thoma White, Thoma Shipwith, Johanne Sleforth, Johanne Morethwayte, Willelmo Persson et Radulpho Abraham, vij de xij<sup>clm</sup> Gubernatoribus villæ præsentibus hic, et dedit dictam poenam forisfacturum ad exponendum in gratiam. Ideo secundum ordinationem registratam disoneratur de libertate sua ultimo die mensis Septembris anno xix H. VI. *Respice ulterius postea.*" (f. 37 b.)

A glover for like offence, submitting, is pardoned. Rob. Bolton for like offence "quia noluit gubernari per ordinationem registratam, ideo disoneratur de libertate sua."

*Disoneratio burgensia Johannis Sleforth.* Die Lunæ xij<sup>o</sup> die mensis Septembris anno xix<sup>o</sup> H. VI., in præsentia venerabilium et burgensium villæ Beverlaci simul existentium infra Gildam Aulam, et unanimi assensu et consensu dictorum venerabilium et burgensium, Johannes Sleforth disoneratus est de libertate burgensia suæ, pro eo quod ipse disoneravit Burgenses Beverlaci de lez Averys unius crofti sui juxta capellam Sancti Thomæ extra Keldgatebarr nuper Johannis Nandyk. Ad hoc consentierunt Rogerus Rollyston, Johannes Brompton, Th. Shipwith, Th. Whyte, Joh. Conton, Joh. Morethwayte, Will. Persson, John Davydson et Rad. Abraham, ix de xij<sup>clm</sup> anni instantis.

*Restitutio burgensia.* Qui venit in vigilia Sancti Matthæi Apostoli anno prædicto, et humiliter submisit se in gratiam communitatis pro transgressionem prædicta, et habet diem Veneris proximum ad exponendum in gratiam xls., quos exposuit, et remanent in communi cista in Thesauraria. Postea conditionaliter condonatur, videlicet quod ipse amodo in casu prædicto versus communitatem in futurum non faciat transgressionem.

Robertus Bolton, barbour, alias forisfecit libertatem burgensia suæ quam supradictum erat, pro eo quod ipse deprivavit burgenses villæ Beverlaci et communitatem de l'Averyce j crofti vocati Lelycroft, et prædicto die et anno gracie restitutus est libertati suæ, ut præfertur ut supra.

*f. 35 b.* Taxatio j quarterii et medietatis integræ xv<sup>mæ</sup> et x<sup>mæ</sup> anno xix H. VI.

Extra Barr. Boriales	37s. 1½d.	Keldegate - -	£2 0s. 10d.
Infra - - - -	£4 10s. 0d.	do. Provost	£1 2s. 6d.
Walkergate - -	£4 1s. 0d.	Prov. Norwood-	£1 17s. 6d.
Cornmarket - -	£5 19s. 6d.	Ad Torrent. -	£2 5s. 0d.
Alta Via - - -	£3 0s. 0d.	Flemyngate -	£4 2s. 7d.
Lathgate - - -	£4 4s. 4d.	Feodo Capituli-	14s. 10½d.
Fishmarket - -	£4 6s. 9d.	Barlyholm and	
		the Bek - -	£4 6s. 10½d.

*f. 36.* Conceditur pistoribus xxj die Octobris a° prædicto ad pistorandum usque diem Veneris proximum in xiiij dies, secundum pretium frumenti ad vs.

Præceptum est Thomæ Wayte, littester, quod mundari faciat communam seweram de Walkerbek in longitudine tenementi quod inhabitat citra festum S. Martini Episc. in hyeme prox. post diem supradict. sub poena solutionis communitati vjs. viijd.

*f. 36 b.* Præsentatum est de Ric. Tasker quod ipse verbis inhonestis et contumeliosis reprobavit assisatores Gildæ Brasia-  
torum contra ordinationem. (Fined 8d.)

*Liberatio extra Thesaurariam.* Memorandum quod Custodes anni instantis ceperunt extra cistam communitatis in thesauraria Carta novæ confirmationis Henrici Sexti, Exemplificatio cartarum Thurstani et Willelmi, Carta Regis Ricardi II., Carta Regis Edwardi filii Regis Edwardi, Indentura inter xij Custodes et communitatem pro punitione Rebelleorum etc., Exemplificatio bullarum Lucii et Celestini Paparum, Confirmatio novæ bullæ domini Eugenii nunc Papæ Romæ, copia Cartæ Domini Willelmi quondam Archiepiscopi Eboracensis, et Commissio dictorum Custodum anni instantis, et remanent sub custodia Johannis Baune.

ij die Decembris, una littera testimonialis sub sigillo majoris folii communitatis villæ Beverlaci liberatur Radulpho Ebirston, brasier, usque London. pro debito.

*f. 37.* xvij Dec. xix H. VI. Lease of waste belonging to Kelk's Chantry on N. side of Shoemarket lane.

“Joh. Baryer ordinatus est xxj° die Jan. a° supradicto ad recipiendum de qualibet nave vocata Cache, discarcata inter Pontes ad Torrentem, de thak, stramine, terricidiis, feno et hujusmodi, solvendum ad mundationem loci fori ibidem obolum, secundum ordinationem inde ab antiquo ordinatam.”

*f. 37 b. Admissio Burgensie.* Willelmus Hardynges, magister scholarum Beverlaci, dissoneratus de libertate sua, ut supra, venit hic xvij° die Februarii anno supradicto, et admissus est ad libertatem burgensie suæ ad supplicationem domini Præpositi magistri Willelmi Driffeld, magistri auditoris domini Archiepiscopi Johannis Portyngton, et plurimorum venerabilium. Qui quidem Willelmus Hardynges pro transgressione ut supra



humiliter submisit se in gratiam communitalis, et exposuit in gratiam *xxs.*, et de novo juratus est prædicto die et anno etc. Et dicti *xxs.* graciose reliberantur dicto Willelmo sub conditione quod amodo in futurum non faciat.

*f. 38. "Ponderatio Panis," at 5s. a quarter 18 May :—*

Fine <i>ijd.</i> j Fewes quam Th. Cotton	
habet deficit in pondere ... ..	<i>xxd.</i>
„ <i>iiijd.</i> ij Symnell Rogeri Kedall,	
uterque eorum de quadrante et	
secundum dictum pretium frumenti	
uterque eorum deficit in pondere ...	<i>xxd.</i>
„ <i>ijd.</i> j Panis albus de quadrante Ric.	
Myre deficit ... ..	<i>ijs. vjd.</i>
„ <i>viijd.</i> j Panis equinus ob. Joh.	
Sprotlay ... ..	<i>xijss. (?)</i>
„ <i>iiijd.</i> j Panis equinus ob. ejusdem	<i>iijs. iiijd.</i>

*Supervisores communis mercati et Crucis. xxiiij<sup>o</sup> die Martii anno supradicto Will. Warner retentus est cum communitate ad supervidendum omnia victualia venalia tam ad Crucem quam in foris piscium diebus mercati pro a[nno] proximo.*

*Memo. quod communicandum cum Thoma Wylton pro redditu onerato *vjd.* de clameo canonici domus Sancti Egidii, exeuntium de cotagio ædificato super cornerium de Mynstermoregate pertinente cantariæ Joh. de Kelk.*

*f. 38 b. Taxatio quartæ partis xv<sup>mo</sup> et x<sup>mo</sup> sol. ad Festum Paschæ anno xix H. VI. (Same as first taxation,)*

*Ad mutuandum Domino Regi ad solvendum in festo Paschæ A<sup>o</sup> xix H. VI. allocandum de tax. solvenda in festo S. Martini proximo futuro in yeme in Beverlaco.*

Th. Mayne - - - - -	<i>lxs.</i>
Rob. Caux - - - - -	<i>xiijs. iiijd.</i>
Will. Spencer - - - - -	<i>lxs.</i>
Step. Tilson - - - - -	<i>xiijs. iiijd.</i>
John Davidson - - - - -	<i>vjs. viijd.</i>
Walter Barbour - - - - -	„
Will. Persson - - - - -	„
Ric. Jamys - - - - -	„
Th. Bevington - - - - -	„
Joh. Sleforth - - - - -	<i>xxs.</i>
Joh. Brompton - - - - -	<i>lxs.</i>
Guydo Bridekirke - - - - -	<i>xls.</i>
Joh. Gildyn - - - - -	<i>vjs. viijd.</i>
Joh. Ulceby - - - - -	<i>xxs.</i>
Joh. Redysham - - - - -	<i>xiijs. iiijd.</i>
Ralph Abraham - - - - -	<i>vjs. viijd.</i>
Rad. Warde - - - - -	<i>xiijs. iiijd.</i>
Th. Wayte - - - - -	<i>xxs.</i>
Magister Thomas Driffeld - - - - -	<i>xxs.</i>

38 in all.	£
3 at lxs. - - - - -	9
1 „ xls. - - - - -	2
4 „ xxs. - - - - -	4
12 „ xiijs. iiijd.	8
18 „ vjs. iiijd. - - - - -	6

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£29

f. 39 b. xxj. Aprilis a° H. VI. xix<sup>mo</sup>. Ordered that every Scherman who occupies the art of a Fuller contribute as a master 6s. 8d. to that art, and *vice versa*.

Joh. Cave, gentilman, die mense et anno suprascriptis fatebatur se succidisse iiij quercus communitalis in fossata de Westwode vocata Caste Wyk inter terram dicti Johannis Cave versus Mollescroft vocatam Scheldflatt ex parte boriali. Fine 2d.

f. 40 b. Election of "Supervisores pavamenti a Torrente usque ad Monasterium." 2 others, "operis pavamenti usque ad Monasterium."

Nono die Maii. Th. Duncan de Hulbrig warned to mend Swynmoresdyk.

Robert Hatefield, "armiger, cepit . . . totam commonam vocatam le Comonaverys, ij croftorum suorum supra le Sprynghes" for 7 years at 6s. 8d. a year.

Rob. Collard, tilemaker, "cepit le Grovaldyk ex parte occidentali de le demmyng" at rent of 1,000 wall tiles ("wal tyl").

In festo S. Marci Evangelistæ A.D. m° cccc<sup>mo</sup> xlj°.

41. Spiculatores. Thomas Seman, Johannes Wardlowe et Robertus Congylton retenti sunt cum communitate in officio Spiculatorum Beverlaci a ij° die Junii usque ad festum Sancti Marci Evangelistæ proximum, capiendo nomine salarii sui xxxvjs. viijd., et liberantur eis iiij scuti argentei ponderis xiiij unciarum dimidii . . . per plegia Thomæ Everyngham, magistri Thomæ Driffeld et David Chambir, et jurati sunt. Et sciendum quod prædictus Thomas Seman [*Entry stops*].

f. 41 b. Subscripti assignati sunt pro ludo *Pater noster* deludendo xxiiij° die Junii a° H. VI. supradicto (XIX).

Generosi assignati } Viciouse.  
ad pagendam de }

Mercatores ad pagendam Invidiæ

Allutarii	} assignati ad Superbiam	Fabri	} assignati ad Accidiam
Sellarii		Serotecarii	
Fullones		Crelers	
Tegulatores		Schermannii	
Ropers		Nauti ( <i>sic</i> )	
Capmakers		Pelliparii	
		Flechters	

Coupers	}	assignati ad Gulam	Scriptores	}	assignati sunt ad Iram.
Carpentarii			Tannatores		
Aurifabri			Barbitonsores		
Cementarii			Laborarii		
Vynters			Cissores	}	assignati sunt ad Avariciam.
Husbandys			Pistores		
Sausemakers			Tynctores		
Candelarii			Coci		
Piscarii			Carnifici	}	assignati sunt ad Luxuriam.
	Brasyers				
	Textores				

f. 42. Taxatio ultimæ medietatis xv<sup>m</sup> et x<sup>m</sup>. (Same amounts as before.)

f. 44 b. *Peritus legis retentus*. Johannes Wenselay, legis peritus, retentus est de consilio communitalis a festo Natalis Domini ultimo præterito ante datum præsentium usque ad festum Nat. Dom. tunc proximum, Reddendo et solvendo ei de denariis communitalis ad festum Natalis Domini proximum xij<sup>s</sup>. iiij<sup>d</sup>.

Ponderatio panis facta in curia domini Cardinalis et Archiepiscopi ij die Dec. (Price of wheat 5s.) Nullus defectus ponderis.

f. 45. *Amissio Burgensiæ*. Robertus Bolton, barbour, xij<sup>o</sup> die mensis Martii a<sup>o</sup> xx<sup>o</sup> H. VI. disoneratus est de libertate burgensiæ suæ, pro eo quod ipse supportavit ministros Vicecomitis comitatus Eboraci in arrestando Thomam Braddock, webbestor, infra villam Beverlaci sine assensu Ballivi domini Cardinalis et Archiepiscopi Eboracensis contra libertatem totius communitalis et [in] præjudiciu ejusdem.

Postea admissus est ad libertatem burgensiæ x die Aprilis anno supradicto, et habet diem Veneris proximum ad exponendum in gratiam communitalis xl<sup>s</sup>. pro transgressionem prædicta, quos exposuit, et condonatur gracie sub conditione quod amodo in futuro non transgrediatur versus communitalitatem.

f. 46. A.D. 1442. *Pœna tarde venientium*. Ordinatum est quod quicunque de xij Custodibus . . . non venerit ad horam octavam percussam, post tertium ictum super mensam, solvet ij<sup>d</sup>.

Ponderatio Panis. 4 June. (Price of wheat 4s. 6d.)

vj<sup>o</sup> die Julii. Rob. Peterer et Th. Cowton moniti sunt ad exponendum in gratiam communitalis xls., pro eo quod ipsi non habuerunt lumen suum artis Piscatorum in processione die Corporis Christi per festum ad Vincula Sancti Petri prox.

Conceditur caritative confratribus et consororibus domus elemosinariæ Gildæ Beatæ Mariæ Virginis Beverlaci prædicto die habere j equum geldyng in pastura de Swynmore pro anno futuro.

f. 47 b. 31 Julii, 20 H. VI. Will. Dalton, tilemaker, habet diem Martis proximam in xv<sup>nam</sup> ad exponendum etc. iij<sup>s</sup>. iiij<sup>d</sup>. eo

quod ipse cepit xij caches terræ a ripa Torrentis ex parte boriali ejusdem.

Johannes Bast, tilemaker, (etc.) iij batellos terræ a ripa dicti Torrentis.

Will. Chetil (cepit ut supra) j cach terræ, ponderis v chaldron carbonum.

*f. 48 b.* 20 Nov. 21 Henry VI. Steph. Tilson habet diem Martis prox. in xv<sup>nam</sup> ad exponen. xxs. pro eo quod ipse emebat carbones maritimos per ipsum et alios foristallatores in aqua de Hull, in grave dampnum [etc.] (Several more to same effect.)

*f. 49.* Tax. medietat. xv<sup>mæ</sup> et x<sup>mæ</sup>. 21 H. VI.

*f. 50.* ix<sup>o</sup> die Febr. Every Butcher to produce 6s. 8d. for selling flesh "per iij dies a tempore occisionis earum contra ordinationem." Also 3s. 4d. "pro carnibus suis vagantibus in villa contra ordinationem." 16 in all. Fine remitted as to flesh : xxd. taken for dogs.

*f. 50 b.* A mercer fined for dogs in street.

"Conceditur Rad. Suter, barkir, prædicto die (xxiiij Martii) habere aysiamantum j pontis ultra commune fossatum eundo et redeundo per terram Th. Lyddall in transverso Domus Fratrum Prædicatorum, per viij annos, reddendo inde ij<sup>d</sup>."

*f. 51.* 2 Butchers, "supervisores artes suæ . . . conclaverunt carnes non bene sesonatos."

Ponderatio Panis. xij Martii, xxj H. VI. Price of wheat 4s. 6d. Bakers threatened "ut subeant judicium piloriæ" if any defect found at next weighing; 4 fined.

*f. 51 b.* Will. Lorymer, mercer, not allowed to sit as one of the 12 Governors, while his son is under suspicion of felony on the accusation of a thief now in the gaol. Summons of all the venerable men of the town to meet in the Chapter House of the Church on Sunday, 31 March, to consider the point. 41 names given of those who attended the meeting.

*f. 54.* 2 Butchers sold "carnem foetidum."

*f. 54 b.* Tax "secundæ medietatis xiv<sup>mæ</sup> et x<sup>mæ</sup> 21 H. VI."

Ponderatio panis. Price 5s.

*f. 57.* [N.B. after *f. 56*, 2 pages cut out, as their remains show.] "Willelmus Lorymer, mercer, exposuit [*etc.*] eo quod homo de Cotyngham fugavit unam carectam ferro ligatam super novum pavementum infra Barram de Newebygpyng."

A barber fined for reproving one of the 12 Governors "in magna aula manerii dom. Archiepiscopi in præsentia plurimorum."

*f. 57 b.* 23 Henry VI., 6 Nov. "Liberatio necessariorum communitatis" to Common Sergeant: "iij pikkis et j veterem pik fractum, j rastrum cum viij dentibus ferri, j gavelote ferri, et iij schovyls, j beryngbarow, ij trowys ligata, j colrake ferri, ij whelebarows, et j veterem schovyl."

13 Nov. "Tertia monitio Johannis Esthorp, capellani," for malicious abuse of John Conton and Ralph Abraham at 9 p.m. in the High Street, for frequenting taverns and suspected places by day and night, frequenting the society of suspected women and the houses of procurers which are not fit to be mentioned, and breaking his oath. He is warned that if he abuses any of the patrons of the Chantry or does anything against its statutes again he will be removed.

*f. 57.* Ponderatio Panis. Price of wheat 5s. 6d.

*f. 61.* People fined for swine wandering in streets.

*f. 62.* Fine for proceeding for debt in Archbishop's Court.

*f. 62 b.* 12 Nov. 24 Hen. VI. 10 Butchers fined for not obeying when ordered "quod sursum capiant . . . stalla sua ædificata super commune solum ante tenementa habitationum suarum in Rangea Carnificum."

14 Nov. John Esthorp deprived of his salary.

*f. 64.* Ponderatio Panis. 26 March 24<sup>o</sup>. H. VI. A long list. Wheat 6s.

*f. 64 b.* 1446. The Twelve Governors include Master William Hardynges, the Grammar Schoolmaster. Among the Elections is "Mundator communis mercati juxta Dynges, fori piscium, et pavamenti ad Torrentem."

*f. 65.* 6 May. Hornsea people as tenants of S. Mary's Abbey, York, claim freedom from pavage in Beverley under charters of the Abbey.

10 May. Robt. Potager abetted W. Gelle, fisher, in selling fish in Wednesday market when time out of mind a Fish forum has been held in Cornmarket every year from S. Mark's Day to Corpus Christi Day.

*f. 65 b.* Copy of S. Mary's Abbey Charter from K. Henry.

A carpenter fined for refusing to wear the livery of the Fellowship.

*f. 66.* "Nich. Perkynson, walker, monitus est hic ad solvendum Aldermanno et Seneschallo artis Fullonum ad costagia et expensas suis (*sic*) Corporis Christi hoc anno ijs.;" paid 4d. in part payment.

*f. 66 b.* Communis Venella in Lathgate. Dominus Thomas Wresill, canonicus Domus Sancti Egidii, venit hic et concordavit cum Edmundo Portyngton, Willelmo Hardyng, magistro scholarum, Johanne Skipwith et sociis suis, vij de xij Custodibus anni instantis, primo die Julii a<sup>o</sup> xxiiij H. VI. bene et fideliter solvendo pro arreragiis communis venellæ juxta cimiterium Sancti Egidii xij annorum . . . ijs.

Lease of piece of land "extra Keldgate ubi leprosi quondam habitaverunt."

8 July 1446. "Uxor Egidii Bokeler, smyth," promised to pay "solutio xld. annuatim Pistoribus quamdiu occupaverit, xxd. ad expensas castelli Pistorum et luminis, et ad expensas et costagia pagendæ cum ludi contigerit xxd."

f. 69. Tuesday, 17 Dec. 1448. John Baron, chaplain, admitted "ad perpetuam cantariam Sancti Nicholai in ecclesia seu capella B. M. V. Beverlaci, vacantem per mortem domini Roberti Smyth . . . et conceditur ei præsentatio ejusdem beneficii per Rogerum Rolleston etc. ix de xij Custodibus. Postea, 18 die mensis prædicti, recusavit cantariam, et dominus Thomas Cleveland. . . . est inductus et institutus."

f. 69 b. Subnominati sunt ordinati ad equitandum usque Ronthespitell ad obviandum ibidem Domino Regi in adventu suo usque Beverlacum iiij<sup>o</sup> Oct. anno regni sui xxvij<sup>mo</sup>.

Rog. Rolleston, cum iiij equis	} ix de xij Gubernatoribus.
Walt. Frost, " iiij "	
Joh. Sleforth, " iiij "	
Joh. Brown, " ij "	
[5 others] " ij "	
Th. Mayne, cum iiij equis.	[102 persons in all.]

"Verba subscripta fuerunt dicta dicto Domino Regi per Rogerum Rolleston nomine totius communitatis apud Ronthespitell die et anno supradictis.

"Most graciouse cristen prince our soveraygne lord, ye be wolkom til your pepul and town of Beverlay."

"Subscripti mutuaverunt xij Gubernatoribus summam subscriptam quousque misæ assessantur et levantur de communitate sub forma inferius scripta et declarata, videlicet,

De Thoma Mayne	-	-	-	-	-	x <sup>li</sup>
De W. Spencer	-	-	-	-	-	x <sup>li</sup>
De Joh. Middleton et magistro Willelmo Hard-						
ynges, Seneschallo Magnæ Gildæ S.						
Johannis Beverlaciensis	-	-	-	-	-	x <sup>li</sup>
De Th. Whyte pro se et Th. Wayte, littester,	-	-	-	-	-	x <sup>li</sup>
De Johanne Sleforth	-	-	-	-	-	c <sup>s</sup>
De Magistro Thoma Driffeld	-	-	-	-	-	x mar."
Total £99 6s. 8d. subscribed by 22 persons.						

f. 70 b. "Misæ assessæ per xxiiij probos homines villæ Beverlaci pro præsentate Domino Regi faciendo a<sup>o</sup> H. VI. xxvij<sup>o</sup>." The total is £102 17s. 0d. The assessments are made on individuals under the headings of the various constabularies. The largest assessment is 40s. paid by William Spencer. 30s. is paid by T. Mayn, and also by Mr. Thomas Driffeld, Canon Residentiary. T. Scherborn, *literatus*, and a good many more pay 1s.

The lessee of a piece of land promises the Governors "j scholder de venison." A lessee of another piece gave them a gallon of red wine of Gascony.

f. 78. John Redysham, couke, "monitus fuit hic xxij<sup>o</sup> die Maii ad exponendum [etc.] xls. pro eo quod noluit vendere vinum rubeum Vsaconie secundum lagenam appreciatam ad vjd."

*Assignatio ludi Corporis Christi.*

vj June, xxvij H. VI. [1449], Ordinatam est per decem de xij . . . quod pagendæ ludi Corporis Christi assignentur in forma subscripta deludendæ hoc anno: viz., ad Barras Boriales: juxta Bulryng; inter Johannem Skipwith et Robertum Couke in Alta Via; apud Crossebrig; apud Fisch-market: apud Mynstir howe; et ad Torrentem.

*Admissio capellani ad cantariam Johannis Ake.*

xvij<sup>o</sup> die Junii A.D. 1449, Thomas Smyth, capellanus, admissus est ad perpetuam cantariam Sanctæ Trinitate ad Pontem Crucis Beverlaci jam vacantem per mortem Ricardi Arnald ultimi capellani ejusdem, et ad præsentationem xij Gubernatorum anni instantis spectantem.

f. 78 b. "Subscripti nominantur ad inveniendum homines armatos versus Scotiam," 28 June, 27 Henry VI.

This time 6 batches, each consisting of 4 Governors and 9 others, are warned to find respectively one of 6 armed men: whose accoutrements are thus given:—

"Thomas Cokinham, xls. soluti: habet ij heykes, j lanceam et j securim. Dictus Thomas habet j equum Johannis Tasker, smyth, pretii xxvjs. viijd., cum sella et freno.

Johannes Sixyndale, taylour, habet xls.: habet ij heykes et j securim communitatis et j lanceam.

Johannes Keld habet xls. solutos: habet ij heykys et j securim communitatis et j lanceam.

Brianus Holm habet xls. solutos, et habet iiij heykes pro se j haynsman et j homine ad portandum le geton, et pro j homine ad carandum cariagium suum: et dictus Brianus habet j equum Johannis Barton pretii xxs.

Willelmus Atkynson xls. solutos, habet ij heykes. Item j ventayle, j par vaumbrace et j par rerbrace de armatura communitatis, et j securim ejusdem communitatis. Et dictus W. Atkynson habet j equum Henrici Tasker, pretii xxvjs. viijd.

Willelmus Hanson habet xls., et habet ij heykes. Et idem W. habet j equum cum cella (*sic*) et freno, pretii xxvjs. viijd., et j securim communitatis, j basnet cum ventale, j par vambrace et rerbrace et j loricam et j brestplate et j lanceam."

Various sums are advanced from the moneys of the community for the pay of the armed men till a levy can be made, and 15s. is paid to William Atkynson for bearing the Geton towards Scotland. It would seem, however, that Brian Holme was the standard bearer.

Each armed man had 2 archers assigned to him, each of whom had a "heyke."

*ff.* 74 *b.* and 78 *b.* are taken up with the list of those assigned to find archers, and their payments are under the headings of the constabularies, as before. Each constabulary pays a sum varying from 20*s.* paid by Lathgate, Barlyholm, Keldgate, to 20*s.* 10*d.* paid by Norwood and the Provost's fee at Bekside. The largest individual contribution is 18*d.*, the smallest 1*d.*

The numbers are :—

North Bar Without	-	-	50	Cornmarket	-	-	-	38
" " Within	-	-	45	Norwood and Provost's Fee				
Walkergate	-	-	38	at Beck	-	-	-	57
Highgate	-	-	47	Lathgate	-	-	-	49
Fischmarket	-	-	40	Barlyholme and Bekside	-			71
Flemmyngate	-	-	60	Archbishop's Fee in Keld-				
Provost's Fee in Keldgate,				gate	-	-	-	48
Highgate and Minster-								
moregate	-	-	32					

*Disoneratio fratris ad Crossbrig.*

5 Aug. Ric. Keleby, unus pauperum domus S. Trinitatis juxta Pontem Crucis, disoneratus est de fraternitate domus . . . eo quod ipse convictus fuit hic esse fornicator et tenet unam mulierem sororem ejusdem domus in concubinam.

*f.* 79 *b.* Fines of Brewster Guild, 36*s.* 2*d.* Price of wheat at Assize of bread 5*s.* 22 pay.

*f.* 80. Bellman appointed; two bells delivered; two others remain with late Bellman.

*Transgressio Piscatorum.*

*f.* 83. Rob. Galt, Thomas Tonton, Rob. Potager, Th. Haddiswell et W. Gelle, fishers, moniti sunt hic ad exponendum [etc.] xls. quia non habuerunt pagendam suam deludendam die Corporis Christi hoc anno secundum consuetudinem villæ et contra pœnam registratam. Pro qua transgressione submiserunt se et quilibet eorum pro se submisit [etc.] Et transgressio pardonatur gracie sub hac conditione, quod prædicti Piscatores pagendam suam facient competenter in omnibus citra diem Dominicam in Ramis Palmarum proximum futuram post datam præsentium. Et si prædicti piscatores hoc non fecerint [etc.] xls., et ad hoc jurati sunt super Sancta Dei Evangelia per ipsos corporaliter tacta.

*f.* 83 *b.* Admissio Capellani, 26 June 1450. Will. Tasker, capellanus, admissas est unus Capellanorum cantariæ Johannis de Kelke jam vacantis per mortem Johannis Esthorp.

The shepherd of Fegang is made to give security for 40*s.* if he again lets in cows of burgesses living in Keldgate, Eastgate and Minstermoregate "ad pasturam de Westwode vocatam Milkky."



The burgesses living in Keldgate fined 4*l.* for giving 2 milch cows to Fegang shepherd, who drove them from the Minster to the pasture and back again.

*Assignatio Ludi Corporis Christi.*

Memorandum quod pagendæ ludi Corporis Christi assignantur in forma subscripta deludendæ. In primis ad Barras Boriales. Item apud Bulryng. Item ad domum Johannis Skipwith. Item deinde apud Fischmarket. Item inter cer. . . (?) et campanam. Item ad Monasterium. Item ad Torrentem.

*f. 84.* Lease of Seyntgelicroft for 10 years at 4 silver marks a year.

*f. 84 b.* Pond. Panis, 29 July. 1 default. Price of corn 7*s.* a quarter.

*f. 85.* Robert Galt, fischer, fregit pavimentum juxta finem venellæ vocatam Bowbriglane, pro qua transgressione arrestatus fuit et positus in gaola: exposuit 8*s.* 4*d.* Inde pro expensis arresti et curiæ dom. Arch. xij*d.* The rest pardoned on promise to restore the pavement.

*f. 85 b.* J. Barton, bocher, maliciose cum j cartelax vellet verberare Joh Cofy unum de xij Gubernatoribus: fined 2*s.*

Two become pledges to Almshouse at Crossbrig for Rob. Cokke, "procuratore dictæ domus," for 4 years, "reddendo inde annuatim dictis pauperibus . . . xx*s.* et pro elemosina secundum conscientiam suam."

*f. 87.* Pond. Panis, 11 Feb. Price 7*s.* To bake at 6*s.* 6*d.*

1452. 18 April. R. Neve admitted to moiety of Kelk's Chantry. "Will. Waleys receptus est procurator domus pauperum S. Trinitatis juxta Pontem Crucis pro iij annis proxime futuris, solvendo annuatim confratribus et sororibus domus prædictæ pro comitatu Eboracensi xxv*s.* viij*d.* per plegia etc. Postea W. Thoryton receptus est procurator cum dicto W., et reddit ultra summam prædictam v*s.* viij*d.*

Memo. quod Johannes Conton, unus de xij Gubernatoribus villæ anni instantis, liberavit hic iij liberaturas cum iij scutis argenti de novo factis pro spiculatoribus villæ, ponderis xvij unciarum dimidii præter j quadrantem deficientem."

This passage has been transcribed by Mr. Hope in his appendix to *Corporation Plate*, II. 604, together with several other passages which Mr. Leach showed him. He supposes from this passage that there were now two sets of Waits' scutcheons, because the weight given before in 1451 was 13½ oz. It seems highly improbable that the community would have kept two sets of such expensive articles as these scutcheons, or would have sometimes given the Waits the old set and sometimes the new. The use of the words *de novo factis* points probably to the old ones being re-made.

*f. 89.* Admissio Capellani ad cantariam S. Nicholai. Thomas Stanys, vice Th. Cleveland mort., in ecclesia seu capella B. M. V.

*f. 89 b.* Pagenda sub pœna, A.D. 1452. Porters et Crelers inferius nominati moniti sunt prædicto die et anno quod habeant j pagendam de novo factam ad ludendum super die Corporis Christi proximo futuro post datum præsentium seu festum Annunc. B. M. V. prox. fut. sub pœna forisfacturæ xls. ad usum communitatis. Rob. Thornskeu, aldermannus, monitus est hic xvj die Jun. ad exponendum vjs. viijd. eo quod lutores artis Carpentariorum nesciebant ludum suum die Corporis Christi contra pœnam proclamationis communis campanatoris. Pro qua trans. etc. et habet diem prox. ad exponend. dictam pœnam.

*f. 90.* Solutiones ad ludum vocatum *Paradice*. Adjudicatum es. hic per Thomam Whyte [etc.] Gubernatores quod Johannes Chapelayn sen., heyzer, solvet annuatim in futuro Aldermanno et Seneschallis artis de Rapers ad ludum suum iiijd. et unicus Julius Barker solvet ad dictum ludum ijd. Dat. xi Jul. aº supradicto.

*Petitio dez Websters versus Communitatem.*

*f. 91.* Quædam lis et debata facta est inter Johannem Messenger, webster, et Johannem Newton (nuper) servientem dicti Johannis Messenger ex parte una, et Robertum Oversale, aldermannum, Robertum Kyrkeham et Johannem Bentlay, seneschallos artis prædictæ, ac totam artem dez Websters, quod ipse Johannes Webster induxit dictum Johannem Newton in castellum dictæ artis die Lunæ Rogationis contra voluntatem confratrum artis suæ prædictæ. Ideo ordinatum est hic quod si prædictus Johannes Messenger, vel aliquis alius magister artis prædictæ, ipsum Johannem Newton recipiat ac ipsum hospitet tanquam servientem suum in futurum, contra proclamationem factam versus ipsum Johannem Newton in curia domini Cardinalis et Archiepiscopi Ebor., quod extunc ipse qui sic inventus est culpabilis, forisfaciat ad usum communitatis xxs. totiens quotiens aliquis eorum reus inventus est. Dat. iiijº die Oct.

*f. 91 b.* Two legis periti, W. Ennas and W. Eland, retained at 18s. 4d. a year.

*Liberatio calicis et patenæ argenti.*

Memo. quod remanet sub custodia Johannis Conton j calyx cum patena argenti et deaurata, ponderis vj unc.  $\frac{1}{4}$  ex liberatione Johannis Wallays, unius xii Gub., pro qua calice et patena idem Joh. solvit de denar. commun. Johanni Barow, cartwright, uni executorum Thomæ Skirlawe, capellani defuncti, xjs. iiijd. Et residuum denariorum communitatis, viz. iijs. ix. remanet in manibus suis ultra expensas jantaculi xii Guber. Dat. xiiij die mensis Nov. aº xxxjº H. VI.

*f. 92.* Will. Schirburn and John Cummyswell were fined 20d. for assaulting one of xii Gov., out of £10; the rest remitted at request

of Lord Egremorne, son of the Lord Northumberland. Several tilers find security "ad essendum burgenses."

*f. 92 b.* Spiculatores retenti. xiiij<sup>o</sup> die Jan. anno xxxj<sup>o</sup> regni Regis Henrici Sexti, Johannes Hesilhede, Robertus de Celario et Martinus Gymer de novo retenti sunt in officio Spiculatorum villæ Beverlaci tam diu placuit xij Custodibus sive Gubernatoribus anni instantis, et successorum suorum xij Gubernatorum ejusdem villæ qui pro tempore fuerint: capiendo nomine salarii sui ad voluntatem xij Gubernatorum villæ qui pro tempore fuerint xls.

Et prædicti Spiculatores fecerunt fidei securitatem, et quilibet eorum per se, dictis Gubernatoribus villæ anni instantis, quod non recessent nec aliquis eorum recesset a servitio suo prædicto, nec cum aliquo domino Regni Angliæ se retinebunt, seu retinebit, sine speciali licentia dictorum Gubernatorum anni instantis aut successorum suorum in futurum. Et ex curialitate habebunt ad vesturam suam ex consensu venerabilium villæ infra Gildam Aulam aggregatorum xs. argenti.

*f. 100.* 1455. A change in the handwriting. John Boswell elected common clerk.

*f. 100 b.* 9 Oct. Ponderatio Panis. Price of wheat 5s. a quarter.

23 Nov. Rob. Galte juratus est scindere pisces maritimos dividendos proportionaliter cuilibet Burgensi Outpokes et levers, sub pœna xxs.

Thomas Cowton noluit vendere le Outpokys, levrys et tayles piscium recentium, ideo habet pœnam xxs. forisfacere Gildæ Aulæ quando amodo sic defecerit.

Johannes Whateley, fischer, juratus est scindere et vendere pisces recentes, secundum pretium rationabile in foro cum le Outpokes, levrys, guletes [livers, gulleys], sub pœna xxs.

*f. 102 b.* Tax last half of 15th and 10th.

The sums are the same as in the first tax, but deductions are allowed to each constabulary:—

	s.	d.		s.	d.
North Bar Without ...	24	8	deduct	6	8
„ Within ...	75	8	... „	7	0
Walkergate... ..	60	0	... „	6	8
Cornmarket ... ..	74	0	... „	6	8
Fishmarket ... ..	72	11	... „	6	8
Provost's Fee at Beck	80	0	... „	6	8
Highgate ... ..	42	7	... „	6	8
Flemmyngate ... ..	48	8	no deduction		
Keldgate Abp. ... ..	30	8	deduct	6	8
„ Provost... ..	15	0	... „	2	0
Lathegate... ..	33	6	... „	6	8
Norwood Provost ...	25	0	... „	1	0
Clapton Fee ... ..	9	11½	... „	1	8
Barlyholm ... ..	66	4	... „	5	0

*f. 103.* 22<sup>o</sup> Jan. Ad specialem requisitionem Johannis Kyrkham, aldermanni artis Tegulatorum, et confratrum ejusdem artis ex una parte, et Ricardi Ayres ex altera parte, dictus Ricardus Ayres exoneratur de omnimodis costagiis et expensis et aliis oneribus ejusdem artis pro perpetuo: excepto tamen quod dictus Ricardus Ayre solvet annuatim ad sustentationem pagendæ et luminis artis prædictæ viij*d.* Et si contingat dictos Telers tempore futuro erigere seu habere castellum ligneum de propriis die Lunæ Rogationum, tunc idem Ricardus solvet ad sustentationem dicti castelli iij*d.*, solvendo die Dominica proxima post Festum Corporis Christi de anno in annum.

*f. 106. English.* Accord and arbitration, Ulceby, butcher, *r.* Garthern, capmaker. The latter apologizes for imputing felony to the former, and pays *xxs.*

*f. 106 b.* A charge that the "commune registerium fuit rasuratum et interlineatum per mercatores et vesturam suam," referred to arbitration of Sir John Nevyll, of Cottingham, Kt., and given against the accuser.

*f. 109 b.* 1456. "Nominati ad inveniendos homines armatos versus Scotiam in vigilia S. Bartholomæi," 34 H. VI. Brian Holme is one of them.

*f. 110 b.* "Subscripti nominati sunt et assignati ad invenendum sagittarios versus Scotiam." Only the names of 2 constables for each constabulary are given, each constabulary finding 10*s.* except North Bar Without and Norwood, which provide 7*s.* 6*d.* and 5*s.* respectively. Lathgate here appears by its modern name Laugate. The balance of the 20*s.* to the Archers is paid "de communi bursa."

*f. 112.* 4 March 35 H. VI. "Visus duarum fossarum Joh. Smyth capellani perpetuæ cantariæ domini Rob. Rolleston clerici, nuper Præpositi Beverlacensis, infra ecclesiam collegiatam beati Johannis Beverlacensis": found that all willows etc. planted on them belong to J. Smyth in right of the chantry.

*f. 113.* Pond. panis, 5 Dec. 36 H. VI. 1 deficient. Price 5*s.*

*f. 117.* Pond. Panis capta ad Aulam Placitorum domini Archiepiscopi, 8 Nov. 37 H. VI: Price of wheat 4*s.* a quarter.

*f. 117 b.* Assisa Panis Equini 21 Nov. Deficiency, 66*s.* 8*d.* Joh. Sprotley, ostiller; 63*s.* 4*d.* Joh. Barwell, ostiller. Fined 6*s.* 8*d.* each.

*f. 119.* Pœna venellarum in rangea Carnificum. Two butchers to clear the lanes of filth deposited by them on pain of 20*d.*

*f. 120.* 1459. Ricardus Dalkyn receptus est per Custodes ad officium Communis Clerici.

*f. 121. Pœna Ludi Corporis Christi per carnifices perdita.*  
Unde r. xld., et residuum condonatur ita quod  
amodo taliter non fecerint.

Die Martis quinto die mensis Junii A.D. supradicto, ad quem diem Thomas Law, Alderman artis Carnificum Beverlaci, et alii confratres sui venerunt in Gildam Aulam Beverlaci prædicti, et xls. monetæ Angliæ in gratiam communitatis posuerunt pro eo quod cum lusoribus suis tarde venerunt ad portas Boriales Beverlaci prædicti ad ludendum pagendam suam in festo Corporis Christi ultimo elapso, contra ordinationem inde factum. Et remanent cum Will. Kirkby.

*Littera Testimonialis.*

Item, conceditur caritative Margaretæ et Elenæ filiabus Thomæ Wayte nuper de Beverlaco, littester, littera testimonialis sub sigillo communi ad declarandum statum dicti Thomæ patris sui, et Thomæ filii sui, in priona in villa de Ewe infra partes Normanniæ existentium.

*f. 121 b.* Memo. quod sigillum commune in бага sigillata sigillo Willelmi Mayn remanet in custodia Johannis Welles, unius Custodum hujus anni.

Item, quod бага cum denariis communitatis solutis super compotum remanet in custodia dicti Joh. Welles, et continet in toto xiiij*li.* vjd. et debentur de Th. Derlyngton pro fasciculis nondum receptis xijs. ijd. Summa communitatis xiiij*li.* xijs. viijd., et communis bursa remanet in custodia Willelmi Kyrkby unius Custodum.

*f. 122 b.* Die Sabbati xxij<sup>do</sup> die mensis Septembris, 38 H. VI. In Gilda Aula villæ B. congregati fuerunt xij Custodes sive Gubernatores communitatis ejusdem anni instantis, cum nonnullis aliis fide dignis et comburgensibus dictæ villæ: viz. Johanne Holme, uno Baronum de Scaccario Domini Regis, Edwardo Portyngton, Johanne Coppandale, Alexandro Creyke, cum quampluribus aliis communitatis prædictæ ibidem, per manus Newport, armigeri Ballivi villæ prædictæ, quoddam scriptum dicti Domini Regis sub suo privato sigillo receperunt. Cujus tenor sequitur in hæc verba.

By the King.

Trusty and well beloved, We have understande by dayly report made to us how divers persons of the Northe partes of this our Reaume make great assembles and gaderyng of people for what cause we understande not, How be it that it cannot be thought but it sowneth greetly to the trouble and subverting of our pees and lawes. Forsomuch we, of the greet and singuler truste that we have in you, wil desire, pray you specially, and also charge you, that with alle thee might and strength that ye can make ye addresse you towardes oure persone in alle haste, to entende and

assiste us with other our trewe subjects to the rebuking and setting of parte of tho that wold any thing presume to attempte ayenste oure persone or oure said pees and lawes, and this as ye tendre and love the welfare of our saide person and alle this our lande, and the conservacion and keping of the same oure pees and lawes. Yeven under oure prive seel at oure castel of Kenilworth the XI day of Septembre. To oure trusty and wellbeloved the Bailiff and Burgeys of the towne of Beverlay.

Cujus quidem scripti supradicti auctoritate et mandato XII. Custodes prædicti mandato regio obtemperare volentes fecimus et ordinavimus homines armatos, sagittarios, ut patet etc. Quibus persolvimus summas subscriptas, colligendas et capiendas de tota communitate, viz. de qualibet constabularia, ut sequitur.

[10 leaves are here torn out, probably because they incriminated the Governors &c. on the Lancastrian side.]

f. 123. 1462. Pecunia mutuata per xij Custodes ad solvendum sagittariis cum domino Comite Warwicensi versus partes Boriales x<sup>mo</sup> die mensis Aprilis anno regni Regis Edwardi IV<sup>o</sup> secundo.

Extra Barras	- -	24s.	8½d.	Alta Via	- - -	42s.	6d.
Infra	„	- -	65s.	8½d.	Fisshmarket	- -	62s. 11d.
Walkergate	- -	60s.		Keldegate Arch.	- -	30s.	8½d.
Cornmarkett	- -	64s.		do. Provost.	- -	15s.	½d.
Barlyholm	- -	66s.	4d.	Flemyngate	- -	48s.	8d.
Bekside Præpos.	- -	30s.		Norwood	- -	25s.	
Laithegate	- -	38s.	6½d.	Feod. Capit.	- -	9s.	11½d.

The amounts are nearly identical with the moiety of 15th and 10th on f. 17 b, but with small variations.

f. 124. 1 June, 1462. Twenty, being "omnes carnifices," fined 6s. for keeping for sale in their shops beef killed more than 4 days.

f. 125. b. Nomina sagittariorum versus partes Estmarchiæ conductorum per communitatem villæ Beverlaci, quolibet eorum capiente vadium pro xxj diebus, tribus capitaneis capientibus quolibet eorum plus quam socii sui vjs. viijd., incipiente die Martis, xix<sup>mo</sup> die mensis Julii, Edw. IV. secundo.

The names of the 12 archers and their payments are given. All but the first two receive 31s. and 1 jacket: the first two 28s. and 2 jackets, parti-coloured blue and white, "viz., quolibet jakett continente j virgam partiti coloris blodii et albi: summa virgarum blodii, vj virg. 3s. 4d., pretii xjs. 10d.: summa virgarum albi viij½d., pretii vjs. 2d.; in toto xxs. ij½d., quos solvit Johannes Copy.

Et [in] solutis Thomæ Wencelagh, ballivi, equitantis usque Holme ad communicandum cum Vicecomite causa prædicta ijs. vjd.

Et in expensis xij Custodum prædictorum laborantium circa collectionem dictorum vadiorum per diversas vices, in toto xjs. vij½d.

Et pro factura et suitione del jaketts, viz. xiiij, pro quolibet jakett iiij*d.*, iiij*s.* viij*d.*

*f.* 127 *b.* xvj. Nov. 1463. Littera testimonialis, sigillo com. vill. Bev. signata, concessa est Agneti Herrison, relictæ Joh. Herrison apud Towton ad bellum ibidem decedentis, ad mendicandum.

*f.* 129 *b.* Consentientes ad Gildam Aulam habendam in domo communitalis nuper in tenura Roberti Jacson, draper, viz. in fine australi del Dyngs.

De xij.

Alex Creyke, gent. (*sic*)

Mr. Thomas Manshipp, gent.

Joh. Copy, draper.

Will. Whetley, gent.

Joh. Redesam, mercer.

2 mercers, 1 limmer, 1 chapman,

1 brasyer.

De xlvij.

Joh. Coppandale.

18 others.

#### Artifices.

Aldermanni et Seneschalli artis Mercatorum, Carpentariorum, Fabrorum, Cissorum, Tinctorum, Tannatorum, Textorum, Allutatorum, Barbitonsorum, Cerothercarum, Coupers, Piscatorum, Watermen.

Magister Thomas Menshipp et alii socii sui xij Custodes sive Gubernatores villæ die Veneris, xvij die Feb., A.D. 1462, publice in Gilda Aula congregati et sedentes, præmunitionem legitimam dederunt Johanni Redesham, Gildæ Mercatoriæ Sancti Johannis Beverlacensis Aldermanus, quod ipsi relinquere volunt et proponunt dictam Gildam Aulam pertinentem dictæ Gildæ ad festum Pentecost. circa annum ex tunc proximum sequentem etc.

13*s.* 6*d.* a year given to Mr. and Mrs. Jakson, tenants of Dyngs shops, for surrender of their lease, and 60 "fasciculos" in Westwode.

*f.* 130 *b.* Tuesday before Lady Day, 3 Edw. IV. "Conceditur caritative pauperibus Domus Eleemosinariæ Sancti Johannis Beverl. in Laithegate j carécta focalium de Westwode ad orandum pro communitate."

Registration of grant by Edw. IV. of all lands in Beverley of Richard Cokerell, gent., attainted, to John Ferreby "valettus de corona nostra."

*f.* 138. John Ottley, shomaker, attachiatur ad respondendum eo quod ipse occupat, et per plures annos præcedentes occupavit, shopam suam ut magister, *et non est burgensis*, contra ordinationem inde factam.

#### Ministralli retenti.

*f.* 137. Walterus Kirkby, histrio, 14 die mensis Nov. anno supradicto (1464) invenit plegios Christoferum Shafter, glover, et

Johannem Calverley; Robertus Spek, alius histrio, invenit plegium Johannem Holborn, shomaker; Willelmus Watford, iij histrio, invenit plegium Ricardum Kitson, bocher; ad fideliter serviendum communitati ut ministrallus, usque Festum S. Marci proximum futurum, et ad redeliberandum xij Custodibus iij colers cum iij scutis argenteis, ponderantibus quilibet eorum ut patet in libro communi: quilibet coler habens xxxvij lynkes, ij stipas, ij pendauntis, ij bokilles, j stapul et j swychon, viz. in dicto festo Sancti Marci Evangelistæ proximo futuro; et concessum est per xij Custodes habere pro salario suo pro tempore prædicto xijs.

f. 138. Sunday labour. John Smith, shomaker, fined 8*d.* for selling goods on Sundays.

f. 141. Pond. panis: 1465, Monday after S. Hillary, 5 Edw. IV. Price 4*s.*

f. 143. A fisherman fined (but fine remitted) for negligence in saying he was not a burgess, when he was.

f. 146 b. 2 Dec. 1466. Rob. Walker, de B., comparuit et exposuit in gratiam iijs. iiij*d.* pro eo quod non habuit liberatam cum confratribus suis die Lunæ Rogationum ultimo præterito prout habuit in mandato per xij Custodes anno prox. præterito. Unde recept. x*d.*, et resid. condonatur.

Roger, bakster, fined 2*s.* for making black bread mixed with barley and peas.

f. 147. 13 Archers hired at 10*s.* a day "ad equitandum cum domino Comite Northumbriæ versus partes Northumbriæ et Durham ad resistentiam malitiæ Umfridi Neville et aliorum inimicorum Domini Regis."

f. 148 b. Alderman of the Cissores fined for taking fines in his craft without knowledge of Governors.

1467. 20 Apr. Thomas Robynson admitted to Kelk's Chantry.

*Scuta histrionum reliberata.*

f. 149. Scutum histrionis deliberatur per Thoman Selater, et ponderat v uncez di. quarter; per Johannem Perron, et ponderat v uncez di. quarter iij ferthyngwegh troy; j scutum per Johannem Bell, et ponderat vj uncez, et deficit j ob. wegth de troyea; in toto xvij uncez et dim.

*Ludus de Pater Noster hoc anno ludendus.*

f. 150. Consentientes, &c. diversis artificibus vill. Bev. ad ludum de Pater Noster ludendum infra villam B. die Dominica in crastino Festi Sancti Petri ad Vincula A.D. mccccxvij, xxix<sup>o</sup> die mensis Maii anno supradicto. Consentientes; Mercatores, Glovers, Nauti, Barbatonsores, Barkers, Tegulatores, Fabri, Cowpers, Fletchers, Walkers, Websters, Cissores, Allutarii, Littsters, Bakers, Laborarii, Tellarii, Brasiatores.



Liberantur Registra. Barbatonsores, Cerotecarii, Nauti, Tannatores, Flecchers, Coupars, Piscatores, Carnifici (*sic*), Pistores, Textores, Cissores, Fabri, Carpentarii, Allutarii, Fullones, Tinctores, Tegularii, Laborarii, Cellarii, Brasiatores, Mercatores.

Ludenda in locis assignatis. In primis, ad Barros Boriales, Bulryng, ad ostium Ricardi Conton, in Via Alta, Crossebrug, Wedynsday Market, Mynsterbowe, et Bekside.

Lusores : Pryde, Invy, Ire, Avaryce, Sloweth, Glotony, Luxuria, Vicious.

Assignantur artifices et misteria ad dictum ludum ludendun. Omnes isti venerabiles et artifices assignati sunt ad diversas pagendas de Pater Noster ludendas ut inferius patet :—

Ad pagendam de Viciose, viz : gentilmen, merchands, clerici, et vadletti; sed Rogeus Kelk et Joh. Copy assignati sunt Aldermanni dictæ pagendæ.

Ad pagendam Superbiæ, viz : shomakers, goldsmyths, glovers, glasiars, skynners et fishers : sed Willelmus Downes assignatus est Aldermannus.

Ad pagendam Luxuriæ, viz : littsters, walkers, wevers, pynners, cardmakers, wire draghers; sed Robertus Johnson assignatus est Alderman.

Ad pagendam Accidii (*sic*), viz : watermen, husbandmen, laborars, sadlers, rapers, crelers, mylners et furbisshers; sed Ric. Bliton assignatus est Alderman.

Ad pagendam de Gula, viz : baxters, vinters, pandoxatores, coci, tilers; sed Joh. Spaldyng assignatus est Alderman.

Ad pagendam Invidiæ, viz : bochers, wrights, coupers, fletchers, patyners; sed John Wod assignatus est Alderman.

Ad pagendam Avaricii (*sic*), viz : taillours, masons, braciars, plummars et cutellers; sed Nicholaus Gedney assignatus est Alderman.

Ad pagendam Iræ, viz : tannatores, barbatonsores, fabri et pinctores; sed Johannes Robynson assignatus est Alderman.

f. 151. Spiculatores retenti eisdem die et anno. W. Watson, Johannes Watson, Johannes Bulson retenti sunt communes histriones villæ Beverl. pro anno futuro, et habent tria scuta argentea, viz., Willelmus Watson habet j scutum ponder. (*blank*); plegium Thomæ Abram, shomaker; quolibet eorum capiente ad salarium suum de communitate prædicta vjs. viij*d.* et iij*s.* iij*d.* ad corrodium suum.

x Julii, 1467. Thomas Abrams, shomaker, pro eo quod ipse non vestitus fuit in unica secta cum confratribus suis die Lunæ Rogationum, habet diem Martis proximum ad exponendum, etc., iij*s.* iij*d.* Quo die comparuit, etc.

f. 151 b. vij die Augusti A.D. mcccc. lxxij. Johannes Copy, Aldermannus artis Mercatorum, pro rebellione sua in pagenda artis Mercatorum Beverlaci dictis lusoribus

præstanda, et aliis rebellionibus suis, habet ad disponendum in manus dictorum Custodum secundo die sessionis dictorum xij Custodum post reventum suum London, xls. Postmodo comparuit et exposuit xls. xvij die Augusti.

Consentientes ad registra diversarum Artium emendanda et corrigenda; (15 of 48. A committee appointed.)

*f. 152. b.* 19 Feb. 1467. Ricardus Kittson, bocher, fined 6*d.*, "de eo quod interfecit j taurum non canibus laborosum prout deberet et consuetudo villæ requirit."

*f. 161.* 23 Feb. 9 Edw. IV. Letters testimonial under the common seal to John Maikewhate, tailor, "ad testificandum innocentiam suam de causando mortem Ing. Lepton, ballivi libertatis Archiepiscopi."

*f. 161 b.* 1469. "Sagittarii conducti pro communitate ad equitandum cum Domino Northumbriæ pro repressione Hob. de Redesdale et aliorum inimicorum Domini Regis in crastino S. Marci ix<sup>o</sup> E. IV., existentium in negotio prædicto per ix dies." 6 at 6*s.* each, and 8*s.* 4*d.* "in regardo" to the Bailiff, with other expenses 10*d.*

18 June. "Armati et sagittarii" for 3 days.

*f. 162 b.* Money borrowed to pay them.

*f. 163.* 1470. Victualia capta de expensis communitatis et data Domino Edwardo, Regi Angliæ moderno, ad usum hospicii sui apud Eboracum in festo Annunciacionis anno regni sui decimo.

In primis, de Johanne Tabert, pistore, pro ij duodenis panis albi et ij duodenis panis equini, xij pro xij [*the baker's dozen*] - - - - - iiij*s.* ¼*d.*

Et de Johanne Bell, pistore, pro iiij duodenis panis albi et vj duodenis et viij penyworth panis equini - - - - - xs. viij ¼*d.*

(and so on, from 4 bakers more for 44 dozen white bread and 28 dozen horse bread.)

Habentes harnas de communitate prædicta:—

Johannes Lorymer, habet j par polanse.

W. Atkynson. (The same.)

Rob. Clerk, taillor, habet j paunch de male, j brest et j gorgett de male.

J. Lyndesay habet j basenett.

R. Robynson habet j brest, j gorgitt de male, et j alium gorgett de male.

T. Cuke habet j habrischon et j basnett.

J. Maikewhate, saidler, habet j basnett et j gorgett de male.

R. Brian habet j par waumbrace.

J. Redesham habet j par cussches, et reportavit.

J. Siglesthorne habet j par cussches.

3 others, each "j habrichon, j brest, cum j basnett."

*f. 163 b.* Misæ positæ per communitatem prædictam ad resistendum inimicos Domini nostri Regis E. IV. anno ix<sup>o</sup> die Mercurii in festo S. Cuthberti.

Extra Barras	-	-	-	-	13s. 4d.
Infra Barras	-	-	-	-	80s.
Cornmarket	-	-	-	-	40s.
Alta Via	-	-	-	-	20s.
Wednesday Market	-	-	-	-	20s.
Keldgate Præposituræ	-	-	-	-	7s. 9d.
Laithgate	-	-	-	-	10s.
Norwod	-	-	-	-	8s.
Walkergate	-	-	-	-	20s.
Flemmyngate	-	-	-	-	20s.
Barliholme	-	-	-	-	20s.
Bekside Præposituræ	-	-	-	-	13s. 4d.
Feodum Capituli	-	-	-	-	10s.

"Regarda armatorum et sagittariorum cum domino Comite Northumbriæ versus inimicos Domini Regis de partibus Richmundiæ, attendencium super xij Custodes, per ij dies Martii anno regni Regis E. IV. x<sup>o</sup>." 3 Capitanei and 16 Sagittarii 12d. each.

*f. 165. 1470.* Tax for archers, 4 August 10 E. IV., with Henry Earl of Northumberland. North Bar without 13s. 4d. and so in proportion.

*f. 166 b.* Vadia soluta xx sagittariis cum domino Comite Northumbriæ conductis die Veneris 3 Aug., cuilibet eorum pro viij diebus, 8s.

Et [in] solutis Johanni Copy pro panno blodii et albi mixto æquato per lez bendels, xvjs.

Et in riguardo dato Willelmo Morsell equitanti ad dictos sowgeours pro supervisione et gubernatione eorundem iij<sup>s</sup>. iiij<sup>d</sup>. et postmodo solutis Willelmo Morsell capitaneo dictorum sowgeours . . . pro vadio suo pro viij diebus, in partem solutionis, xiijs. iiij<sup>d</sup>.

*f. 167.* The last entry in the book, as to a butcher's fine, is dated 8 Feb. 147 $\frac{1}{2}$ .

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*Gild Book. f. 84 b.* CHANTRY OF JOHN AKE.

John Ake's Will.

1398. In God's name, Amen. Monday before Michaelmas A.D. 1398. His body to be buried in the Chapel of Blessed Virgin Mary in Beverley. To the fabric of the same 13s. 4d. To fabric of collegiate church of S. John Beverley 6s. 8d. To fabric of church of Blessed Peter at York 6s. 8d. To Friars Minors of Beverley 66s. 8d., on condition that they find a chaplain to celebrate

divine service for one year after his decease for his soul. To Friars Preachers of Beverley 66s. 8d. on same condition. To Friars Minors of Beverley 5s. on condition of their celebrating a trental of masses for his soul. To Friars Preachers of Beverley 5s. on same condition. To Friars of the Order of Blessed Mary the Virgin, and to the Austin Friars of Kyngeston upon Hull the same sums on same conditions. To Friar William Grovall and Friar Robert Grovall 13s. 4d. each. To his Rector for tithes forgotten 40s. To Sir William of Scarborough ("Scardeburch"), perpetual vicar of the aforesaid chapel, 6s. 8d. All lands and tenements in Beverley to Ellen his wife to find a chaplain to celebrate in his Chapel built on the Crossebrig, if the said tenements will suffice after providing for her reasonable food and clothing and that she have the appointment of 20 poor persons in the God's House ("Domus Dei") there, on any vacancy, and after her death the 12 Keepers and Governors of the town of Beverley to have the same for the same purpose in accordance with ordinances made or to be made by Robert of Garton and Henry Maupas, clerks.

To his sisters Cecilia and Alice 40s. each. To John of th' Hill of Walkyngton 40s. and a gown 'sengle.' To John Proktour of Walkyngton the same. To Alice wife of Richard Thompson of Burton, to John Westiby of Dalton and Jane wife of John Gervays, each 13s. 4d.. To Richard his servant if he lives ("*si convertatur ad vitam*," recovers) 40s., a horse, a packsaddle, ("paksadill"), a pack cloth ("pakcloth") a gown of worsted, a doublet and a hood.

To Thomas of Ellerton, if he goes to Rome, 6s. 8d. To Thomas Yoke of Beverley, formerly a draper, 40s., his best cloak, and a gown of the latest livery of the Merchants but one. To Thomas of Lokyngton of Beverley, draper, a new gown of the latest livery of the Merchants, another gown of russet, a black belt and a dagger ("bastardum") hanging on it. To William Blakemore of Beverley his best belt. To William of Carleton a gown doubled with fustian and a "puned cote." To every poor man and woman lying in the Maison-Dieu a new gown of russet and 6d. for their shoes. To Margaret of Thwenge 6s. 8d. To Laurence of Frottingham of Hull and his wife, on a good account between them and his executors, 40s. Residue to Ellen his wife and Thomas Yoke, executors, to dispose of for the good of his soul. Witnesses: Richard of Beverle, William of Blakemore, and William Spen, Town Clerk ("clerico communitatis villæ").

Proved before John of Harwod, assessor of the Chapter of York, 7 October, 1398. Release given on full administration and account 17 Nov., 1398.

1398. License in Mortmain. 7 June, 21 Richard II. For 12 marks, license to Robert de Garton and Henry Maupas, clerks, to grant to the 12 Keepers of Beverley 2 messuages and a vacant place 120ft. long, 80ft. broad, for a chaplain to celebrate divine service daily for souls of Thomas, late Archbishop

of York, John of Ake of Beverley and Elen his wife, in a certain chapel newly built on the same place, and for 12 poor to dwell in some houses built in the same place and continually to pray for same.

1399. License to same by Richard (Scroope), Archbishop of York, to grant to Richard of Ryse and others, 12 Keepers and Governors of the town of Beverley, a tenement held by Thomas of Ryse in Keldgate; and place lately built on upon the Crossebrigg for a chaplain to celebrate divine service, and for 24 (*sic*) poor and their successors in a certain God's House, lately built on the Crossbrigg, and confirming the grant of the Chapter of the Cathedral Church of Blessed Peter at York of the tenement which John of Ake held on the day of his death in the Crossegarthes. Dated in our manor of Ryse, on vigil of Nativity of St. John Baptist, 23 Richard II.

License to same for John of Ake's house held of the Prebend by Robert Crowll, Prebendary of Fridaythorp in the Cathedral Church of Blessed Peter of York, confirming grant of Master Richard de Scrop, Archbishop of York, of Thomas of Rys' house held of the Archbishop. Same date.

Grant by Henry Maupas, clerk, of messuages, as in the License of Mortmain, to William Dalton and others, the 12 Governors. Dated at Beverley, 1 March, 8 Henry IV. Witnesses, Robert of Hilton, knight ("chivaler"), John Conestable, knight, John Hothom, knight, Robert Twyer, knight, John Routh, knight, William Rolleston, Richard Agwillion and many others.

Power of attorney to Nicholas of Rys to deliver seisin of same. Same date.

[Ordinance of the Tylers, 20th April, 1563, written here.]

1407. 8 Henry IV. 7 March.

Ordinance of John Ake's Chantry, by Henry Maupas.

*f. 86.* After pious exordium, "Intendo et dispono juxta exilitatis meæ modulum in quadam capella ad Pontem Crucis in villa Beverlaci sumptibus providi viri Johannis de Ake de Beverlaco, mercatoris defuncti, et Elenæ uxoris suæ adhuc superstitis, de novo constructa, quandam erigere cantariam unius capellani imperpetuum duraturam ad quandam domum communiter dictam Domus Dei pro inhabitatione quorundam pauperum, et pro aliquali parte eorum sustentatione[m] providere sicut inferius continetur."

The appointment of this chaplain and of the poor (20) to belong to Elen Ake during her life, and after her death to the Governors.

Chaplain to have six marks a year: to be presented within 40 days of vacancy to Archbishop, in default the presentation to pass to Chapter of Beverley, and in default to the Archbishop.

Chaplain to observe the canonical hours, with *Placebo*, *Dirige*, and Commendation, according to the use of York, daily, and certain masses, viz., on Sunday, mass of the Trinity; on Monday, of the Dead; on Saturday, of Our Lady, excepting double feasts.

Chaplain to be admitted a brother of the House. Power of removal for misbehaviour or non-residence after two warnings.

Twenty poor to be kept of either sex.

To be summoned by bell, to be rung by a brother assigned for the purpose, for  $\frac{1}{2}$  hour at 6 a.m. and 6 p.m. daily for mass and vespers in the chapel. All able to rise from their beds are to attend on bended knees. The ringer is to inform and urge them to pray for the Founders' souls and lead them in saying one Creed, 3 Lord's Prayers and 3 Angelic Salutations and the third part of the Psalm of the Blessed Virgin, viz., with Creed and 50 Angelic Salutations and 5 Lord's Prayers. The rest of the Psalm they are to say daily by themselves at convenient times.

Those unable to leave their beds are to say the same at the same times.

Power of removal for misconduct or absence.

Dated at Beverley same day and witnessed by same persons as the deed.

f. 88. 1417. Obit of John Ake and Elen his wife.

Indenture of four parts between Elen of Ake and John of Bilton, chaplain of the chantry of the Holy Trinity in the charnel ("charnello") of the chapel of the B.V.M. in Beverley, of one part, Thomas Skipwith and three other churchwardens ("custodes fabricæ") of the chapel of the B.V.M., elected by the common consent of the parishioners of the same, of the other part; witnesses that, in consideration of a set of vestments of cloth of gold, green and blue, with three copes of the same suit, and 20*l.* sterling paid to the churchwardens to the use of the fabric or new work of the same chapel, they grant to the parties of the first part yearly rent of 5*s.* 3*d.* issuing from a messuage outside the North bar, where Thomas Godyf now lives, bequeathed by John of Lokyngon to the churchwardens, to be paid to the said parties if default be made in celebrating the obit of John of Ake and the said Elen his wife in the chapel of the B.V.M. on Sunday before Michaelmas. The rent to be distributed that day as follows:—To Master Peter of Irford and his successors, vicar of the chapel, 4*d.*; to 12 chaplains present at *Placebo* and *Dirige* and mass with music 2*s.* 2*d.*, of which 12, Thomas Browne, chaplain of the chantry of the Hospital of the Holy Trinity or Poor-house at the Crossebrig and his successor is always to be one; viz., to two of the 12 acting as Rectors of the Chantry 6*d.*, viz. 3*d.* each, and to the other 10, 2*d.* each; for offering at the mass, 1*d.*; to the 4 parish clerks of the chapel for ringing the four chief bells 4*d.*; to the 4 choristers among them, 2*d.*; for the cover of the tomb of the

Akes 1*d.*; for 4 wax tapers to burn on the tomb 6*d.*; to the common bellman to go through the town for the souls of the same 2*d.*; to the common box of the Hospital or Poor-house at the Crossbridge 3*d.*

If this is performed the rent is then to remain to the Churchwardens. Witnesses: Nicholas Ryse of Beverley, Thomas Frost, Thomas Coppardale, William Cokerell, Thomas Coppardale, Thomas Caldebek, Thomas Swanland, Thomas Jolyf, and others.

Dated Lady Day, 1417, 5 Henry V.

*f.* 87. 1419-20, 9 Jan. Memorandum: on Tuesday 9 January 1419, 7th year of Henry V., Nicholas Ryse and 8 others, 9 of the Keepers or Guardians of the Town, present in the Guild Hall, and also many discreet men ("probi viri et discreti") 22 in number, and many more gentlemen ("honesti") of the community, duly summoned by the Common Sergeant, confirmed, for 20 marks paid by John Bilton of Beverley, chaplain, and Richard Fauconer of the same, skinnors, executors of the will of Elen of Ake, widow of John of Ake, the ordinance of the Chantry on Cross Bridge.

*f.* 87. *b.* 1419 20 Dec. Presentation to Henry Archbishop of York, by Nicholas Ryse and the other Governors, of Thomas Brown of Beverley, chaplain, to the Chantry of the Chapel of the Holy Trinity at the Cross Bridge.

1419-20. 14 Jan. Institution by the Archbishop of same in same.

Letter to admit same to same by same, same date.

*f.* 88 *b.* 1419-20, 9 Jan. Indenture between Nicholas Ryse and others, Keepers of the Town, of the one part, and Thomas Brown, chaplain of the Chantry of the Holy Trinity at the Cross Bridge, of the other part. Receipt by Brown for books, chalices and other ornaments of the said chapel, as particularly described.

Amongst other things are a Missal of York use, valued at £4, a Breviary ("portiforium manuale"), because new, of York use, fully valued at £4. Indenture of the Ordinance of the Chantry, £5. Chalice and paten, because new, of silver gilt, 13½ oz. 36*s.* 8*d.* Bell, 10*s.* Two cloths with red crosses painted on them, for Lent, 8*s.* 4*d.*; &c. A cupboard of 3 shelves ("stagis") for the vestments, books, etc., 6*s.* An alabaster image of the Trinity with painted wooden canopy ("tabernaculo"), 6*s.* 8*d.* Image of Virgin with Child on left arm, of wood, well carved, and gilded, 40*s.* Another of alabaster, 3*s.* 4*d.* Wooden crucifix, with Virgin and S. John, on the wall over the altar, 8*s.* 4*d.* Portable crucifix, 20*d.* Image of S. Ann and Virgin, 6*s.* 8*d.* Two small pictures standing on the altar, 20*d.* A woollen carpet in front of the altar on principal feasts, 20*s.* Lamp with a "cassula" of latton, 16*d.* Two forms, &c. A leaden "halywaterfatt," 8*d.*

Bond by Brown and three sureties in £90 for safe custody of the said goods. 10 January, 1419-20.

Perhaps the most singular travesty of any document published by Poulson is his version of the Indenture summarized above. There is scarcely a single item given correctly. The bell to hang "*desuper capellam*" is translated "a bell for the upper chapel"; a cloth "*ad serviendum*" in Lent is written "*ad emendum*"; "two towels hanging at the lavatory" appear as "towels laced at the ends"; a fanon "*de lineo picto*" appears as "a fanon the lining painted;" and so forth.

Conveyance of lands, &c. from a Mercer of Coventry.

*f. 89 b.* 1404, 30 April, 5 Henry IV. Charter of William of Wythornwyke, otherwise called Syward, of Coventry, mercer, granting to John Hapford, merchant and passenger of Coventry, and William Melborne of Beverley, mercer, all his lands &c. in Beverley. Witness John of Barowe, Mayor of Coventry, Philip Baron and Simon Sheffield, Bailiffs of the same, John of Garton, draper ("*pannarius*"), Ralph of Garton, mercer of Coventry, Robert Swanland, Thomas Dene, drapers of Beverley, Laurence Trymenell, clerk, and many others. Coventry, Wednesday, vigil of SS. Philip and James, 5 Henry IV.

Letter of attorney to Robert Swanland to deliver seisin of same.

1404. 12 July. Charter of John Hapford, mercer and passenger of Coventry, and William Melborne of Beverley, mercer, the above Grantees, re-conveying to Grantor and his wife Isabel for life; remainder to their daughter Ellen and the heirs of her body; remainder over to John, brother of William, and his heirs; in default, to Governors of Beverley, to sell and distribute proceeds for good of the souls of William and Isabel.

Witnesses: John of Melton, John of Wythornwyke, Robert of Sledmer, Stephen Graybarn, William Spen, clerk, and others. Dated, Beverley. Saturday after Translation of St. Thomas the Martyr, 1404.

#### KELK'S CHANTRY.

Copy of tripartite agreement ("*compositionis*") respecting the Chantry of Thomas Kelk, formerly of Beverley.

*f. 91 b.* 1425. 24 Apr. The Keepers of the Town, Roger Rolleston, John Brompton and others (named),—after recital that Nicholas Chamberleyn of Beverley by his deed of feoffment confirmed to the then 12 Governors 6 messuages, 14 cottages, 3 acres of land and 7 acres of meadow, with licence of Henry V.\* and Master Henry Bowet archbishop of York, to find two chaplains

\* Licence is on Rot. Pat., 2 Hen. V., part 3. m. 9, dated 29 Jan. 1414-5.



to pray for the souls of Thomas of Kelk, merchant, Alice his wife, John his son and Margaret his wife, and all the faithful departed, in the church or chapel of the B.V.M. at the altar of S. Thomas the Martyr, and the said Nicholas gave other rents and tenements in augmentation of the same—with the consent of the Vicar and Churchwardens ordain as follows:—

The chaplains to celebrate mass daily and divine service according to York use, with *Placcho* and *Dirige*, for the souls aforesaid; and to be present at Matins, Hours and Vespers, in their stalls in choir next the stalls of the chaplain of the Chantry of Saint Katharine and the chaplain of the brotherhood of the Holy Trinity, or, by assignment of the Vicar and Churchwardens, to one of them a stall be assigned in the South part of the choir.

The chaplains to be of good behaviour, not to frequent suspect women, to take care of books, chalice, vestments, and ornaments.

Leases of the property to be made with consent of the Governors.

Power of removal for misconduct by the majority of whole body of Governors.

Chaplains to be sworn to observe ordinances in the Guild Hall.

Dated, Tuesday before St. Mark's Day, 1425, 3 Henry VI.

Richard Sutton and Thomas Scarburgh, now chaplains, admitted and sworn.

Sealed with common seal of the community of the town, the common seal of the churchwardens of St. Mary's, the seal of Master Peter Irford, vicar of same.

[Poulson represents N. Chamberlayn as having "endowed" the Chantry; but he was only the representative of Kelk in carrying out his foundation.]

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#### MISCELLANEOUS DEEDS.

(Endorsed) Ferybi Croftes.

*Circa* A.D. 1200. Omnibus Sanctæ Matris Ecclesiæ filiis præsens scriptum visuris vel audituris Robertus de Sancto Edmundo, Prior de Feriebi et conventus ejusdem loci, salutem.

Sciatis nos quietem clamasse Rogero de Morlay et heredibus suis pro nobis et successoribus nostris in perpetuum redditum unius marcæ quem Willelmus de Morlay nobis dedit in molendino suo de Stenigton pro tribus croftis quos Rogerus de Morlay nobis dedit in territorio de Burtona, scilicet croftum presbiteri sicut fossatum illum includit, et Brotherhoweroft sicut fossatum illum includit, et croftum quem Normanus præpositus tenuit sicut fossatum illud includit, ad capud calceti versus austrum.

Et si forte contigerit quod Prior de Feribi vel prædictus conventus ejusdem loci in aliquo tempore per aliquod ingenium vel malum consilium huic quietæ clamationi contraire voluerint, Rogerus de Morlay vel heredes sui recognoscent se ad prædictos croftos quos nobis dedit in præfata villa de Bartonæ.

Et ut hæc quieta clamatio firmitatis robur obtineat sigillum nostrum et conventus nostri præsentī scripto apposimus. Hiis testibus, Willelmo de Morlay, Dunecano de Morlay, Ricardo Hyrnig, Henrico de Coigniers, magistro Walkelino, Radulfo capellano, Ricardo clerico, et multis aliis.\*

(*Endorsed*) Ourum Karre.

1333. 29 Sept. Omnibus hoc scriptum indentatum visuris vel auditoris Rogerus de Somervyl, dominus de Burton Annays, Noveritis me dedisse *etc.* Agneti quæ fuit uxor Richardi de Wychenore, quondam camerarii mei, unum toftum cum crofto et tres bovatas terræ et unam placiam turbariæ in Orehdurker ad fodiendum annuatim viginti caractatas turbariæ sine vasto vel venditione; et unam placiam prati inter pratum domini Willelmi capellani ex parte orientali et croftum quod Robertus Ape quondam tenuit ex parte occidentali, cum omnibus pertinentiis suis in villa et territorio de Burton Annays; illud videlicet toftum cum crofto, et illas tres bovatas terræ et illam placiam turbariæ et dictam placiam prati . . . quas dictus Richardus de Wychenore quondam de me tenuit.

Habendum et tenendum [etc.] ad terminum vitæ suæ [etc.] Reddendo inde annuatim 62s. sterlingorum [etc.]: [she to repair and cultivate properly].

Dat. apud Burton Annays die Jovis in festo Sancti Michaelis A.D. 1333. [But Michaelmas Day fell on *Wednesday* in that year.]

Hiis testibus, Johanne de Thirnom tunc senescallo domini Rogeri de Somervyl, Johanne Fraunceys de eadem, Alexandro de Burton, Thoma Cutmot de eadem, Thoma Preman de Grauncemor, et aliis.

Round seal, brown wax. Virgin with Child, seated, issuing from a crown.

1352. 23 June. Indenture in four parts. Grant by John of Wilton of Beverley to Chapter of S. John's Church Beverley, of houses in High Gate, Fishmarketmorgate, and Keldgate, to find 6 marks a year for chaplain of a chantry in honor of Corpus Christi on north side of S. James' Altar or at head of S. John's tomb in the Minster. (Printed in *Proceedings of Society of Antiquaries*, 8 March, 1894.)

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\* This charter seems to dispose of the account given by Tanner (*Dugdale's Monasticon* VI. 590), that Feriby Priory was founded on the dissolution of a Templars' Preceptory there. This deed is certainly not later than John, and the Temple was not dissolved till Edward II.

1378. 20 Dec. Grant by Jane, widow of John Randolf, to Sir Rob. de Bakton, rector of Louthorp, of an oxgang in Ruston field, belonging to her as heiress of her father John Hobkyn.

Sciant præsentes et futuri quod ego Johanna quæ fui uxor Johannis Randolfi de Kyllom, in pura viduitate mea et in legitima potestate mea dedi [etc.] domino Roberto de Bukton, Rectori ecclesiæ de Louthorp, unam bovatom terræ in campo de Ruston juxta Louthorp, prout jacet in eodem campo juxta terram quondam Simonis Spynes de Nafferton, et quam quidem bovatom terræ habui de jure hæreditario post decessum Johannis Hobkyn patris mei, cujus hæres ego sum: Habendum et tenendum [etc.] . . . imperpetuum.

Hiis testibus, Willelmo de Kelk, Rogero de Ruston, Willelmo de Pokethorp, Willelmo de Thweeng de Ruston, Ricardo de Sothiby de eadem, Johanne Warde de Louthorp, et aliis.

Dat. apud Ruston, 20 Dec., 2 Richard II. [1378]. Round seal of grantor, green wax.

1420, 9 June, 15 Henry V. Grant by Margaret, widow of John de Lyndale, son and heir of John de Lyndale of North Burton, executrix of John, of houses in the Crossgarths devised by him on trust for sale to John Elton of Everyngham, "gentylman," and Alice his wife, and Walter Gude, chaplain.

"Hiis testibus, Thoma Skypwyth, Waltero Midelton, Johanne Bewine, Ricardo Befforth, Waltero Dunhame clerico de Beverlaco, et aliis. Data apud Beverlacum nono die mensis Junii, A.D. millesimo cccc<sup>mo</sup>. vicesimo, et anno H.V. 10<sup>o</sup>."

1469. 22 Sept., Robert Prokter, chaplain to Thomas Mynskip, of Beverley. Settlement of capital messuage in Crossgarththes on Thomas Mynskip for life, remainder to Thomas Mynskip, junior, and Elizabeth his wife and their heirs male, remainder to Nicholas and Edmund sons of T. Mynskip, senior, successively in tail male, remainder to right heirs of T. Mynskip, senior.

"Hiis testibus, domino Johanne Prokter, capellano, domino Johanne Marche, capellano, Ricardo Spencer, et multis aliis.

Dat. xxij<sup>mo</sup> die mensis Septemb. anno regni Regis Edwardi iiij<sup>o</sup> post conquestum Angliæ nono" [1469].

1548. 28 August. Sir Michael Stanhope and John Bellowe to Abraham Metcalfe and Jane his wife, granting mansion of the Seven Rectors of Beverley, granted to them by Letters Patent of 26 Aug.

"Omnibus Christi fidelibus ad quos hæc præsens carta pervenerit, Michael Stanhope, miles, et Johannes Bellowe, armiger, salutem. Sciatis nos pro quadam pecuniæ summa nobis per Abraham Metcalfe de London, generosum, et Johannam uxorem ejus bene et fideliter soluta, unde fatemur nos [etc.], acquietatos [etc.] dedisse; concessisse, vendidisse, barganizasse et hac præsenti carta confirmasse præfatis Abrahæ et Joannæ Totum illud messuagium tenementum seu mansionem nostram ac omnia

domos aedificia ortos pomeria gardina et curtilagia nostra quaecumque eidem messuagio [etc.] adjacentia, spectantia, sive pertinentia, cum eorum pertinentiis universis, scituata jacentia et existentia in Beverley in comitatu Ebor., nuper in manibus et occupatione propria nuper Septem Rectorum in nuper collegio sancti Johannis Beverlaci in praedicto comitatu Ebor., quae quidem omnia et singula praemissa nuper fuerunt parcella possessionum dicti nuper collegii de Beverley praedicta; adeo plene libere et integre prout omnia et singula praemissa ad manus domini Regis nunc inter alia devenerunt, ratione et praetextu cujusdam Actus de diversis cantariis collegiis guildis et fraternitatibus dissolvendis et determinandis in Parlamento ipsius domini Regis nunc tenti apud Westmonasterium anno regni sui primo inter alia editi et provisi, et adeo plene libere et integre prout idem dominus Rex nunc per litteras suas patentes sub magno sigillo suo Anglico confectas, gerentes datam 26 die Augusti anno regni sui secundo, ea omnia et singula praemissa nobis praefatis Michaeli et Johannæ ac heredibus et assignatis nostris inperpetuum inter alia dedit et concessit, habendum tenendum et gaudendum praedictum messuagium [etc.] ac cetera omnia et singula praemissa [etc.] Tenendum a dicto domino Rege nunc heredibus et successoribus suis ut de manerio suo de Burstwicke in dicto comitatu, [etc.]”

Warranty. Appointment of Wm. Grimston, gent., and Henry Logeneif, yeoman, attorneys to deliver seisin. Dat. 28 Aug. 2 Edward VI.

1552, 28 Nov. Edwardus VI., D.G. Anglia [etc.] Rex, F. D. et in terra ecclesiae Anglicanae et Hiberniae supremum caput, Omnibus [etc.] salutem.

Inspeximus inter recorda et irrotulamenta curiae nostrae Augmentationum et Revencionum coronae nostrae, [etc.]—

Memorandum. Where the Burgesses and “Communalitie” of the town of Beverley within the county of York have exhibited their Bills of complaint unto the King’s Highness, showing by the same bill that where there was a great parish church within the said town (&c.) called S. John of Beverley Church, within which church there was lately a College which had divers manors, lands, [&c.] belonging to the same, amounting to the value of £1000, all which [&c.] are now comen into the King’s Highness hands by reason of a statute made [etc., *The Chantries Act*] in the 1st year of his reign, And that for the necessary reparations of the said church long time since there were given and assured certain lands and woods of the yearly value of £60 and above, which were not within the compass of the said statute, And nevertheless the rents and profits thereof received to the King’s Highness use ever sithence the dissolution of the said College; By reason whereof the said church was in great decay and in short space like to fall in utter ruin and decay, the parishioners there not being able to repair the same, It might therefore please His Highness to grant unto the said Burgesses and Commualty the said £60 and above by grant [&c.]

Which supplication and the matter thereof the Lords of the King's Majesty's Most Hon. Council by their letters from Hampton Court, 6 July last past, did refer to the consideration of the Chancellor and General Surveyors of the Court [&c.] Whereupon the said Chancellor [&c.] upon consideration . . . and search of records touching the King's title to the premises, did find the said lands [&c.] to be possessions of the said College, and that the King's Highness hath good right and title to the same by force of the said statute; Nevertheless the said Chancellor [&c.] found . . . by the certificate [of Chantries] that there was an office called the office of Works in the said Collegiate Church which had lands [&c.] to the yearly value of £68 1s. assured unto it, And that with the profits the officer thereof did repair the said church . . . and was accountable to the same late College for the same . . .

For that the said church is very great and ruinous, and yet very necessary to be upholden, the said town being a market town very notable and populous, and the parishes therein very great, and in consideration of the other circumstances before rehearsed —

It is ordered and decreed by said Chancellor, [&c.] 12 Nov. 6, Edward VI., [&c.] That the 12 Governors of the said town [&c.] and their successors for the time being shall receive and take the rents, issues and profits of so much of the said lands [&c.] called [&c.] the office of Works of the said church as are yet remaining in the King's Highness' hands, and are of the clear yearly value of £33 18s. 10d., as by a particular thereof made by Sir John Bellow, particular surveyor of the King's lands within the East Riding . . . appeared.

And where the King's Majesty, by way of exchange, is pleased and contented to give a grant to the high and mighty prince John, Duke of Northumberland, and to his heirs the manor of Bentley, being of the . . . value of £18 5s. 10d., and being parcel of the . . . office of Works . . . ,

It is ordered and decreed that the said 12 Governors [&c.] shall receive [&c.] the rents [&c.] of all the lands [&c.] belonging to the two late chantries of S. John of Beverley and S. William founded in the [&c.] church [&c.] aforesaid being of the . . . value of £14 18s. 4d. And also . . . all that annual pension of £4 18s. 4d., which was payable by them to the King's Highness yearly in the right of the late chantry of S. Katherine founded in the church of Our Lady within the town of Beverley.

And it is ordered [&c.] that the Twelve [&c.] shall employ all the said rents [&c.] upon the reparacions of the said church from henceforth yearly as necessity shall require and as before time hath been accustomed [&c.] And shall yield accompt thereof yearly to the King's Majesty's auditor of the said county. . . .

And it is further ordered [&c.] that the Twelve [&c.] shall have the arrearages of all the premises which belonged to the said office of the Works [&c.] before the said exchange amounting to

. . . £62 14s. 8d. for one whole year ending at [Michaelmas] last past to be paid immediately upon the making of this decree . . .

Nos autem tenorem [&c.] duximus exemplificandum. In cujus rei testimonium has litteras nostras fieri fecimus patentes. Teste Ricardo Sakevyle, milite apud Westmon., 28 Nov. anno regni [&c.] sexto. Irrotulatum in officio Willelmi Notte, auditoris.

Great Seal in brown wax, much broken, the reverse effaced. Poulson's assertion that the people of Beverley did nothing to get this grant is seen by its very terms to be wrong.

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#### ACCOUNTS.

The accounts of the Twelve Keepers or Governors commence with the year 1344. The receipts are as follows. From the admission of five burgesses at 3s. 4d. each, and 5s. from Alan Helver, £1 1s. 8d. Rents paid for the Dyngs, Whitsuntide term, £2 18s. 5d.; St. Martin's term, £3 9s. 10d. For the pasture of the Fegang, £1 16s. 1d., and of the Swynmore, £1 3s. 9d. For 16,000 tiles from the Tilery, £2. Then follow particulars of numerous receipts from taxes and from the boxes of the wards, &c., the Millers' box, and the Merchants' box. To several of the merchants the community was indebted for money lent towards a present to the Archbishop; and money was also due to several representatives sent to London to procure a lessening of a tax, "when William of Dalton and Sir Thomas du Clay were in London for the same business." The total sum of receipts was £33 16s. 6½d., and of expenses twopence more. The expenditure includes £3 4s. 6d. for the expenses of Sir T. du Clay and Will. Dalton in going to London and for gifts, with reference to the tax-abatement. Presents were given to the Sheriff and to Sir Gerard Salwayn and Sir Walter de Heselarton on their coming to array men against Scotland; and to Sir Thomas Cotyngham, to whom, with others, fees were paid for counsel and assistance. A separate account follows of the receipts and expenditure for pavage, the former amounting to £12 0s. 7d., and the latter exceeding by a halfpenny. Large quantities of white stone were bought for the streets, and a wooden bridge was made in Bowbriglane.

1366. In the account for this year there are eight entrance fees. Additional boxes from which contributions are received are the Butchers', Bakers', Tanners', Brewsters', Carpenters', Dyers', Ironmongers', Fishers', Tilers', and Skinners'. The expenses include £4 0s. 11d. to the Archbishop for a pipe of wine; 20s. to Sir Symon de Heselarton, knt. in the sessions at York of Lord de Percy and his fellows, to be favourable and helpful to the community; payments for bills (petitions) made to the King's council to remove piles in Hull, and for the expenses of the Sheriff and steward of Holderness when they sat for the removal of the piles in Hull; 3s. for a year's rent of the Guildhall to the Chapel of

B. V. M. (paid also in 1386). The schoolmaster, "Magister Scolarum," occurs amongst those who pay pavage. The balance of total receipts (£165 17s. 0½d.) over expenses was £40 5s. 10½d.

1386. Poulson says that there is no roll of accounts for the reign of Richard II.; but there is one for the year 1386, which is in a remarkable form, as it exhibits a change, if not in the government of the town, at any rate in the administration of its finances, being the "Compotus," not of the Twelve Keepers, but of "Thomæ Gervays, aldermanni villæ Beverlaci, Johannis Trippoks, Johannis de Acon, camerariorum." The alderman and chamberlains for 1385 are also mentioned, as paying over a balance of £8 17s. How long the change lasted does not appear, but the next extant account, twenty years later, for 1405, is rendered again by the Twelve Keepers (*cf.* the Town Chartulary, f. 18, the Charter of 138½). The entrance fees in this year are 25. One mark was given to the "almosser" (almoner) of the King for his good word on behalf of the community to the King. To Richard Tirwhit for divers speeches and help for the community in the court of the Archbishop, 3s. 4d. To Robert of Garton for instructions for a letter sent to Grimsby for freedom from toll taken there from the burgesses, and for other help and counsel, 3s. 4d. The payments for paving and ditching are numerous. To Sir Walter, chaplain of the Gild of St. John, 20s. For fish sent to the Friars Preachers for a pittance for the easement which they afford to the community in keeping the common chest, 6s. To William Frost for speaking with master Walter of Skirlawe [who was a canon of Beverley, keeper of the Privy Seal, and afterwards Bishop of Durham], procuring him to be a friend and favourer of the town, 3s. 4d. To Robert Chapman, to be favourable and helpful to the community, 6s. 8d. To Richard Warde for the same, and for exoneration from making the bridge in the Churchyard of St. John's Church, 6s. 8d. [Other gifts also in return for help.] Delivered to Thomas Jolyf and John Trippoks for their journey to London, and for the accomplishing ("perpetrations") of the Pavage Charter, £4. And to the said John Trippoks for his aforesaid labour to London in company with Jolyf, 20s. To Thomas Tirwhit for expediting the common business at London, £6. To Thomas Gerveys, alderman, for fulfilment of his office, 100s. And to John Trippoks and John of Akon, draper, the chamberlains, for the same, each 20s.

1405. Entrance fees received from 23 burgesses. The trouble caused by the northern rebellion in which Archbishop Scrope was engaged is marked by various entries. Paid to Hugh de Arderne for his counsel in the time of lawsuit and insurrection, 6s. 8d. Expenses of watching and keeping the town, 5s. 4d. For timber brought for bars for defence of the town, and making them, Friday before Whitsunday, 29s. 8d. To a valet of the King carrying a letter for the community of Pountfraytt, 6s. 8d. Wine and beer for armed men and archers, 3s. 4d. To Walter Barbour, for his labour in going to Ripon to ask of the King's passage and removal to the North, 3s. 4d. To Richard Cokeram, a gift of

courtesy for his good carriage and favour in the Northern parts with the armed men, 6s. 8d. Wine for the same armed men at the time of their meeting in the market, 15d. Cloth bought for the hoods of the men-at-arms and archers, 12s. 3d. A debate between the community and Lord de Mauley involved a gift of wine to the steward and household of the latter and other expenses. To Robert Bubthorp, the King's squire, for his good favour to the King, 40s. For a hogshead of wine given to Sir John de Scropp, 46s. 8d. The waits, for their yearly fee, 40s.; they are called "spiculatores," a term by which, in common with those of "histriones" and "ministralli," these officers were designated.\* The total cost for making a new Bar was £29 13s. 2d.

1407. From the account for this year Poulson gives copious extracts, but both his Latin original and translation have many mistakes; one of which, in the heading, represents the whole body of Keepers as "defunctis" in the sense of "functis officio," whereas the word applies only to the two last persons named, in the sense of "deceased." Forty-nine burgesses were admitted with fees of 20s. each, and Thomas Walkyngton, archdeacon of Cleveland, with fee of 40s. From Richard Laythorpe, rent of the Lepers' House outside Keldgate Bar, 8s. An entry translated by Poulson as describing receipts "for withy-beds, faggots, and escapes of the pastures," is in reality for "lime-kilns (*thoralis*), faggots, and strays (*extrahure*) on the pastures." Fines to the amount of £4 7s. 8d. were received from divers burgesses and brewsters unjustly indicted in the county for obtaining a commission of the peace so that the county might not hold inquisitions in the town. [A similar commission had already been granted in 1396.] Most of the items in the account of expenses (including those on the visit of Henry IV. and his son John) are given by Poulson; one which he omits is the cost of "red lasch," or fringe, added to the green cloth of the Guild Hall table.

1409. Entrance fees from 56 new burgesses. Subscriptions to the amount of £8 7s. 7d. were received for leading and tiling the Bars. In the expenses we find, for wine to John the King's son, in the Minster yard, 2s. 9d.; on the vigil of St. Andrew, at inspection of charters and muniments, &c., 7s. 6d.; expenses of Richard Beverley to York about toll taken at Hornsea from the burgesses, 4s. 6d.; costs of work on the High Bridge, £9 12s. 2d.; rebuilding the North Bar (the only Bar now standing), £96 9s. 11½d. This was begun 16 July, and was completed to the "roseynyng" of the doors about 4 Apr. following.

This building account has been published by Mr. Leach in full under the title "The Building of Beverley Bar," in *Transactions of the East Riding Antiquarian Society*, vol. iv., 1896,

\* Poulson translates it as "archers" in the account for 1407 and elsewhere, and Messrs. Jewett and Hope (*Corporation Plate*, 1895, II: 541) mistake in distinguishing the watchmen from the waits.



p. 26 seq: with an extremely interesting paper entitled the "North Bar, Beverley," by Mr. John Bilson, F.S.A., F.R.I.B.A., on its architecture, and the mediæval use of bricks ("wall-tiles") for building, and their prices. He estimates the cost of building the Bar now at £800 to £900.

1416. Entrance fees of 80 burgesses. Several salters fined 4d. for selling salt at the Beck at a higher price than it was appraised at. The payment for the rent of the Lepers' House is now entered as being 6d. to the Archbishop "for the common tenement outside Keldgate, *once* the Lepers' House." The rents for the Guild Hall are entered as 20s. to the Alderman and Stewards of the Merchant Guild of St. John of Beverley, and 3s. to the Wardens of the fabric of the Chapel of the B. Mary. There were expenses connected with the delivering up at York of the commission of the peace granted to the Twelve Keepers by the charter of 18 Feb., 2 Hen. V., the charter (with the exception of the last clause) having been annulled by Parliament on the petition of the Archbishop of York, as it was in derogation of the rights of the Archbishops as keepers of the peace in their lordship of Beverley. The circumstances and charters are detailed in Poulson's history, I. 174, 184, where also, at p. 192, the reserved clause, which exonerated the burgesses from the collection of taxes outside the town, is noticed as being included in the *Inspeximus* charter of 15 May, 1 Hen. VI. One hundred marks were lent to the King, which were had in September out of the hands of the Rector of Brantingham and Robert Midelton; the costs attending the negotiation of the loan were no less than £4 11s. 3½d. A new pavage commission for seven years was obtained on the mediation of Sir Symon Gawnstede, which cost £19 12s. 5d.

Appended to this account is a list of ancient arrears, some of them 14 and 15 years back, but not yet written off.

There is also added an account of the "rents and farms of the community which belonged to John Kelk."

He had founded a Chantry in St. Mary's Church, of which he had made the Twelve Keepers trustees. A copy of the Ordinance of the Chantry made in 1425, 9 years after this account is in the Guild Book, as printed *supra*.

	£	s.	d.
The Keepers' account for "rents of divers tenants of lands and tenements whose names appear in the account of Richard Sutton, chaplain, sewn to this account" - - - - -	22	6	0
And received from Nicholas Chamberlayne, draper, executor of the will of the said John Kelk, for the price of a garden called Enyrgarthes, which Nicholas sold to William Rolleston, and gave the sum thence arising for repairs of the said tenements	8	0	0
Balance from year before - - - - -	4	11	0
Total - - - - -	34	17	0

## Payments.

Rents resolute - - - - -	2	5	8
Repairs of tenements, including one "next pardysse" (paradise) - - - - -	8	2	2

## Stipends and Fees.

To Richard Sutton for his salary at 4 terms, celebrating for the soul of John Kelk, merchant -	4	0	0
To the same for his fee for collecting the rents and seeing to repairs - - - - -	1	0	0
To Sir Thomas Scardeburgh, chaplain, celebrating for the soul of the said John Kelk - - - - -	4	0	0
	9	0	0
For tenements vacant through lack of repair and arrears of excessive rents - - - - -	4	7	11
Allowed because one tenant cannot yet be dis- trained, and others have nothing to be distrained, and so on - - - - -	6	4	3

Richard Sutton's account, on paper, is annexed, under the name of "Kelk-rent." It includes a great number of houses in "Outside Bar," "Couper Lane," "Wodlane," "Saint Marigate," "Lathgate," "Fishmarketmorgate," "Mercer-rawe."

1423. Fees for 15 new burgesses. Five are admitted without fee in right of their fathers, one of them John Tyrwhitt, described as "squyer;" and Thomas Brown, chaplain of Theme, is admitted free, because he promised to be at scot and lot as in common ("communicarius") for the future as a burgess. Two persons were fined for neglecting the pageants on Corpus Christi day, and 18 for rebellion in the Guild Hall on St. Mark's day. The payment to the waits, "spiculatoribus," is again (with the addition of *et* before the word) transformed by Poulson into "moneys paid to members of the Guild who were formed into a body of *archers*." A breakfast, dinner and supper on Corpus Christi day to the Earl [of Northumberland], countess, and family, in the house of William Thyxhill, barber, cost £4 0s. 4d. To Master Thomas Bynham, Friar Preacher, for making and composing the banns ("les banes") before the Corpus Christi play proclaimed through the whole town, 4 May, 6s. 8d. To the waits of the town, on the morrow of Ascension Day, riding with the said proclamation of Corpus Christi through the whole town, 20d.\* For two pairs of bags to keep the money of the community in, 2d. For a little leather sack to place the "remembranciæ" and other books in, for the profit of the community, 4 June, 4d. Expenses of the Twelve Keepers on Corpus Christi day in governing all the pageants passing through the whole town, 7s. 6d. 12 June,

\*Misled by a heading at the top of p. 275, vol. I, of Poulson, the date is wrongly given in Jewitt and Hope's *Corporation Plate*, II. 501, as 1506.

for bread, wine and other expenses on William Tyrwhitt for counsel in the matter of the rebels making an affray on St. Mark's day in the Guild Hall, 3s. 10d. Expenses for three days, with horse hire, of a messenger sent to the Mayor of York about toll wrongfully taken there, 10s. 11d. 4 April, for two silver shields ("scutis") in honour of the community, to be yearly delivered to the waits at the pleasure of the Keepers for the time being, under sufficient sureties, the price of the shield 31s.,\* of which for workmanship 11s. 8d. [These two shields were the waits' "scutcheons" or badges. They were remade in 1433, and a third was added later]. Dinner on the audit-day, £3 16s. 11½d. Among arrears are included 37s. due from Richard Skryvener, formerly Common Sergeant, for sums received from divers burgesses which he had not paid over or accounted for; and a lime-burner had absconded owing 25s. for rent.

In the heading of this year the Twelve Keepers are for the first time called Keepers or Governors, "custodes sive Gubernatores." The latter title gradually superseded the former. Whether, or in what way, the new title implied any additional power or position, does not appear; but it seems to point to a change of view, and the substitution for mere guardianship under the Archbishop of an assertion of some independent rule.

1433. Entrance fees, 21. In this year there occurs for the first time a statement of the pledges taken as security for arrears of burgess fees and of rents, &c. They are mostly pots ("ollæ"), but from William Draper, goldsmith, are taken a pot, two basons, and two . . . , as security for 6s. 8d.

The chaplains of Kelk's Chantry are Thomas Scardeburgh and John Esthorp.

Paid a goldsmith for working of two shields or arms ("scutos sive arma") of the community for the waits, 14s., gold bought for them, 3s. 4d. Six ounces of silver bought beyond the weight of the old shields, 15s. In two "corsis" [cases?] bought for the said shields, 2s. 4d. In wine given to John Ellicarr, retained of counsel for the community, in buying the measures of the Archbishop, 14d. Reward to William Surleby, bailiff, for a copy of the registered statute-weight, balance and measure, 20s.

Appended is a list of the weights and measures for the use of the community:—

"1 potell, 1 quart, 1 pynte, 1 gille de peutir, ij panyers, 1 hopir, 1 modus, 1 firthindel, 1 p<sup>e</sup> ('peck?') and ½ peck of wood, 1 gallon, 1 potell, 1 thirdpart, 1 quart of wood," for measuring ale, bought in the 5th year before: as appears in the account of that year.

And they have "5 pikkes, 1 whelbarow, 1 other barow, 2 tuppis, 3 schovelis, 2 saas, 1 tubbe, 2 bollis, 2 scotellis, 2 sparris, under custody of the Shepherd of Feyang; 850 stanlatts, 6 sparrs,

\* Foulson (followed in *Corporation Plate*, II. 501) gives by mistake "precii ejusdem, xis." but in his translation has the correct figures.

1 fleke, 1 horslok, 1 gavelok" of iron, and 2 silver shields for the minstrells ("ministrallis"), also armour for 6 men except "cuschews and grevys."

And there remains in the Common Chest in the Guild Hall a bond for ten marks of Master Thomas Chapman and others for confirmation of all the liberties of the town under a Bull sealed with a leaden seal after the fashion of the Court of Rome. These are they who are bound, Master Thomas, John Brompton, and William Weston, clerk ("literatus") of Beverley, and it remains in the Treasury.

1437. Entrance fees of new burgesses, 12. Paid to Roger Rolleston and two servants riding to London, 31 May, for a plea against the Prior of Bridlington, 12s. 11½d., and six shillings a week for 8 weeks in London, 48s. To Brian Holm, bailiff, for his labour in speaking with the Archbishop at Southwell for his award and judgment in the matter, 6s. 8d. To William Silvir, [the Common Sergeant] going to Southwell, with hire of horse, 9s. 4d. Three Keepers going to York to the Archbishop, three days, 32s. 8d. Two swans, six capons, and four gallons of red wine of Gascony to John Iwardeby, 6 Sept., 16s. 4d. Expenses of nine Keepers at the Bailiff's house for counsel as to answer to Mr. Thomas Chapman for confirmation of the new Bull of liberties of Beverley, 21 April 4s. 7d.

1445. New burgesses, 15. For arrears of entrance fees brass pots are the common pledges, but four yards of black cloth are taken from a tailor, two basons ("pelves") and a washing-bason ("lavacrum") from a cook, a "baselard harneysed" from Lawrence Sewardby, yeoman, a pair of shearmen's scissors ("schermanscheris") from a fuller, a small hammer from a smith, and two silver spoons from a mercer, William Gasquyn. Wooden bars and two "turnstilys" were put up at the ends of the lanes of the town, at a cost of £2 6s. 3d. Various extracts from the Account, relative to troubles caused by "the family" of the Earl of Northumberland, guarding of the bars, &c. are printed in Poulson, I. 205-212, in which the following corrections should be made; 6s. 8d. instead of 7s. 8d. for bread, wine and beer for 24 archers; Robert Davyson instead of "Sanyson"; expenses of Master Thomas, for three days, 18d., instead of 13s.; bread and wine for the sons of the Earl of Northumberland, 8d. instead of 8s. The following are additional entries:—Three clerks of the Justices for writing a *supersedeas* for the men of Beverley indicted for felony, 6s. 8d. To twelve jurors of the Esterithing for not proceeding against the men of Beverley in the said indictment, 6s. 8d. Expenses of officers of the King, 7 Jan., staying a night in Beverley with 32 horses, supping and breakfasting, 41s. 3d. Expenses, Tuesday, 8 Jan., at Sutton in Holderness, on four justices sitting there, the undersheriff of York, escheator, bailiffs of Hortill and Holderness, and other ministers of the King, for delivery of 71 men of Beverley indicted for felony at Norton, £9 13s.

1449. Total receipts £98 4s. 8d.; expenses, £98 11s. 8½d-

*Pavage expenses.* 22 Apr. To John Holme, counsel for the community, for his labour and expenses in obtaining the Pavage patent ("prosecutione paviagii patentis") newly confirmed this year for ten years, £5 2s. 5d.

*Common expenses.* 1 May, the Governors, Henry Thwaytes, steward of the Archbishop, the bailiff, and others, for continuance of the muster to the end of Pentecost, 6s. 3d. Four capons and two gallons of red wine of Gascony presented to John Holme, baron of the Exchequer, for the honour of the community, 6s. 8d. Expenses of Stephen Tilson and William Atkinson riding with four horses to York, to communicate with Henry Vavasour for their answer to the letter of the King sent to the inhabitants of Beverley for money to be lent to the King, going and returning 2½ days, with hire of horses, 22 Sept., 7s. 8d. Expenses to Willesthorpe with letter to Henry Thwaytes as to divers transgressions of the men of Skipsea distraining burgesses of Beverley, 18 Oct., 4s. 6d. Expenses of the Governors of this year and of the year before on Thomas Wylton and William Gren as of counsel of the community, in the Guild Hall, as to the answer to be given to Thomas White and John Middleton against the patent sealed in Chancery obtained by Alexander Crayke to discharge him of money owed to the King and other contributions of the town hereafter, 5 Dec., 5s. 8d. Reward and expenses of William Sleforth carrying the tax of the town to London, payable ("pacabilis") there, 19 Jan., 26s. 8d. Expenses of eight Governors sitting in the Guild Hall to receive the tax five days, in bread, ale, and wine, 18 to 22 Feb., 4s. 3d. 18 March, dyeing the green cloth, nails, and red fringe "(redlasch)" for covering the Guild Hall table, 9d. Expenses on Thomas Wylton for his counsel with regard to ("versus") John Portyngton, junior, and Edmund Portyngton, as to the Chantry of Nicholas of Ryse in St. Mary's Church, newly confirmed by the said John and his wife, as appears in certain indentures sealed between them and the community, 9d.

*Costs of the War ("guerrarum") against Scotland.* Paid to Jane Sotheby, widow, for half a white woollen cloth, bought of her for the "heykes" for the men-at-arms, the archers, "heynamen," and carriage men riding to the parts of Scotland, 28 June, 10s. 4d. Thomas Littestester, for half a blue cloth, for work of the "heykys," 17s. Expenses of ten of the Twelve Governors, 29 June to 3 July, sitting in the Guild Hall to receive the men-at-arms and archers chosen to *travail* ("laborandum") to Scotland, 3s. 8d. 1½ yard of cloth of Reynes bought for working 1 Geton, price 2s. 10d. 1½ yard of blue Tarteron bought for the same Geton 3s. 4d. 2½ [yards?] of white and blue silk of Paris bought for making the fringe round the said Geton 2s. 2d. 4 July, 9½ yards of the said silk in fringe ("frenge") round the said Geton 10s. For tailoring ("cissura") of the two half cloths for the "hykes" 10d. ¼ (sic) red buckram ("Bokirham") bought for making a socket ("soket") for the

Geton aforesaid 3*d*. 8 July, John Sixyndale, taylor, for making 28 "heykes" for the armed men and archers and others above-mentioned, and making the Geton, in all, 7*s*.  $\frac{1}{2}$  of a red woollen cloth the same day for crosses on the heykes and for silver of Cyprus ("Sipris") bought for embroidering ("browderyng") the same, 8*d*.

Expenses of 8 Keepers after receiving the bills of all the constabularies of the town, charged to pay archers assigned to them, the said day, 7*d*.

Expenses on the archers after their labour at the muster on Westwode and of the Keepers in viewing the muster, 21*d*.

Last of July, for bread and wine given to armed men their servants and archers, riding twice to Scotland, 3*s* 4*d*.

John Foster riding to Hull for copy of a commission of truce ("trugæ") directed by the King to the said town, and a copy thereof, 12*d*.

Brian Holme, bailiff of Beverley, esquire, to pay a man carrying the Geton of the community to the parts of Scotland, 8 days, with hire of horse, 1*s*. a day, 8*s*.

William Atkynson, William Haweson, John Kelde, John Sixyndale, Thomas Cokirham, men at arms, and each of them for self and horse of the arrears of their wages ("vadium") one day returning from the parts of Scotland to Beverley, 2*s*. 8*d*. of the money of the community, 13*s*. 4*d*.

To twelve archers, each of them for self and horse one day's arrears of their wages (etc.) 16*d*. = 16*s*.

William Atkynson for a bill sealed with the seal of the sheriff of Yorkshire, being a warrant in discharge of the said men at arms and archers released from the parts aforesaid, 20*d*.

Brian Holme, bailiff, man-at-arms, arrears of his wages, as appears by bill, examined and approved at the audit, 2*s*. 4*d*.

Total 5*l*. 5*s*. 4*d*.

*Costs of Dinner.* Expenses of the Great men ("magnatum") of the town dining together on the Audit day, in bread, wine, ale, flesh, capons, fowls, birds, spices, fuel, salaries of cooks and servants, and rewards, and small expenses, reckoned together as shown in bill examined at the audit, £5 0*s*. 0*d*.

A separate account of John Kelk's Chantry is appended; showing Receipts, as per account of John Esthorp, chaplain, £7 4*s*. 2*d*.

Expenses:—For 9 of the 12 Governors of this year and 4 of the 12 of the year before dining together 3 days in July, over the scrutiny of the accounts, 9*s*. 4*d*. And expenses of the said Governors in the Guild Hall about the examination and true proof of the injuries wickedly and unjustly done by the said chaplain to the said chantry, through men worthy of confidence, 4*s*. 5*d*.

1450. New burgesses 14. Total receipts, £117 14s. 9½d.; expenses, £90 8s. 1½d. From "Kelk rent" 88s. 3d. was received, with 13s. 4d. from Thomas Oversal, chaplain, one of the executors of the will of John Esthorpe, late chaplain of the chantry of John Ake. Eight-pence fine for carrying faggots to a woman in Flemmyngate before they had been priced by the Governors; twelve-pence, for abuse by a woman of the searchers of the craft of Bakers in doing their office. Paid to Richard Furbishour for keeping the arms, with twelve axes and six heads of six lances, 3s. 4d. In an offering made to Master William Percy, son of the Earl of Northumberland,\* at celebration of his first mass, by nine of the Governors, each 6s. 8d., for the honour of the community, £3. To Thomas Wethys, goldsmith, for mending the two silver shields of the community, 2 Oct., 12d. Alms to the craft of the Skinners for their pageant or play on Corpus Christi day, 4s. Cost of the common sewer in Keldgate by the Minster, called "Wateryngplace," including carrying "mudde" from it, 20 days, 33s. 5d. Several entries relating to the sending men south to support the King against "le Mortimer," otherwise Jack Cade, at the order of the Earl of Northumberland, are printed by Poulson, I. 216, but under the year 1456 instead of 1450, with some errors also in the text.

1460. The account for this year is the only one ornamented with illustrations. It begins with an elaborate C in red and black, with a scroll entwined bearing the words "Posui Deum adiutorem meum." Apparently it was intended to be the initial of *Comptus*, but a smaller C in red is repeated, and each initial letter in the heading is rubricated; the initials also throughout are very elaborate. Perhaps this extra care on the part of the scribe was due to the fact of the first Governor being Thomas Tone, *clerk*, or possibly to the entrance upon office of a new Common Clerk, Richard Dalkyn.

Twenty-four burgesses were admitted. The total receipts were £90 3s. 1½d., and expenses £90 19s. 9½d. There are payments for keeping the Bars, caused by the beginning of the Wars of the Roses, and other expenses in consequence of the wars, which are printed in Poulson, I. pp. 226-243, together with items for entertainment of the Earl of Northumberland and costs on the feast of Corpus Christi. But the following are there omitted:—A gallon of red wine given to Sir Thomas Crakanthorpe on his return from Wakefield, and another gallon of wine given to the same after the muster was taken in the West ward 16 March, 2s. and red wine, expended by the Governors the same day after the muster, 15d. The "mouster" is almost immediately followed by the "taking" of Beverley, apparently by approach by water. "Expenses of the master of the great ship of Lord Warwick with his companions, at Beverley, in the house of John Sprotley, innkeeper ("ostiler"), by tally, 9s. 4d, and of divers esquires and

\* William Percy, born 7 Apr. 1428, was appointed prebendary of Riccall in the church of York in 1436, and bishop of Carlisle in 1452!

sailors in Alice Bexwik's house in the month of April, as appears by tally, 10s. 8d. And paid to John Darcy, tailor, for making "del jakes" for the "sowgeours" with Lord Edward, King of England, 6s. 8d. The burgesses appear to have been forced to play a dangerously double game, in endeavouring to keep in with both the contending parties, for while they were paying for the clothing of K. Edward's soldiers they were also paying 20d. to "John Bower, riding to York with bows for King H." "Reward to Henry Awger, captain, that no one should plunder, 20s." There are various entries for pike and bream bought for Lords Fawconbridge and Graystok, who occupied the town for Edward. Poulson's extracts are copious on these points. It is only necessary to correct one or two mistakes. The cloth of which eight yards were bought for the men-at-arms sent with Edward IV to Newcastle was not red but blue ("blodii"); and it was not a gift of four "wild fowl" that was sent by Lord Neville to the Keepers, but four deer, "feras."

Expenses of two of the Keepers riding to Frothingham to speak with John Holme, Baron of the Exchequer, for letters patent of the King for pavage, last day of May, 5s. Sueing out two complaints against the Prior of Bridlington, at the suit of Robert Vicars and Thomas Colynson, for taking toll at Bridlington, 14d. Expenses of the Twelve Keepers assembled by reason of distraint of men and burgesses of Beverley for toll to be paid at Bridlington in John Redesone's house, there being present divers of the more honest men of the town and two canons of Bridlington, 14d.

All these extra expenses of the war-time ran up the total of the "common" charges to the very unusual amount of £36 4s. 7½d., which is exclusive of "taxes" contributed by the unfortunate inhabitants to both sides.

1494. From 1460 no accounts are extant for a whole generation, the next being those of John Seglystorne, Roger Moyses, and William Peyrson, &c., A.D. 1494.

		£	s.	d.
Total Receipts	-	-	92	16 0½
Payments	-	-	90	5 0½

There is a rather remarkable list of Fines this year.

12d. of John Armstrong, Alderman of the Tailors, because he did not bring in his Searchers to be sworn on the first day of sitting after their election, contrary to the order, and penalty of 40s.

The Aldermen of the Barbers and of the Dyers are fined for the same.

Four persons are fined for absence on St. Mark's Day.

John Rychardson, barker, is fined 22d. for selling a hide not well tanned.



William Taylor, fysscher, 6*d.* for carrying away certain fish from the Fish Market on Tuesday in Rogation week.

John Bylton "wever," 2*d.* for abusing the Common Sergeant in Westwood in the execution of his office.

John Husthwayte, Alderman of the "Sadillers," 6*d.*, because the Light of his Craft was not lighted on Feast days as specified in the Register.

Henry Payntor, Alderman of Paynters, fined 3*s.* 4*d.* for not rendering his account on the day stated in the Register.

Richard Boyth 6*d.* and 8 others the same, for coming to the Watch without defensive harness ("apparatu").

Robert Mounces, "wryght," for not telling his neighbours to come in harness, as ordered.

Henry Allman, one of the constables, for giving leave to his neighbour to remain at home during the watch, 4*d.*

John Steynson, bowcher, for entry and handsel ("gersuma") of a shop on south side of the Dyngs taken for 25 years by indenture, 13*s.* 4*d.*

Robert Weyll, fischer, for not doing his office in searching for herrings bad and out of season ("inseminatorium") coming to market and not searched, 4*d.*

Robert Smith, walker, for having a dead pig lying in the common street till it was carrion ("caryon") and refusing to bury it or move it when charged to do so by the 12 Governors, 8*d.*

Thomas Poteger, fyschar, because his servant bought a sein ("seyn") of sea fish and resold it regrating the market, against the penalty of 6*s.* 8*d.*, 8*d.*

John Schaklok for leading a catch with hay and corn into the Beek ("torrent") against the ordinance, 2*d.*

Robert Metcalfe, mylner, for having certain cows taken in the Common Averyce, not being a burgess, 6*s.* 8*d.*

Of the Bailiff of the Provostry for a gray mare delivered to him as a waif ("wayfe"), 12*d.*

Robert Whyte, merchant, for having a hound ("molossum") wandering in the streets without a keeper or a muzzle, against the penalty of 3*s.*, 3*d.*

26 others the same sum for the like offence.

William Kyng, Alderman of the Weavers, for having a brother in the brotherhood and livery ("vestura") not being sworn a burgess, contrary to the penalty of 40*s.*, 6*d.*

*Receipts of Fagots (etc.)*

£6 received of Thomas Peyrson and John Northend, masters of Westwood within the time of this account, viz. for 6000 fagots

cut and made by them in the wood of Westwood, besides 6s. 6d. paid for . . . . bought for binding the said bundles, with carriage and expenses, and besides 10s. to the said Thomas and John for their labour in making, selling, and collecting the money coming from the fagots; and besides 7d. for 20 fagots given to the Maison Dieu ("Masyndew") of Holy Trinity at the Cross Bridge, by way of alms; 7d. for 20 fagots given to the Maison Dieu of St. Mary's outside the North Bar; 7d. for 20 fagots given to the Lepers' house; 7d. for 20 fagots to Henry Powkeryng by agreement for fencing St. Giles' croft; 14d. for 40 fagots given to the fagot makers.

6s. from Alexander Bossall and John Steynson, masters of Fegang, for 200 fagots of willows.

18d. for fagots on Swynemore.

2s. 4d. of Thomas Bawde for offall of old wood ("aldewod") outside North Bar.

Subscriptions for pavement ("ex devocione") 46s. 4d.

#### *Expenses.*

Rents Resolute include payment to Archbishop's collector for "land or croft of S. Giles, belonging to the community, called Saynt Gely croft."

Lady of Derby, lady of manor of Cottynham, for firm issuing of Dyngs £4.

There are payments for wine given to master Richard Clifford, master Cholmley, master of the receipts, master Askewe, and others. Expenses at watch on the night of 17 Aug. by the King's command, 3s. 4d. Watch on 27 Dec. 4d., and watch on another night, 4d.

Robert Melton, Common Clerk.

1502. Total receipts, £96 6s. 6d. Expenses, £93 6s. 8d.

Sixteen new burgesses, including Alicia Wryght, described not as "spinster" but as "synglewoman." Fourteen shillings received as rent from the alderman of the Great Guild of St. Mary where the "Masyndewe" is built. Some of the receipts for fines are printed in Poulson, I. 260. To them may be added this curious one: "12d. of William Hewson, 'couper' speaking malicious words in the town and in taverns, saying that Charters belonging to the community were either absent or stolen." The repairs include those of "a long chambre at the Crossgarthes, with great part of the Hall, £5 17s."

The Expenses on entertainments of Magnates include:—

On St. Mark's day on Richard Cholmeley, knight, master Andrew Newman, Richard Rokeby, commissioners of the King and of the Archbishop, and other gentlemen in the house of Peter Crawe, 4s.

Sir Richard Cholmeley, knight, and John Hume, a Scotch knight, in John Henyson's house 24 July, 4s. 10d.

On the Council of the Archbishop and Earl of Northumberland at Edward Dugmanton's, 11s. 8d.

Expenses of master Robert Constable, knight, bringing a letter from the Archbishop to the 12 Governors, 3s.

Expenses last day of October on master Marmaduke Constable and Edward Savage, knights, 8s. 4d.

At Edward Dugmanton's inn ("hospicium") on William Savage and other gentlemen when they took the cognizance ("lez conysants") of the King to the town, 6s.

The expensive rewards entailed on the Governors by an invitation to breakfast with the Earl of Northumberland at Leconfield are given by Poulson, I. 262-3, but the expenses there noted on the "Lord of Misrewle" at Dugmanton's inn were in Beverley, not at Leconfield as he supposes. The payment to "Alicia Vice" of "the expenses of several gentlemen of the council of the said Earl" were not to any such questionable lady at all, but only "on another occasion" ("alia vice")! Poulson also mistakes (I. 267) the first item in the *Common Expenses*; the shilling there given to the Minstrels for drink was not on all the Rogation days but on the third ("feria tertia") only. Then follow expenses of the Twelve Governors on Cross Monday, which are printed by Poulson (*ib.* 259) with some mistakes in prices, &c., of which the chief is as follows: for "one tub of ale bought, the covering repaired with a piece of silver," read, "a tub of ale, 9d.; mending the cover of a piece of silver, 14d." The Governors also contributed 4d. and not 3d. each to the expenses of the "castle," and the total expense to the community was therefore 11s. 11d. not 12s. 11d.

John Johnson and Richard Booth with 2 servants riding to York to speak with the Archbishop and the Council of the King, with wages of their servants, and horses, 4s. 8d.

Sir Robert Newton carrying a letter, viz. copy of the charters of divers Kings, to London, 8d.

For parchment bought, in which are written copies of divers charters, and which were sent to London to be shown before the judge of the Lord the King, against the town of Scarborough ("Scardeburch"), 4d.

Paid in broken money, viz. 1 oz. containing 4s. 7d., for mending the 3 silver shields, 4s. 7d. And paid Andrew Goldsmyth for mending the said shields, 2s.

[This is wrongly given by Poulson, I. 267, who is followed by Messrs. Jewitt and Hope, II. 501, the words 1 oz. being omitted and "the third silver shield" substituted for the text.]

The cleansing of the streets is rather exceptionally included among "Common expenses." There seems to have been a general purgation of slums, including Spinny lane ("Spynyslane"), vault ("volta") at end of Barlyholme, Grenelane, end of lane called Colmankeld, vault by the "Spowte" of the Friars Preachers, one in Eastgate, one at Minster-bow, one in Mynstermoregate, Well lane, Cross Bridge, Bowbridge, lane by the Guyldhaule, Birdall middyng lane, lane by house of William Tirwhytt, knight, vault at Norwood, lane by Mr. Coppandale's, lane by wall in part of Walkerbeck near Qwyntyn place.

Loss of 11s. 8d. on bad money sold. Loss on a piece of bad ("corrupti") gold called 'A fyve shyllinge,' sold to Thomas Goldsmyth for 4s. 8d.

Expenses of the 12 Governors of the town, on the day of the playing of Corpus Christi, on themselves and Aldermen of divers crafts and burgesses of the town and other gentlemen meeting them, 30s. 9½d.

2 gallons and a bottle of Malvesey for the 12 Governors on the vigil and day of St. Mark, 2s. Beer for burgesses in Common Hall that day, 4d.

Next follow two elaborate accounts of presents ("exenniiis," not, as in Poulson I., 265, "expensis") given to the Earl of Northumberland and the Archbishop of York, Thomas (Scott) of Rotherham, comprising such dainties as cygnets, heron sews, bitterns, 'schewlerds' and curlews ("kyrlews"). The details are given in Poulson (*loc. cit.*). The cost of the Earl's present was £2 9s. 7d. and of the Archbishop's £5 1s. 8d.

1519-20. Account of Richard Rassalls, John Wyllemot, Richard Pattoner, etc., A.D. 1519. Total receipts £108 17s. 2d.

#### New Burgesses 22.

Under the heading of "Transgressions" we may notice —

4d. of John Godchepp, because his servant cast a weir (or a net, *unum leyp*) in Fegangdikes to catch fish there; 4d. of John Yonge for two horses not bound with fetters shod behind, against the order; 6d. of John Stacy, barber, selling torches mixed with tallow and rushes ("cebo et rosellis") to the deceiving of the people of the Lord King; 3s. 4d. of William Abbot for abusing John Wylkynson, draper, one of the Twelve Governors; 12d. of Robert Mathew for working a horse's hide against the ordinance and to the deceiving (*etc.*)

#### Fees.

Under this heading John Anderson, the Common Clerk, received 53s. 4d., a sum which represents a considerable augmentation of the usual salary of 40s.

*Common Expenses include—*

7s. spent by the 12 Governors being with Sir William Pyers, poet (*sic*), at Edmund Metcalf's house to make an agreement with him for transposing ["transposicione"] the Corpus Christi Play.

3s. 4d. given to the said William Pyers for his expenses and labour in coming from Wresill to Beverley for the alteration of the same.

6s. 8d. to a bearward of the King. 3s. 4d. to a bearward of the Earl of Kent.

8d. paid "old Whetley" for keeping and cleansing the "clew" at Parson-bryg.

2s. 4d. for 1lb. pepper, and 8d. given to a servant of the Earl of Northumberland for bringing a deer from him.

2s. given to the "trumpetts" of the Duke of Buckingham for playing before the Twelve.

2s. to the King's minstrels ("mimi") playing at Hasands.

10s. 8d. for carriage of the Westwood kydds this year.

5s. 8d. expenses of Mr. Receiver and the 12 Governors at Antony Goldsmyth's house dining on two bucks there. 8s. 4d. to the Lord Cardinal's foresters for bringing them; 6d. as a reward to the 4 yeomen.

14d. for expenses of John Crosley, Barnard, talour, and William Redshaw riding to York for a citation against the 12 Governors for suit of Court for the Common Hall and lands in the Cross Garths.

*Expenses on Magnates.*

6s. 8d. on master Archdeacon of Richmond and others on Rogation Days.

10s. for present to master Josselin Percy at Fox's house.

5s. for victuals and wine to the Lord Cardinal's auditor at the audit.

40s. for audit day expenses.

1520. Account of John Whyte, Henry Sanderson and Brian Falconer, A.D. 1519 to 1520, but there being another roll extant for that year it appears that the heading is wrong. The names of the Governors from whom the balance is received show that this is the later roll for 1520 to 1521.

Receipts, £100 19s. 12½d. Expenses, £60 8s. 5d. Balance from last year, £41 8s. 3½d.

Eleven new Burgesses.

A novel item of receipt is Rent of the Common Averis; of Staveley feld, from Martinmas to Candlemas (11 Nov. to 2 Feb.) 6s. 8d.; of Holme Kyrkeleas on each side of the road to Grovall, 6s. 8d.; of Northwood leas on south side of the road to the town, 4s.

Herbage of "Kelgat lez" this year 12d.

The old heading "Forfeitures" ("Forisfacturæ") now becomes (as in the preceding year), "offences" ("Transgressionēs") but their nature is the same. We may notice —

4d. of Thomas (*sic*) for that he had a horse "shod byhynd" in Fegang, not tied.

2s. of Richard Trollopp, Alderman of Payntours, for that his Play of "Lez 3 Kyngs of Colleyne" was played badly and disorderly, in contempt of the whole community, in the presence of many strangers.

12d. of Richard Gaynstang, Alderman of Talours, for that his Play of "Slepyng Pilate," was badly played, against the ordinance made in that behalf. [These two entries are printed by Poulson, I. 278.]

2s. of William Patson, Alderman of Drapiers, for his play badly played; 4d. of the same because his pageant was not covered with decent dresses ("vestibus honestis").

8d. of John Peyke of Cotyngname for selling a measly pig ("porcum leprosum *Anglice* mesell") in the common market to the damaging of the people of the Lord King.

4d. of John Hancok, shomaker, for that he had worked a sheep's skin into shoes.

2d. of Robert Hollysworth because his shoes were not sufficiently made.

Among the receipts for woodfalls this year are 11s. 8d. for 35 tops ("toppes") of oaks in Westwood; of which 4 were given to the fabric of St. Mary's and to the Friars Minors.

Paving is included under "Common Repairs" with 18s. 7d. for mending the new louvre ("lover") of the "esyngs" under the "Common Hall."

John Anderson, Common Clerk.

Common Expenses include —

6s. 8d. to John Grene, bearward ("ursario") of the Lord Henry, Earl of Northumberland, for exhibition of dancing bears ("agitacione ursonum") in the market place ("foreceto") this year.

8s. 7d. to a goldsmith for exchange of a chalice belonging to Kelk's Chauntry, which was broken when St. Mary's Church fell.

8d. for a gallon of wine given to the Lord Cardinal's (i.e. Cardinal Thomas Bainbridge, Archbishop of York) Receiver when he rode to London.

6d. for carriage of the "gravell hills" (*sic*) from the market place at Rogation Days.

45s. 6d. for expenses of the 12 Governors and other gentlemen at the time of the Corpus Christi Play this year.

16s. for 4 new cushions ("quyshyns") for common use.

16s. 2d., alms to divers poor infected in this great sickness ("infirmite") at the Beckside, Kelgat, Kyrkley, and outside North Barr.

3s. 4d. for making a new ferryboat at Wele ferry.

4d. for a parti-coat ("parti cote") given to John Ventrus for overseeing the strange poor coming to the town this year.

1s. to Richard Rudd [*he was the Common Sergeant*] for expenses at Hulbrigg in Lent, preserving fish there.

17d. for expenses to Bugthorp to Robert Rokeby for his counsel concerning a letter of the King.

6s. 8d. to John Crossley for his horse lent to Robert White from Beverley to London to the King's Council for divers matters concerning the town.

8d. to Edmund Pattonson when the great sickness was in his house.

16d. to Henry Scot for "8 new shone for 2 horses that Robert White rode to London on."

10d. for provender ("præbenda") of the same for 12 days.

62s. 10d. for expenses of said Robert White riding to London for deliberation of a matter between the "Esterlyngs merchaunds" and the town of Beverley, for 19 days.

41s. 8d. for a "bay geldyng bought for Robert Whyte to ryde to London for the Town matter consernyng a byll of complaynt of the Esterlyngs, which horse was gyfyn to Robert Whyte for his labour," and 3s. 4d. for a new saddle given with the same horse and 4d. for the grazing ("greyssyng") the same between "May day and Mydsomer."

3s. 4d. to a "pursevaunt" of the King who brought a writ concerning the Esterlyngs.

3s. 4d. to another King's servant carrying a letter for keeping sea coals at Newcastle.

5s. 10d. for expenses of Sir de Crestynok and other servants of master Dalby, Provost, attending on him to the house Merebekks.

4*d.* to William Yong for keeping the grating ("grayte") at Parsonbridge.

*Expenses on Magnates.*

2 pike, bread, wine and other stuffs ("stuffuris") to master Ashton, clerk of the council of the Lord Cardinal, being at Beverley.

8*s.* 10*d.* for a present to Lord Percy, Earl of Northumberland at Beverley Park.

10*s.* 8*d.* for a present to master Dalby [*Provost of the Minster*] at his first coming into residence this year.

1522. Total receipts, £92 4*s.* 8*d.* Expenses, £72 13*s.* 3½*d.*  
• Balance from last year, £37 2*s.* 3*d.*

Ten new burgesses.

Thomas Setryngton was fined 12*d.* for abusing Robert Gye, one of the twelve Governors, with unseemly words.

Five shillings given to Thomas Forster and others infected in the great sickness this year.

Five shillings to Master William Elson, learned in the law, for his counsel in making bills of musters for the King's commissioners. Spent by the 12 Governors at Robert Welle's house with the Master Mason ("latomo") of St. Mary's Church, 3*s.* 6*d.* For three ells of tawny cloth for a jacket for Thomas the keeper of "les beggers" 5*s.* For six ells of tawny cloth for Richard Rudd, common sergeant, 17*s.* To one William Worsley who showed the price of "ly castell" (Newcastle?) coals to the twelve Governors this year, 3*s.* 4*d.* To the Duke of Suffolk's bearward, 12*d.* To a jester (*or* trumpeter? "joculatori") of the King playing before the 12 Governors, 8*s.* For the expenses of the Governors at the time of raising the prest-money for the King, 4*s.* 4*d.* Spent on Lord Henry Percy, Thomas Dalby, and Richard Rokysby, knight, the King's commissioners for the musters in the Westwood, 5*s.* 3*d.*

• *Expenses of stipendiaries hired against Scotland.*

For nine score and twelve ells of white woollen cloth, from which nine score and sixteen white "jaketts" were made for that number of hired men going towards Scotland with master Richard Rukby, knight, their captain; their names are in the paper book in the office of the Governors, £9 19*s.* 2*d.* For red, green, and "yellow" cloth for the "conysaunces" and "garding" of the said jackets, 24*s.* 11*d.* For 16 ells of "fyne whyte," bought for Richard Rokeby, "graunte" captain, and Richard Creke, "petit" captain, of the said soldiers ("soldiorum") 21*s.* 4*d.* To John Wensley for 4½ sheaves ("shaff") of arrows for divers stipendiaries who had no arrows, 13*s.* 4*d.* For a bow for C. Qwrisby, 8*d.* 42*s.* for conduct money of so many soldiers from Beverley to York. Total, £15 1*s.* 5*d.*



1541. Balance from last year £39 8s. 10d. Receipts, £163 11s. 6d. Expenses, £123 6s. 9d.

Sixteen new burgesses.

A legacy of 13s. 4d. was received from Richard Saunderson, glover, deceased, for mending "decayd" roads. From Robert Broune, "pro lingnis vitreis" [or "viteris." *Qu.* wood and glass? or, old beams, *veteris* for *veteribus*?] from the chapel of St. Anthony, 8s. 4d. From the churchwardens ("gardianis") of St. Mary's, £30 (probably in repayment of money advanced for rebuilding the church).

Among the *Common Expenses* is an item of 18s. 3d. for the "jakket" of Henry Sergeand who appears to be a new Common Sergeant. *Common Repairs* amount to £29 3s. 1d., including "whyte of the North Bar" and "42s. 11d. for divers workmen in Friar Lane, and making "le Kyngs armes."

*Expenses on Magnates* were very high. 68s. 8d. in regard to the Kyng's players, the Prynces players, with other expenses of Magnates. £4 18s. 7d. in regard to the Knight Marshal of the King, and other officers, viz., "harolds, foytmen and trompitors."

£4 5s. for capons for the Archbishop.

38s. 6d. expenses of 4 of the Governors when the King came to Doncaster.

£10 for a benevolence given to our Lord the King. Total, £30 18s. 5d.

*Fees* include—

53s. 4d. to a new Common Clerk, John Thurland, and 40s. to Henry Sergeant, common sergeant. Henry Sergeant also received 6s. 8d. as keeper of Westwood, and 6s. 8d. as keeper of the market.

3s. 4d. to Richard Wendyke for "le burgese house."

Audit Day (again these expenses are very high) £6.

Among the "pledges" may be noticed—

2 copeboards, a pare of bedestoks in house ferme of Wyllyam Gallande, 6s. 8d.

A croyke with a cheyne for pullinge down of houses, 6s. 8d.

8 pare of styrope ledders, a whyt breeste garth, 2 blake headstalls, 2 reynes, 18 single garthes and 11 snaffulls, 8s.

5 yards of kylne heyre [*sic*] for burgese money of Wyllyam Gyll, 20d.

1545. 37 Henry VIII. Account of Robert Gray, John Westowt, Robert Thomson, &c. Balance from last year £69 9s. 4d. Total Receipts £109 16s. 11d. Expenses £189 7s. 5d.

## Fifteen new Burgesses.

*Transgressions* include—

6*d.* of Robert Ledhouse “for tayking in a brother befor he was burges.”

4*d.* of Thomas Hardy for a “rescove, whan hys catell was goynge to the feyld.”

2*d.* for wood lying in the street.

8*d.* of John Standeven for selling candles beyond the price limited to him by the Twelve.

At last we get a translation of the odd phrase “extrahura pasturarum,” viz. *Dryvynge of Pasture*.

*“Foren Receytes”* include—

6*s.* of William Brownberd and Richard Hodge for butter money.

£8 of the same for rent of divers stalls.

£40 of the Churchwardens of St. Mary’s.

*Common Expenses* include—

45*s.* 3*d.* paid “secke folke as appereth by dyverse bylls thereof.”

28*s.* to collect of the King’s subsidy for the common lands of Beverley.

4*s.* 4*d.* to “soldyors” at muster in Westwood.

12*d.* for shoeing the common horse and a lock to him.

15*s.* “in regard to the wayts affore Crystmas towards ther lyveres.”

2*s.* “in regard to the master of the begars.”

£27 15*s.* 8*d.* “for costs and charges of 4 speremen, duo carters and coys and conducte money of 10 soldyors and for a horse given to Sir John Ellerker.”

£5 3*s.* 4*d.* over and besides £8 0*s.* 8*d.* “received for leade of the Masyndowe, and 2*s.* received of dyverse persons, payede for scouryng of Beverley Beke.”

2*s.* 2*d.* to the Vicar of St. Mary’s for tithes of Horse green.

The entry of *Expenses of Great Men* occurs for the first time in English.

18*s.* 8*d.* expended of Mr. Lieutenant (“Levetenand”) when he took muster in Westwood.

20*s.* 8*d.* for 8 cranes and 5 bitterns (“bytters”) given to master Governours.

45*s.* for a present sent to Hull to my Lord Lieutenant and for other preparation made for his lordship.

*The Rents* ("Resoluciones") hitherto paid to the Archbishop are now paid to the King, who had now acquired, by exchange with Archbishop Holgate, the manor of Beverley, viz. £5 from Westwood, 2s. for a piece of land outside North Bar, 7s. for Saint Gilly croft, 10d. for a tenement in Kelgate, 13s. 4d. for Dyngs; £5 6s. 8d. for Toll, while 4s. is paid to Mr. Leeds for Free rents at Cross Bridge.

*Fees.* Robert Hyll, chaplain at the Cross Bridge, now for the last time probably, receives his salary of £4 2s.

3s. 4d. to the Bailiff of Beverley for Burges house.

Among pledges are 5 sheafs of arrows for burgess money 10s.

A bow for a common lane 6d.

John Thurland, Common Clerk.

1556. 2 and 3 Philip and Mary. "Deus cepta secundet. Jesus.

Account of Robert Grey, Richard Fewill, Richard Grenehop, &c., 12 Governors or Keepers of the town and community of Beverley. Balance from last year, £33 11s. 8d.; Total Receipts, £140 4s. 10½d.; Expenses, £108 16s. 3d.

Sixteen new Burgesses.

The Receipts no longer include any Chantry Rent.

The other rents are much the same; but there may be noticed—

3s. 4d. of Robert Hill, clerk, for his chamber with garden in the Trinitie Masondewe, [which is the same he paid before, and means that the Maison-dieu went on as before].

2d. of the King and Queen's Receiver for the late chantry of St. Nicholas.

2d. of the same for the late 7 Rectors, for the heirs of Mayn, for sewer in Flemynngate.

2s. of the same for John Wright for a "poste gate."

5s. of the same for the late 9 Vicars for a lane in Mynster-moregate.

6s. of the same for a lane late in the tenure of Nicholas Hogard, clerk.

Nothing received of common Averys this year, because it seemed otherwise good to the masters and the community.

*Transgressions* include—

2d. of Roger Newson for being and fishing in Fegang by night against the ordinance.

2s. 6d. of Christopher Rawe, by way of fine, for his restitution, on his submission, to the liberty of the town.

*Common Expenses* are headed by the new and significant item of—

4*d.* paid for faggots to burn books.

14*d.* for two royal letters missive, for the Mayor of Pomfret and the Bailiff of Ripon.

2*s.* for searching and carrying King Edward's charter to London.

20*s.* in reward to the Queen's Players.

3*s.* for wine for Reverend men.

5*s.* 4*d.* for wine and pears for the Lord President.

20*s.* to John Raffulls for part of the belfry ("pro parcella campanilis").

£5 8*s.* 8*d.* for expenses about Toll against Pomfrett and Ripon.

30*s.* for the minstrels' ("mimorum") liveries.

£4 0*s.* 6*d.* for expenses at York for toll in Lent sessions there.

6*s.* 8*d.* for serving the royal letter on the Mayor of Pomfrett.

*Rents* include the new item of £4 to the King and Queen for the Trinitie Masondewe; so that it would appear that the town had to purchase the Maison Dieu from the Crown as a chantry, though hospitals for the poor were not within the Chuntries Act.

Among *Fees* occurs—

26*s.* 8*d.* to Robert Hill, clerk, as a reward, for his augmentation.

Michael Haryson is now the Common Clerk.

Among the *Pledges* a more explicit description is given of the "crook for pulling down houses" as "One great iron croke with a chyne for pluking downe houses at skathe fyers, 6*s.* 8*d.*"

They include also—

One Hand-gun ("goin"), the price 5*s.*

2 Hemp cords for 2*d.*, 2 sylver thimbles for 4*d.*, one sylver tache, for 2*d.*, one hemp coler for 1*d.*, and one Inglishe primer for 2*d.*, takyn of Yorkmen and in the custody of Richard Pereson.

1557. Account of William Sandes, Christopher Farar, Richard Craven, &c., 3 and 4 Philip and Mary. Balance from last year £88 6*s.* 8*d.* Receipts £140 15*s.* 4*d.* Expenses £102 18*s.* 8½*d.*

Nineteen new Burgesses.

In the *rental of the Dyngs*, the term "opellam" is used apparently as meaning a shop.

Among *Common Rents* a new name seems to occur in "16*d.* for 2 sebions [selions?] in *Oswaldgate*."

Among *Small rents* we find—

4*d.* for a lane called Turne agayne lane.

10*d.* for le Cat fosse lane.

8*d.* of Richard Johnson for le Weste Masendue lane.

20*d.* of the heirs of widow Garbrey for the Tentoure lane.

4*d.* of Matthew Garbreye for the Whyte lane.

6*d.* for the Shypper lane on south part of Flemmyngate.

12*d.* of Alice Saunderson for the Spynes lane.

8*d.* of Edmund Metcalfe for the Coyner lane.

2*d.* of Peter Atmarr "pro 1000 sterquiliniis" outside the gate of Westwood.

*Transgressions* produce, *inter alia*,—

8*s.* 6*d.* from 6 people for selling candles contrary to the ordinance.

16*d.* from 4 people for "le tye dogges."

6*d.* from Alexander Bradshaw, clerk, for impleading divers men outside this Court without leave.

4*d.* of John Watson for paying toll ("le toole") at Malton against the ordinance.

6*d.* for selling herrings ("halicium") against the ordinance.

*Foren Receytes* include—

2*s.* of "le Wattermen" for their disobedience.

10*d.* of the Alderman of "le Carpenters" for the forfeiture of Robert Pinder in his craft.

8*s.* 4*d.* of the Alderman of "le Glovers" for the like.

19*d.* of the Alderman of "le Mynstrelles" forfeit among them.

18*d.* for half the Buttery ("Buteri") forfeits.

4*s.* 6*d.* of Henry Power and Richard Bullock for a "standing" on Rogation days of one "le upholster."

£17 10*d.* of Richard Pearson for Toll and Stallage.

*Common Expenses* include—

6*s.* 2*d.* for a royal writ against Ardington.

47*s.* 5*d.* to the King's serjeants at the Musters and for keeping Hulbridge.

· £4 15s. 7½d. on Reverend men, viz. Thomas Wharton, etc. and on toll and other things, as appears in 4 separate bills of William Sands.

12d. for mending the stocks in Keldgate.

12d. paid by Robert Sparrowe about the Masendue of St. Mary's outside the Bar.

£3 0s. 2d. to Richard Bell, draper, for 10 soldiers' ("sowdgers") white cotes with red crosses.

10s. in reward to Lord Skroope's players.

53s. 4d. to a Searcher or a pewterer ("putherer") of London for agreement between him and our neighbours the "putherars."

Among *Pledges* are—

1 dozen and 8 Flemmyshe salted being tinn, 16 spoones tynn, a putther dyshe, 2 brasse weaghtes, a leade weaght, a horse lock, a peace of Aron Balle or Bealme and a skale.

15 . . . An imperfect bill; the first sheet lost. Receipts, £135 13s. 6d. Expenses, £107 7s. 10d.

*Foren Receipts* include 9s. 6d. for the old "campanatore" (belfry?) of the Lady Masondewe; 5s. of James Rediscaile for drying oats on the kiln on Sunday; 16d. of Robert Farer for abuse of his brethren the Governors.

*Transgressions* include 39s. 4½d. from 38 brewsters (of whom five were women) for disobedience to the Twelve concerning the sale of beer. The proportion of brewers to population is enormous.

*Common Expenses.* 13s. 4d. and a tree given in "regard" among the inhabitants of Wele and the mending of "le ferry-bote." 24s. to servants and officers of Lord Perecye on his first incoming. £8 10s. for divers "bybee," *Anglice* wethers, given to Lord Perecye. 20s. to the Queen's players. 50s. for minstrels' liveries and badges. 7s. for exchange of money at London. 10s. 8d. lost at Michaelmas when money fell. £5 6s. 8d. paid and spent by the commissioners on mustering days and at Kingston-upon-Hull at divers times when they were there as witnesses, and for sealing of the award, and on Lord Perecye, and other common expenses, as appears by Adam Spencer's bill. 6s. paid for *paper of the King of England* (?) 10s. paid and spent by John Haryson going to Hull divers times, and for writing divers proclamations as appears by bill.

*Fees* include 13s. 4d. for the Common Clerk, John Haryson.

1558. Account of Matthew Garberey, Robert Thompson, Richard Fewle, Richard Greenhope, Richard Bell, draper, William Grey, Thomas Settrington, Arkenwald Shipherde, Thomas Daye,

John Adamson, Adam Spence and Robert Farer : 4 and 5 Philip and Mary. Total Receipts, £145 4s. 8d. Expenses, £158 11s. 11½d. Arrears from last year, £38 16s. 7½d. New Burgesses 16.

*Among Transgressions—*

Nine persons are fined 2s. each for selling beer contrary to the ordinance.

Two persons are fined 4d. for their pigs in St. Mary's Church yard, and another for his pig entering at liberty the common street.

Two more the same for a cow in their neighbours' gardens.

*Expenses*, in most cases said to be "as appears by bill of Thomas Settrington"—

56s. for 18 greaves for soldiers.

34s. 6d. for blue colour for the little tunics of the soldiers.

26s. 8d. for Christopher Thimabie and Roger Catton going to Lords Westmorland and Northumberland.

£11 18s. 4d. for certain necessities for the soldiers and for business against Hull for Hull Bridge.

15s. 8d. for cloth of yellow and green for facings ("laciniis") of the tunics of the soldiers.

4s. for allowances (? "salarinis") for horses for William Francklande and others.

30s. 8d., 4s. 8d., and £5 16s. 8d. spent at York on the business of Hull Bridge.

£24 19s. and £13 16s. 8d. spent at London for the same.

6s. 10d. for wine when Queen Elizabeth was proclaimed.

2d. "pro uno le money-bagge."

40s. for the Waits' liveries and badges.

23s. 4d. for a bill at B. Mary's Masondewe outside North Bar.

2s. 6d. for paupers' badges.

*Fees* include 6s. 8d. to executors of Robert Hill, clerk, and 5s. 4d. to John Harrison, Common Clerk.

1562. Balance from last year £23 17s. 5d. Receipts, £297 1s. 7d. Expenses £251 18s. 2d. Thirty new Burgesses.

The fines are for ordinary offences: throwing rubbish in the streets, and not keeping channels clean; bad herrings in Walkerbeck; disobeying ordinances, &c.

A "benevolence" of £54 10s. 1d. was collected towards scouring the stream called Beverley Beck, as appears by a book thereof.

Among the *Common Expenses* is a payment of 13s. 4d. to John Harison, the Town Clerk, for going to York with "Magna Carta," and for writing a deed, as appears by a bill thereof. This "Carta" was of course the Great Charter of the town, but Poulson, who prints this entry under the wrong date of 1560 (I. 315) supposes that it was a printed copy of the Magna Charta of K. John, and that Harison was paid for making a MS. transcript of it!

Twenty shillings were paid to the Queen's players, and 13s. 4d. to the Duke of Suffolk's players. 10s. for the minstrels' badges ("signis"), and 53s. 4d. for their tunics and Robert Browne's. 20s. to Lord Robert Dudley's bearward, and 5d. for wine for him. 8d. for a bellrope for the Trinity Masondieu, and 5s. 4d. for repairs on that house and the Lady Masondieu.

18s. spent on the King of Arms at Hardie's.

£75 18s. for scouring the Beck.

£59 16s. 11d. on two occasions going to London to Lord Robert Dudley, as appears by two bills thereof.

12d. to a poor woman for keeping a lame boy.

*Resolucions.* The rents payable to the Queen for the Dyngs, Westwood, &c., representing the Archbishop's lordship, are now paid to Lord Robert Dudley, but that for the Trinity Maison Dieu is still paid to the Queen.

The *Implements* include 52 flacketts, 10 lead hammers ("lede malles"), 3 arrow bags and 2½ sheafs of arrows.

1570. 12-13 Eliz. Richard Bullock, Thomas Settrington, Edmund Stowte. Receipts, £201 0s. 0½d. Expenses, £133 17s. 7d. 17 new Burgesses. Common Clerk, £4 13s. 4d.

? 1572-3. [So stated outside, but the date is torn away.] Richard Bullock, Thomas Settryngton, Robert Fayur, etc., 12 Governors or Keepers. Receipts £253 8s. 9d. Expenses £187 12s. 4d. 9 new Burgesses £1 each.

Among *Common Expenses* are payments to players "Comitis Leicestriæ," £1 10s. Lusoribus Magistri Richardson 8s. For a seal 12s. (From subsequent accounts it appears that Richardson was the Grammar School master.) John Harison (the Town Clerk) for his fee, £6 13s. 4d.

On the back among other items is, "Lottry money. The said Accomptants to be accompte of xs. due to Mr. Lacy," etc.

Among the *Implements* are, "v. greate cheanes of iron for calseyes (causeways). The Waits' chaines and skutcheons of silver, vj bowes and vij shefe of arrows, viij leade malls."

1578. Edward Ellerker, Esq., William Farley, &c., late Governors, and Edward Ellerker, late maior of Beverley aforesaid, Richarde Wilson, Richarde Bullock, &c., now Governors from



S. Mark's Day, 15 Eliz., to Michaelmas in the same year. This is the first account written in English. On the incorporation the account day was changed from S. Mark's Day to Michaelmas Day. Receipts, £277 18s. 11d. Total Expenses £288 16s. 6d.

Two new Burgesses, one paying 10s., one 15s. 6d. fined 4s. to 4d. for brewing without licence.

Sale of trees in the Hirne, £196 8s. 10d.; thorns there, £6 4s.

Paide and spent by Mr. Bullock, Mr. Wilson, &c., in and about th'opteyninge of the new chartre graunted unto the Maior and Governors and Burgesses of Beverley by our most gracious soveraigne Lady Queene Elizabeth at the sute and requeste of our most benigne lorde therle of Lacyter, as apperith by a particular booke thereof made, £223 1s. 10d.

Paide for a fyne in th'eschequour to the Queen's Majestie for the common busshell, as appeirith by the sherif his depute's acquittance, £1 0s. 4d.

Paid for the lesser mace of silver at York, £1 5s. 5d.

Paid for parcell of the chareges of the newe pryson, as plainelye dothe appeare by a bill of Mr. Farley thereof made, £4 10s. 2d.

Paide more for makinge the new pryson, as appears by another bill of Mr. Farley, £4 8s. 0d.

Paide for wine, sugar, etc., to my Lord President when he came thoroughe the Towne, 12s. 6d.

More for new prison, as appeareth, &c., £1 6s. 8d.

1574. Richard Bullocke, maior, Michaelmas 15 Eliz., to Michaelmas 16 Eliz. 25 new Burgesses £1 each. Receipts, £428 16s. 10d. Expenses, £456 4s. 11d. For trees on Hirne, £132 12s. 5d.

For the first time the fines on the Assizes of Bread and Beer come into the Town accounts.

48 bakers were fined for short weight sums varying from 8s. to 4d., £4 16s. 1d.

45 brewsters for selling aile with unlawful measures; fines from 6s. 8d. to 6d., £4 16s. 0d.

Estreats of the Court of Record are a new item.

One man is fined 3s. 4d. for making "a fraie": 3d., 20d. "for ditches not cleansed": 12d., 3s. 4d. or 2s. 6d. for killing calves under 6 weeks old. And there is a long list of other small fines filling 3 membranes of parchment, chiefly for "non-appearance" or "default in suit of court," but including 6d. for being a common drunkard, and 12d. for abusing a constable.

Among *Expenses*: Given to Mr. Richardson when his scholars plaid in the Hancehouse 5s. A "butt of Seck" to my Lord President, £10. The Mayor for his diet £30, and for courts, £8.

1575. In this account the "rents, revenues, issues and profits belonging to the church of St. John of Beverley, and now appropriate to the Hanshouse," appear for the first time.

The Minster Rents are however only given in gross at £68 18s. 2d.

Fees and Wages as well for the Town as the Minster. First, paid to Mr. Richardson, clerk, Master of the Grammar School for one whole year's wages, £21 0s. 0d.

John Stubbs as well for the clerkship of the Town as for his office in the Minster, £13 0s. 8d.

In the face of this and other payments yearly for the Grammar School, Poulson states (I. 452) that the first entry "which has any reference to the subject" is on the rolls for 1605. The fact is that with the Minster property the Corporation took over the obligation to support the Grammar School, which he rightly says "is of great antiquity and coeval with the Society of St. John."

1578. Minster Rents, as by the rental thereof doth appear, £68 18s. 2d.

*Payments :—*

Mr. Prylor in part of the purchase of the Trinities, £20 0s. 0d.

Paid to Mr. Beckwithe of York, goldsmith, for making of the silver mace and for the silver plate of the same, £5 17s. 2d.

Waits' liveries, 28 Nov., £2 7s. 8d.

*Fees and Wages :—*

In primis to Mr. Richardson, governor of the Grammer Scholle, for his wholle yere's fee, £21 0s. 0d.

John Stubbs, clerk of the town, £13 6s. 8d.

Sir Thomas Sanders keping the Minster clocke, 6s. 8d.

1584-5. An accompt of Peter Harpham, late Maior of the towne of B. within the county of York, of all and singular the rents, revenues, issues and profits and commodities appertaining to the Hansehowse and commonalty of the same town and of all the rents revenues issues and profits belonging to the church of St. John of B. and now appropriate to the said Hansehouse, and of all the rents belonging to the decayed lands granted to the same town by Mr. Walker, and also of all the expenses, &c., of, for and concerning the said town and church, from Michaelmas, 26 Eliz.

	£	s.	d.
<i>Old and New Burgesses</i> - - - - -	26	6	10
<i>Towns Rents :—</i>			
Dynges - - - - -	7	2	2
Crossegarthes - - - - -	1	19	0
Common Rents - - - - -	17	10	6
Small Rents - - - - -	2	8	1
Quenes Rents - - - - -	26	9	4
Minster Rents - - - - -	75	14	4
Quyte Rents - - - - -	0	11	2
Bakers' Fynes - - - - -	1	11	6
Court of Record - - - - -	19	19	10
Contributions and Upsets - - - - -	1	8	0
From Aldermen of Guilds.			
Transgressions - - - - -	6	11	8
Fynes in the Court - - - - -	0	17	4
Old Debts - - - - -	79	8	7
Forren Receipts - - - - -	64	12	9
For 6 several Cowsheds, 6s.			
Towle (i.e. Toll) - - - - -	27	0	0
Ed. Thompson for ye Towle, includes toll of 2 coverlet weavers.			
Londiners Standings - - - - -	5	5	10
Draining of Pastures - - - - -	7	12	1
Kyddes - - - - -	15	14	6
Court of Record - - - - -	5	0	0
Gaole - - - - -	6	18	4
Buriall in the Mynster - - - - -	0	13	4
Sir G. Kitchen.			
Sessions at Michaelmas and Easter - - - - -	5	15	0
Wood sold in Westwood - - - - -	159	8	2
Consealyd Lands - - - - -	195	7	4
Fynes of St. Mary Church Lands - - - - -	22	19	8
Shodd Carts - - - - -	1	2	6
Attorney Fees - - - - -	14	5	7
Assistants of ye Church - - - - -	18	18	4

? 1585. Mich. 26 Eliz. to 27. Fees and wages :—

To Mr. Whincop, preacher, for his fee, £30.

Mr. Kitchen, one of the Assistants, £16.

Mr. Recorder, £10.

Nathaniel Gossop for keping the Grammer Schole for three quarter of a yere, 7s. 10d.

1590. Among Minster payments :—

Work about the Scowle house.

Item payd as appereth by a bill dated the 8th of Jan.,  
9s. 11d.

To Mr. Whincop, £32.

Mr. Kitchen, £16.

Mr. Bardon [the Grammar Schoolmaster] as parte of his fee,  
£7 16s. 8d.

1648-9. Accounts of Churchwardens of St. Mary's. Building  
the New Loft for 13 pews, £33 19s. 4d.

1651-2. Account of Churchwardens of St. Mary's. To Sir  
Michael Walton for the use of the Commons of England, £1  
8s. 8d. In August, paid for ringing on a day of thanksgiving  
for our great victory over the Scots, 9s. 6d.

	£	s.	d.
Rental - - - - -	51	14	2
Fines - - - - -	18	6	6
Burials in Church and Chancel - - -	5	3	4
Old Lofts, Rents &c. - - - - -	3	2	6
Pews - - - - -	2	8	7
Arrears - - - - -	0	13	4
	<hr/>		
	81	8	5
Expenses - - - - -	70	6	10

To Poor on election of Churchwardens, 6s.

Spent at Thomas Smailes' upon the same day with the Maior  
and others, 5s.

Bread and wine for Communion, £2 4s. 8d.

Books in the Chancell, 3s. 8d.

An owle-killing in the Church May 29th, 6d.

Churchwardens and Church officers dinners when they gathered  
Whit-Sunday rent, 8s.

A stone of "wyer" (wire) for the clocke and chymes, 10s.

Paid the Ringers on the day of thanksgiving for the great  
victory over the Scotts at Worcester, 20s.

A. F. LEACH.

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